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CYPRIANUS  
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LONDON

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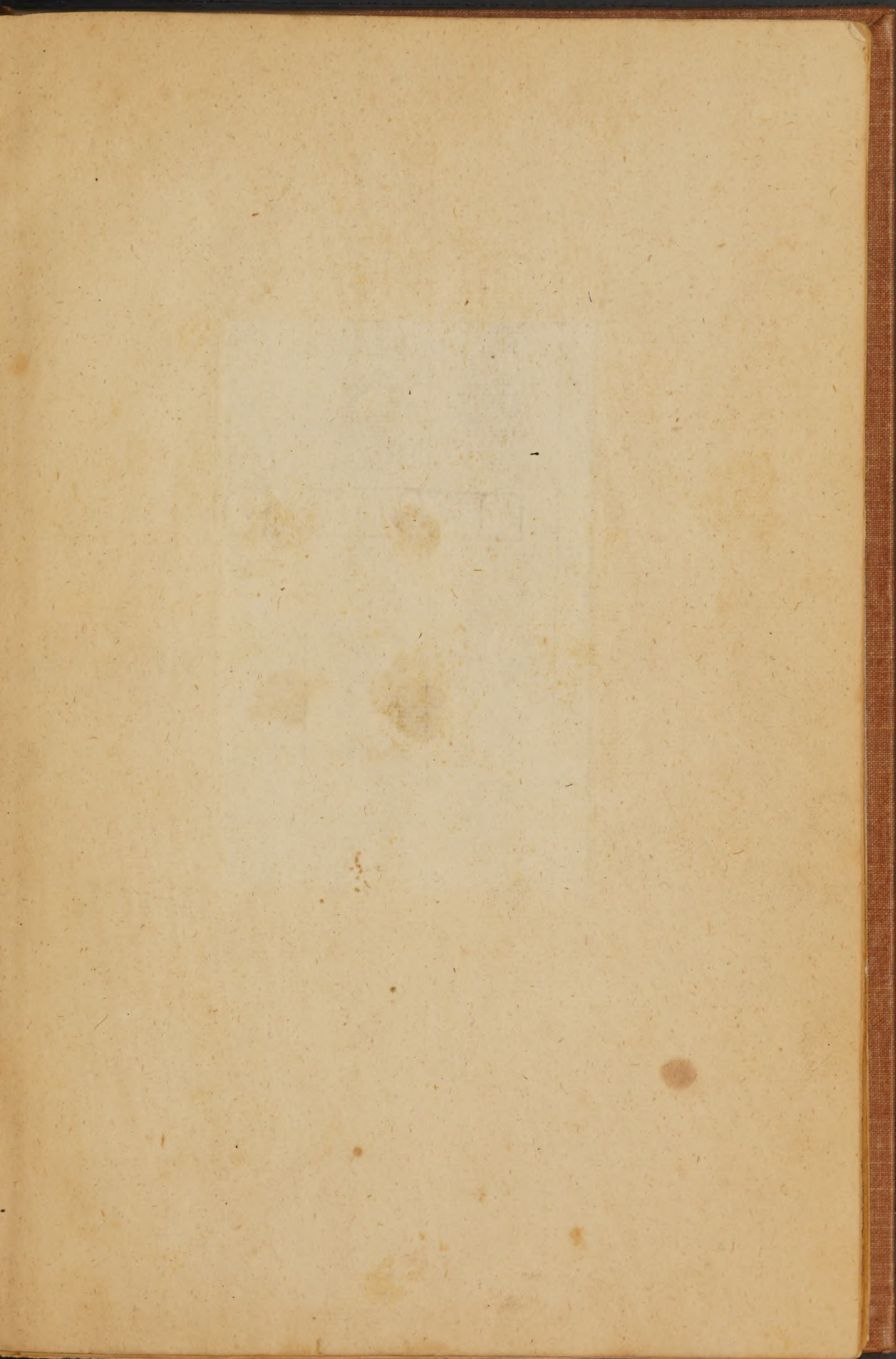
















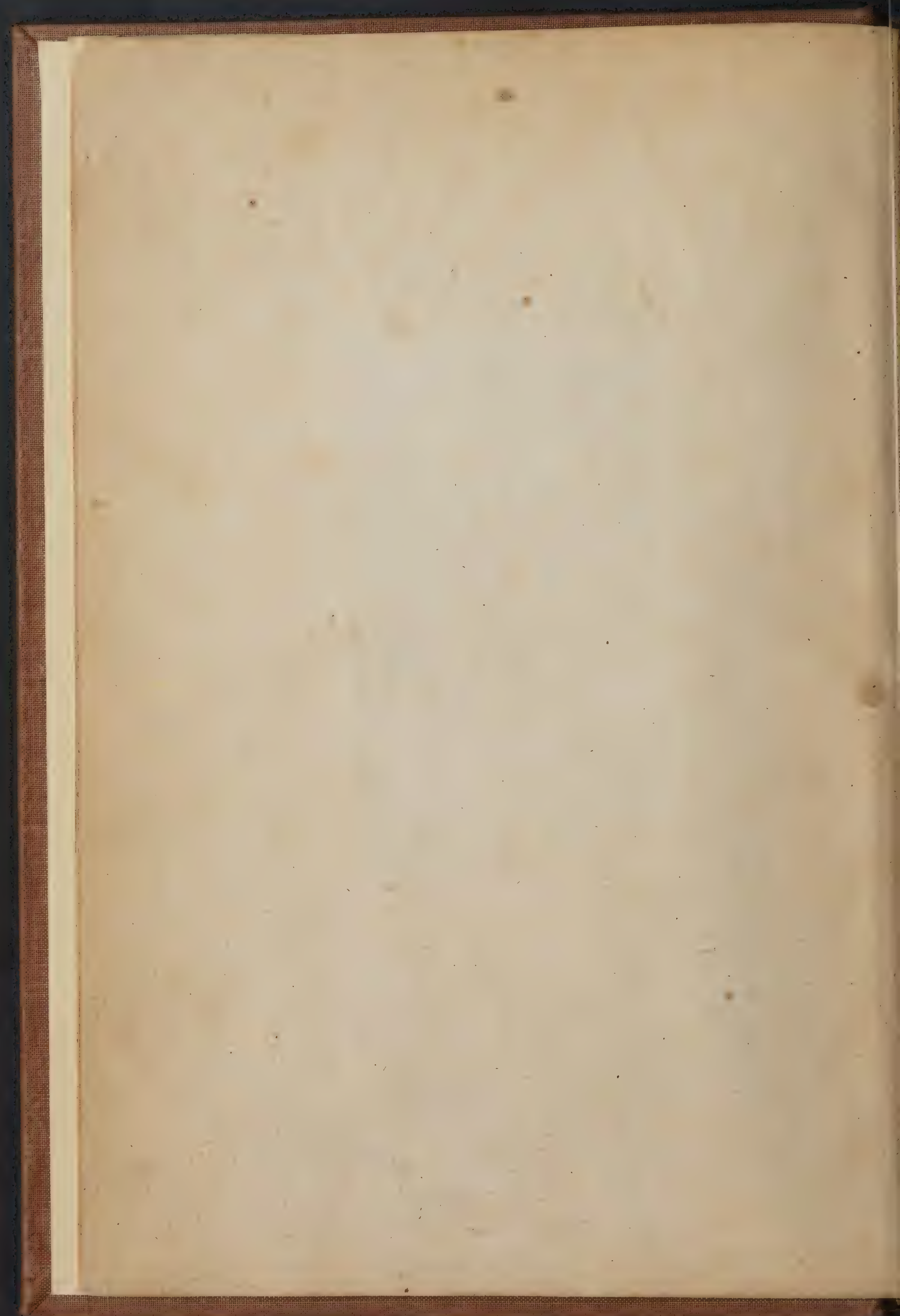
WILLIAM LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY :  
his grace primate of all England and Metropolitane  
and Chancelor of the Vniuersity of Oxford. &c.





*All flesh is Grass, the best men vanity;  
This, but a shadow, here before thine eye,  
Of him, whose wondrous changes clearly shon,  
That GOD, not men, swayer all things here below.*







CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:  
OR, THE  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**Life and Death,**  
OF  
The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE  
**WILLIAM**

By Divine Providence,  
**Lord Archbishop of Canterbury**, Primate of all  
ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the  
Universities of Oxon. and Dublin, and one of the  
Lords of the Privy Council to His late most  
SACRED MAJESTY  
**King CHARLES the First,**  
Second MONARCH of Great Britain.

CONTAINING ALSO  
**The Ecclesiastical History of the Three Kingdoms**  
of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND  
from His first rising till His Death.

By **P. Heylyn** D.D. and Chaplain to Charles the  
first and Charles the second, Monarchs of Great Britain.

ECCLUS. 44. VERS. 1, 3.

1. Let us now praise Famous Men and our Fathers that begat Us.
3. Such as did bear Rule in their Kingdoms, Men Renowned for their Power,  
giving Counsel by their Understanding, and Declaring Prophecies.

LONDON:  
Printed for **A. Seile**, MDCLXVIII.



THE HISTORY OF THE

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To the Honourable

Sir JOHN ROBINSON K<sup>t</sup> and Baronet,

HIS MAJESTIES

Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

SIR,



*You have here before you the History of an Eminent Prelate and Patriot, a Person who lived the honour, and died a Martyr of the English Church and State, for it was his sad Fate to be crusht, betwixt Popery and Schism; and having (against both) defended the Protestant Cause with his Pen, he after chearfully proceeded to Seal that Faith with his Bloud. Together with the Story of this Great Man, you have likewise that of the Age he lived in, (especially so far as concerned the Church) wherein you will find recorded, many notable Agitations and Contrivances, which it were pity should be lost in silence, and pass away unregarded. These Considerations towards a Gentleman of your worth, Curiosity, and loyalty, are warrant enough to justifie me in this Dedication. And yet I must not conceal, that it belongs to you by another right; that is to say, the Care of recommending this Work to the Publick, was committed to a*

*A 2*

*Gentle-*



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## The Epistle Dedicatory.

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Gentleman, who himself had presented it to your hand, if God had not taken him away, just upon the point of putting his purpose in execution. So that it seems in me, as well matter of Conscience, as of Respect, to deliver it wholly up to your Patronage and Protection; since in exposing it to the world, I do but perform the will of my dead Father; and in addressing it to your self, together with my own, I also gratifie that of my deceased Friend. The value of the Work it self I do not pretend to judge of, my duty and interest for the Author forbids it, but for the Industry, Integrity, and good meaning of the Historian, I dare become answerable; And in truth, I hope well of the rest: without which I should not have made bold with Sir John Robinson's Name in the Front of it; who being so nearly related both in blood and affection to that Incomparable and Zealous Minister of God, and his Prince, cannot besides a Natural, but upon an Honourable Impression, concern himself in the glories or blemishes of this Character, defective in nothing, but that it could not be as ample as his worth. And now having discharged my trust, and duty; as I could do no less, so I have little more to add for my self, but that I am

SIR,

Your most humble and

obedient Servant

HENRY HEYLYN.



A Necessary  
INTRODUCTION  
To the following  
HISTORY.

**B**EFORE we come unto the History of this Famous Prelate, it will not be amiss to see upon what *Principles* and *Positions*, the *Reformation* of this Church did first proceed; that so we may the better Judge of those *Innovations* which afterwards were thrust upon her, and those *Endeavours* which were used in the latter times to bring her back again to her first Condition.

I. Know therefore, that King *Henry viii.* having obtained of the *Bishops* and *Clergie*, in their *Convocation*, Anno 1530. to be acknowledged the *Supream Head* on Earth of the Church of *England*, did about three years after, in the 26 of his Reign, confirm the said *Supremacy* to Himself, his Heirs and Successors, with all the Privileges and Preheminencies thereunto belonging, by Act of Parliament. And having procured the said *Bishops* and *Clergie*, in another of their *Convocations*, held in the year 1532. to promise *in verbo Sacerdotii*, Submission of the Clergie, not to assemble from thenceforth in any *Convocation*, or *Synodical Meeting*, but as they should be called by his Majesties Writ; nor to make any *Canons* or *Constitutions*, *Synodal* or *Provincial*, without his Leave and Licence thereunto obtained; nor, finally, to put the same in Execution, till they were Ratified and Confirmed under the Great Seal of *England*: Procured also an Act of Parliament to bind the *Clergie* to their promise. Which Act, called commonly, *The Act of the Submission of the Clergie*, doth bear this name in *Poulton's Abridgment*, viz. *That the Clergie in their Convocation*, Character, *should Enact no Constitutions without the Kings assent*, Anno 25. *Henry viii. c. 19.* Which Grounds so laid, he caused this Question to be debated in both Universities, and all the Famous Monasteries of the Kingdom: viz. *An aliquid authoritatis in hoc Regno Angliæ, Pontifici Romano de jure competat, plusquam alii cuicumq; Episcopo* and *extero.*



Ejection of  
the Pope.

I I.  
No Diminu-  
tion of the  
Power and  
Priviledges of  
the Church by  
the Alterati-  
on.

III.  
The manner  
of Electing  
and Confir-  
ming Arch-  
bishops and  
Bishops,  
Established  
by King  
HENRY viii.

*extero.* Which Question being concluded in the Negative, and that Conclusion ratified and confirmed in the *Convocation*, Anno 1534. there past an Act of Parliament about two years after, Intituled, *An Act Extinguishing the Authority of the Bishops of Rome*; In which there was an Oath prescribed, for abjuring the Popes Authority within this Realm: The refusing whereof was made High-Treason, Anno 28. H. viii. c. 10.

2. But this Exclusion of the Pope, as it did no way prejudice the *Clergy* in their power of making *Canons*, *Constitutions*, and other *Synodical* Acts, but only brought them to a dependance upon the King for the better ordering of the same; so neither did it create any diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops in the free exercise of that Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction which anciently belonged to them. For in the Act of Submission before-mentioned, there passed a Clause, that all former *Constitutions Synodal*, or *Provincial*, which were not contrary to the Word of God, the Kings Prerogative Royal, or the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, should remain in force, until they were reviewed and fitted for the use of the Church, by 32 Commitioners, to be nominated by the King for that end and purpose: Which re-view being never made in the time of that King, nor any thing done in it by K. *Edw. vi.* (though he had an Act of Parliament to the same effect) the said Old *Canons* and *Constitutions* remained in force, as before they were. By means whereof, all causes *Testamentary*, *Matrimonial*, and Suits for Tythes; all matters of Incontinency, and other notorious Crimes which gave publick Scandal; all wilful absence from Divine Service, Irreverence, and other Misdemeanours in the Church, not punishable by the Laws of the Land, were still reserved unto the Ecclesiastical Courts. Those Ancient *Canons* and *Constitutions* remaining also for the perpetual standing Rule by which the proceedings in those Courts were to be regulated and directed; so as it doth appear most clearly, that it was not the purpose of that King, either to diminish the Authority, or to interrupt the Succession of Bishops, which had continued in this Church, from the first Plantation of the Gospel, to that very time: but only to discharge them from depending on the Popes of Rome, or owing any thing at all to their *Bulls* and *Faculties*, which had been so chargeable to themselves, and exhausted so great a part of the Treasure of the Kingdom from one year to another.

3. Upon this ground he past an Act of Parliament, in the 25. year of his Reign, *for the Electing and Consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops*. In which it was Enacted, that on the Vacancy of every Bishoprick within this Realm, his Majesty should issue out his Writ of *Conge d'eslire* to the *Dean* and *Chapter* of the Church so Vacant, thereby enabling them to proceed to the Election of another Bishop; that the Election being returned by the *Dean* and *Chapter*, and ratified by the Royal Assent, his Majesty should issue out his Writ to the *Metropolitan* of the Province, to proceed unto the



the Confirmation of the Party Elected; and that if the Party so Confirmed, had not before been Consecrated Bishop of some other Church, that then the *Metropolitan* taking to himself two other Bishops at the least, should proceed unto the Consecration, in such form and manner, as was then practised by the Church; so that, as to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Consecration, there was no alteration made at all. Those which were Consecrated after the passing of this Statute, were generally acknowledged for true and lawful Bishops, by the Papists themselves; or otherwise Dr. *Thomas Thurlby*, Bishop of *Westminster*, had never been admitted to have been one of those who assisted at the Consecrating of Cardinal *Pool*, when he was made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, on the death of *Cranmer*. All which recited Statutes with every thing depending on them, being abrogated by Act of Parliament in the time of Queen *Mary*, were revived in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and so still continue. But so it was not with another alteration made in the form of exercising their jurisdiction by King *Edw. 6.* In the first Parliament of whose Reign, it was enacted, that all process out of the Ecclesiastical Courts should from thence forth be issued in the Kings Name only, and under the Kings Seal of Arms contrary to the usage of the former times. Which Statute being repealed by Queen *Mary*, and not revived by Queen *Elizabeth*, the Bishops and their subordinate Ministers have ever since exercised all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in their own Names, and under the distinct Seals of their several Offices.

still continuing in effect notwithstanding some Statutes to the contrary by K. EDW. vi.

4. In Doctrinals and forms of Worship, there was no alteration made in the Reign of K. *Hen. 8.* though there were many preparations and previous dispositions to it; the edge of Ecclesiastical Affairs being somewhat blunted, and the people indulged a greater Liberty in consulting with the Holy Scriptures, and reading many Books of Evangelical Piety, then they had been formerly: which having left the way more open to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, and divers other learned and Religious Prelates in K. *Edwards* time (seconded by the Lord Protector, and other great ones of the Court, who had their ends apart by themselves) they proceeded carefully and vigorously to a Reformation. In the managing of which great business, they took the Scripture for their ground, according to the general explication of the ancient Fathers; the practise of the Primitive times for their Rule and Pattern, as it was expressed to them in approved Authors: No regard had to *Luther* or *Calvin*, in the procedure of their work, but only to the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles, *Christ Jesus* being the Corner-stone of that excellent Structure. *Melancthon* coming was expected (*Regis Literis in Angliam vocatus*, as he affirms in an Epistle to *Camerarius*) but he came not over. And *Calvin* made an offer of his service to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, (*Si quis mei usus esset*, if any use might be made of him to promote the work) but the Arch-Bishop knew the man, and refused the offer; so that it cannot be affirmed, that

#### IV.

The Reformation of the Church under EDW. vi.

Modelled according to the Scriptures and the Ancient Fathers.



but the Reformation of this Church, was either *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* in its first original. And yet it cannot be denied, but that the first Reformers of it did look with more respectful eyes upon the *Doctrinals*, Government, and Forms of Worship in the *Lutheran* Churches, then upon those of *Calvins* platform; because the *Lutherans* in their Doctrines, Government, and Forms of Worship, approach't more near the Primitive Patterns than the other did: and working according to this rule, they retain'd many of those ancient *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which had been practis'd; and almost all the *Holy Dayes* or *Annual Feasts* which had been generally observed in the Church of *Rome*. Nothing that was *Apostolick*, or accounted Primitive did fare the worse for being *Popish*; I mean for having been made use of in times of *Popery*: it being none of their designs to create a new Church, but reform the old. Such Superstitions and Corruptions as had been contracted in that Church, by long tract of time, being pared away, that which was good and commendable did remain as formerly: It was not their intent to dig up a foundation of such precious stones, because some superstructures of Straw and Stubble had been rais'd upon it. A moderation much applauded by King *James*, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; whose golden Aphorisme it was, *That no Church ought further to separate it self from the Church of Rome, either in Doctrine or Ceremony, then she had departed from her self, when she was in her flourishing and best estate*, p. 77.

V. Bishops a distinct Order from that of the Presbytery.

5. The succession of Bishops continued as it did before, but fitted in the form and manner of their Consecrations, according to the Rules laid down with the fourth Council of *Carthage*, celebrated *Anno* 407. or thereabouts, and generally received in all the Provinces of the Western Church, as appears by the Book of *Consecrating Arch-Bishops and Bishops*, &c. Approved first by the Book of *Articles*, and confirmed in Parliament, *Anno* 5. 6, *Edw. VI.* as afterwards justified by the *Articles* of Religion agreed upon in Convocation in Queen *Elizabeths* time, *Anno* 1562. And by an Act of Parliament in the 8th. Year of her Reign, accounted of as part of our Publick Liturgies. And by that book it will appear, that Bishops were then looked upon as a distinct Order of themselves, and not as a different degree only amongst the rest of the *Presbyters*; For in the Preface to that Book, it is said expressly, *That it is evident to all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture, and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these Orders of Ministers in the Church of Christ, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*: Not long after which, it followeth thus, *viz. And therefore to the intent these Orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England, it is requisite, that no man (not being at this present, Bishop, Priest, or Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be Called, Tryed, and Examined, according to the form hereafter following*. But because perhaps it will be said that the Preface is no part of the Book, which stands approved by the Articles of the Church, and established by the Laws of the Land,

let



let us next look into the Body of the Book it self, where, in the Form of *Consecrating* of *Arch-Bishops*, or *Bishops*, we finde a Prayer in these words, *viz.* *Almighty God, giver of all good things, who hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in thy Church, Mercifully behold this thy Servant, now called to the Work and Ministry of a Bishop, and replenish him so with the truth of Doctrine, and Innocency of Life, that both by word and deed he may faithfully serve thee in this Office, &c.* Here we have three Orders of Ministers, *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*; the *Bishop* differing as much in Order from the *Priest*, as the *Priest* differs in Order from the *Deacon*; which might be further made apparent in the different Forms used in Ordering of the *Priests* and *Deacons*, and the form prescribed for the *Consecration* of an *Arch-Bishop*, or *Bishop*, were not this sufficient.

6. But though the *Presbyters* or *Priests*, were both in Order and Degree beneath the *Bishops*, and consequently not enabled to exercise any publick Jurisdiction in *Foro judicii*, in the Courts of Judicature: yet they retained their native and original power in *Foro Conscientie*, in the Court of Conscience, by hearing the confession of a sorrowful and afflicted *Penitent*, and giving him the comfort of *Absolution*, a power conferred upon them in their *Ordination*; in the Form whereof, it is prescribed that the *Bishop*, and the assisting *Presbyters*, shall lay their Hands upon the Head of the Party who is to be *Ordained Priest*, the *Bishop* only saying these words, *viz.* *Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou doest forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou doest retain, they are retained; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.* Which words had been impertinently, and un-significantly used, if the *Priest* received not thereby power to *absolve* a sinner, upon the sense of his sincere and true repentance, manifested in Confession, or in any other way whatsoever. And this appears yet further by the direction of the Church, in point of Practice; For first, it is advised in the end of the second Exhortation before the receiving of the Communion, that *if any of the people cannot otherwise quiet his own Conscience, he should repair unto his Curate, or some other discreet and learned Minister of Gods word, and open his grief, that he may receive such Ghostly counsel, and advice, and comforts, as his Conscience may be relieved, and that by the Ministry of Gods word, he may receive comfort, and the benefit of Absolution, to the quieting of his Conscience, and avoiding all scruple and doubtfulness.* Agreeable whereunto is that memorable saying of *St. Augustine*, *viz.* *Qui confiteri vult ut inveniat gratiam, querat sacerdotem.* Secondly, It is prescribed in the *Visitation* of the Sick, That the Sick person shall make a special Confession, if he feel his Conscience troubled with any weighty matter, and that the *Priest* shall thereupon Absolve him in this manner following, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to Absolve all Sinners which truly repent and believe in him, of his great Mercy forgive thee thy Offences; and by his Authority committed to me, I Absolve thee from all thy Sins, in the name of the Father, and

## VI.

The Power ascribed unto the Priest or Presbyter,

in hearing the Confession of,

and

giving Absolution to the Penitent Party.



“ and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, *Amen*. Which form of *Absolution*, is plainly *Authoritative*, and not *Declarative* only, (such as that is which follows the *General Confession*, in the beginning of the Morning and Evening Prayer) as some men would have it.

VII.  
The security  
of the Peni-  
tent provided  
for by the  
Church,

and

the Authority  
of Absolution  
more fully  
justified.

7. Now that the *Penitent*, as well in the time of Health, as in extremity of Sicknes, may pour his Sins into the Bosom of the Priest, with the more security; it is especially provided, by the 113 *Canon* of the Year 1603. “ That if any man Confess his secret and hidden  
“ sins to the Minister, for the unburthening of his Conscience, and  
“ to receive spiritual Consolation and ease of Minde from him, we  
“ do not any way binde the said Minister by this our *Constitution*: but  
“ do streightly charge and admonish him that he do not at any time  
“ reveal and make known to any person whatsoever any Crime or Of-  
“ fence so committed to his secrecie, (except they be such Crimes as  
“ by the Laws of this Realm his own Life may be called in question  
“ for concealing the same) under the pain of *Irregularity*. And by  
incurring the condition of *Irregularity*, the party offending doth not  
only forfeit all the *Ecclesiastical* Preferments which he hath at the pre-  
sent, but renders himself incapable of receiving any other for the  
time to come. *Confession* made upon such security will be as saving  
to the *Fame* of the Penitent, as the *Absolution* to his Soul. In which  
respect it was neither untruly nor unfitly said by a learned Writer,  
*Dominus sequitur servum*, &c. Heaven (saith he) waits and expects  
the Priests Sentence here on Earth; for the Priest sits Judge on Earth,  
the Lord follows the Servant: and what the Servant bindes or looseth  
here on Earth (*Clave non errante*) that the Lord confirms in Heaven.

VIII.  
The several  
Offices which  
be performed  
by the Priest,

attired at or-  
dinary times  
in his Sur-  
plice,

and

8. The like Authority is vested in the Priest or Presbyter at his *Ordination* for officiating the Divine Service of the Church, offering the Peoples Prayers to God, Preaching the Word, and Ministering the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation; Which *Offices*, though they may be performed by the *Bishops*, as well as the *Presbyters*: yet they perform them not as *Bishops*, but as *Presbyters* only. And this appears plainly by the Form of their *Ordination*, in which it is prescribed, that the *Bishops* putting the Bible into their hands, shall pronounce these words, *Take thou authority to preach the word, and Minister the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation where thou shalt be so appointed*. In the officiating of which Acts of Gods Divine Service, the *Priest*, or *Presbyter* is enjoined to wear a *Surplice* of white Linnen Cloath, to testifie the purity of Doctrine, and innocency of Life and Conversation, which ought to be in one of that Holy Profession. And this St. Jerome tells us in the general, *Religionem Divinam alterum habitum habere in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæque communi*: that is to say, that in the Act of Ministration, they used a different habit, from what they use to wear at ordinary times. And what this different habit was, he tells us more particularly in his reply against *Pelagius*, who it seems dislik't it; and askt him what offence he thought it could be to God, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, or those of any inferior



feriour Order, in *Administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint*, did in the ministration of the Sacraments bestir themselves in a white Vesture; so he *advers. Pelag Lib. 2.* with which compare St. *Chrysostom* in his 83 *Homily* on St. *Matthews Gospel*, for the Eastern Churches: And hereunto the Cope was added in some principal Churches, especially in the Celebration of the Blessed Eucharist. Both which appear most evidently by the first *Liturgy* of K. *Edw. 6.* compared with one of the last clauses of the Act of Parliament, 1 *Eliz. c. 2.* in which it is provided, that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers shall be retained and be in use, as were in the Church of England by Authority of Parliament in the second year of the Reign of King *Edw. vi.* But this Vesture having been discontinued (I know not by what fatal negligence) many years together, it pleased the Bishops and Clergy in the Convocation, Anno 1603. to pass a Canon to this purpose, viz. "That in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches the Holy Communion shall be administered upon principal Feast dayes, sometimes by the Bishops, &c. and that the principal Minister using a decent Cope, &c. Canon 24.

at extraordinary in his Cope.

9. In that part of Divine Service which concerns the offering of the peoples Prayers to Almighty God, it was required of the Priest or *Presbyter*; first, that in all the dayes and times appointed, he used the Prayers prescribed in the publick *Liturgy*, according to the Act of Parliament, 1 *Eliz. c. 2.* and many subsequent *Canons* and *Constitutions*, made in that behalf. Secondly, "That he conformed himself to those *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which were prescribed in that Book, and unto such as should be afterwards ordained by the Queens Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed, and authorized under the great Seal of England, for causes Ecclesiastical, or of the *Metropolitan* of this Realm, as may be most for the advancement of Gods Glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Christs Holy Mysteries and Sacraments. And thirdly, and more particularly, "That in his reading of the Prayers and Psalms, he turn his face toward the East, and toward the People in the reading of the Lessons or Chapters, as appears plainly by the Rubrick which directs him thus, "That after the reading of the Psalms, the Priest shall read two Lessons distinctly, that the people may hear; the Priest that reads the two Lessons standing, and turning himself so as he may best be heard of all such as be present. The Psalms or Hymns to be indifferently said or sung at the will of the Minister; but the *Hymns* for the most part sung with *Organs*, and sometimes with other Musical Instruments; both in the *Royal Chapels* and *Cathedral Churches*. Fourthly, "That he makes use of no other Prayers in the Congregation; (and therefore neither before nor after Sermon) then those which are prescribed in the said Book of Common Prayer: it being specially provided in the Act aforesaid, that no Priest, nor Minister shall use any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form, or manner of Celebrating the Lords Supper openly,

## IX.

The Priest in his officiating the Divine Service of the Church,

Restrained to his appointed Postures,

Not permitted to use any Form of his own Composing.



Tyed to officiate daily both at morning and evening,

but

With a liberty of officiating in the Latin tongue at some times and places.

# X.

Presbyters not to Preach without being Licenced,

“or privately, or *Mattens*, Evening Song, Administration of the Sacraments, or other *open Prayers* (that is to say, such Prayers as are meant for others to come unto or hear, either in common Churches, or private Chappels, &c.) then is mentioned or set forth in the same Book. Fifthly, “That all Priests and Deacons shall be bound to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, except they be lett by Preaching, studying of Divinity, or some other urgent cause. And sixthly, “That the Curate that ministreth in every Parish Church, or Chappel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably lett, shall say the same in the Parish Church or Chappel where he ministreth, and shall toll a Bell thereto at convenient time, before he begin, that such as are disposed, may come to hear Gods Word, and pray with him; so as in some cases it may be said of the Priest, as the Father doth of Christ, that he is, *Os ipsum per quod loquimur*, The very mouth by which we speak unto our Father which is in Heaven. And though it be intended in the Act of Parliament, and exprest in the Articles of Religion, that the Prayers are to be made in such a tongue as may be understood of the common people; yet it is not meant as is declared in the Preface to the Book it self, but that when men say Morning and Evening Prayers privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves understand. Nor was it meant but that the Morning and Evening Service might be used in the Colledges and Halls of either University in the Latine tongue, where all may be supposed to understand it; as appears clearly by the constant and continual practise of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon*, in which the first Morning Prayers commonly read about six of the Clock, were in Latine: the Morning and Evening Service, with the Psalms of *David*, being printed in Latine by themselves for that end and purpose.

10. As for the Preaching of the *word*, that belongs properly and originally (as the performance of all other Divine Offices did of old) to the Bishops themselves, as being the ordinary Pastors of the severall and respective Diocesses; and to the Priests no otherwise then by deputation, as *Curates*, and substitutes to the Bishops, as may be proved out of the Instrument of their *Institution*. For when a Clerk is to be admitted into any Benefice, he puts himself upon his knees; and the Bishop laying one Hand upon his Head, and having the Instrument in the other, repeats these words, *viz. Te N. N. ad Rectorem, de N. Ritè & Canonice instituimus, curam & regimen animarum Parochianorum ibidem tibi in Domino committentes, & committimus per presentes*; that is to say, that he doth institute him into the said Benefice, according to the Laws and Canons; committing to him by these presents, the care and Government of the Souls of all the Parishioners therein: And therefore it concerns the Bishop not to Licence any man to Preach to the Congregation, of whose good affections to the Publick, abilities in Learning, sobriety of Life and Conversation, and conformity to the Government, Discipline, and Form



form of Worship here by Law established, he hath not very good assurance. For though the Priest or Presbyter by his Ordination hath Authority to preach the word of God in the Congregation, yet it is with this clause of Limitation, *If he shall be so appointed*; that is to say, sufficiently Licenced thereunto and not otherwise. And none were *Licenced* heretofore, as was expressly ordered in the injunctions of *Edward VI.* and *Queen Elizabeth*, but either by the Bishop of the Diocese, who is to answer by the Law (for every Minister he admits into the same) for that Diocese only: or by the *Metropolitan* of the Province, for that Province alone: or finally by either of the Universities (upon the well performing of some publick exercise) over all the Kingdom. Considering therefore that every man that could pronounce well, was not found able to endite, and every man that could endite, not being to be trusted in a business of such weight and moment; it seemed good in the Wisdom of the first Reformers to compile some good and profitable Sermons (called by the name of *Homilies*) to be read carefully and distinctly on the Sundayes and Holy dayes for the instruction of the people.

By whom they were to be so licenced,

And why they were directed to the reading of Homilies.

II. Such course was taken for the peace and edification of the Church by the first *Reformers*, not only in the choice of the men to whom they gave Licences to preach, but in supplying the defect and want of such preaching by the Book of *Homilies*: and they had as great a care too for the keeping the people in good stomach, not cloying them with continual Preaching, or *Homilizing*: but limiting them to once a day, as appears by the Rubrick after the *Nicene* (or rather the *Constantinopolitan Creed*.) One Sermon or *Homily* in the mornings of Sundayes and other Holy dayes, for the edification of the elder; and Catechizing by way of question and answer in the afternoon, for the instruction of the younger, was esteemed sufficient. *Lectures* upon the week dayes were not raised upon this foundation, but were brought in afterwards, borrowed by *Travers* and the rest, toward the latter end of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign, from the new fashions of *Geneva*; the *Lecturer* being super-added to the *Parson*, or *Vicar*, as the *Doctor* was unto the *Pastor* in some forreign Churches. Nor were they raised so much out of care and conscience, for training up the people in the wayes of Faith and Piety, as to advance a Faction, and to alienate the peoples mindes from the Government and Forms of Worship here by Law established. For these *Lecturers* having no dependance upon the Bishops, nor taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience to them; nor subscribing to the doctrine and established Ceremonies, made it their work to please those Patrons, on whose arbitrary maintenance they were planted, and consequently to carry on the *Puritan* interest, which their Patron drove at. A generation of men neither Lay, nor Clergy, having no place at all in the Prayers of the Church, where we finde mention only of Bishops, Pastors, and Curates; nor being taken notice of in the terms of Law, as being neither *Parsons*, nor *Vicars*: or, to speak them in the

XI.

Preaching or Homilizing only once a day on the Sundayes and Holy dayes.

Lectures upon working dayes, by whom, and for what ends erected,

and

Of the dangers which arose from the Institution.



vulgar proverb, neither flesh, nor fish, nor good red herring: No creature in the world so like them as the *Bats*, or *Reremice*; being neither Birds, nor Beasts, and yet both together. Had these men been looked upon in time; before their numbers were increased, and their power grown formidable, before the people went a madding after new inventions, most of the mischiefs which have thence ensued might have been prevented. And had there been more reading of *Homilies* in which the Reader speaks the sense of the Church; and not so much of *Sermonizing*, in which the Preacher many times speaks his own factious and erroneous sense; the people might have been trained up in no less knowledge, but in much more obedience than they have been in these later times.

XII.  
Of Sacra-  
ments and Sa-  
cramentals.

No orders to  
be given but  
by Bishops  
only,

and Confir-  
mation rec-  
koned for  
one of their  
peculiaris.

12. As for the Sacraments which were advanced to the number of seven in the Church of *Rome*, this Church hath brought them back to two (as generally necessary to salvation) *Baptisme*, and the *Holy Supper*: Four of the rest, that is to say, *Marriage*, *Orders*, *Confirmation*, and the *Visitation* (though not the *Extream Unction*) of the *Sick* being retained under the name of *Sacramentals* in our publick *Liturgy*: Of which the Book of Consecrating Arch-Bishops and Bishops, &c. is by the Act of Parliament 8 *Eliz. c. 1.* affirmed to be a Supplement, or Additional only (added, put to, and annexed, as the words do vary) to the said Book of Common-Prayer. And of these four, two are reserved unto the Bishop, that is to say, *Confirmation*, and the giving of *Orders*; the other two, viz. *Marriage*, and the *Visitation* of the *Sick*, being common to both alike, though executed in the most part by the *Presbyter* only. Of those reserved unto the Bishop, the one is so reserved *ad necessitatem operis*, because it cannot be done without him: the other *ad honorem sacerdotii* (as the Schools distinguish) because it cannot be well done but by him. Touching the first, we have the general consent of all ancient Writers, and the example of *Coluthus*, who took upon him the ordaining of *Presbyters*, contrary to the Rules of the Church, and the *Canons* of the most famous Councils. But when the business came to be examined, his *Ordinations* were declared to be null and void, because he was a *Presbyter* only, and not a Bishop; as is affirmed by *Athanasius* in *Apol. 2.* The other grounded on the 8th. Chapter of the *Acts*, as *St Cyprian* in his 73. Epistle tells us; where *Peter* and *John* are said to have laid hands on them in *Samaria*, which had been before Baptized in the Name of the Lord *Jesus*, that they might receive the Holy Ghost, and that by laying on of their hands they did receive the Holy Ghost accordingly, verse 16, 17. *Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur*, &c. "Which is also done, saith *St. Cyprian* (and *Cyprian* flourisht in the middle of the third Century) amongst our selves, when they which be already Baptized, are brought unto the *Prelates* of the Church (*Præpositis Ecclesiæ offeruntur*) that by our Prayer and Imposition of our hands they may receive the Holy Ghost, and be strengthened by the Seal of the Lord. Upon which grounds (besides the great antiqui-



antiquity of it) it was retained by the first *Reformers*, as in the *Rubrick* before *Confirmation*, in the *Common-Prayer-Book*. And had it been as diligently practised by the Bishops in the declining times of this Church, as it was piously and religiously retained by them, it would have much conduced to their safe standing in the Church, and procured a greater veneration to their Persons also. The other two, *viz.* *Marriage*, and the *Visitation of the Sick*, together with the *Burial of the Dead*, and the *Churching* of Women after Child-birth, are left to the officiating of the Priest, or Parochial Minister, unless the Bishop please to take that work upon himself in some certain cases.

13. But as for *Penance* (one of the seven Sacraments in the Church of *Rome*) we must look upon in a double capacity. First, As it was solemnly performed on *Ashwednesday*, as a preparative to the approaching Feast of *Easter*; the people humbling themselves before the Lord in Sackcloth and Ashes, whence it had the name. And secondly, As imposed on such particular persons, as lay under the censures of the Church. Touching the first, it is related in the beginning of the *Commination*, that in the Primitive Church there was a godly Discipline, "That at the beginning of *Lent*, such persons as were notorious sinners were put to open Penance, and punished in this world, that their Souls might be saved in the day of the Lord, and that others admonished by their example might be the more afraid to offend. The Restitution of which godly Discipline, though they much desired; yet finding that the times were not like to bear it, they contented themselves with prescribing a form of *Commination*, to be observed upon that day, containing a recital of Gods Curses thundered out against impenitent Sinners, to be publicly read out of the Pulpit, by the *Priest* or *Presbyter*; subjoining thereunto one of the *Penitential Psalms*, with certain Prayers which had been used in the *Formularies* of the times foregoing; and then proceeding to the Epistle and Gospel (with the rest of the *Communion Service*) appointed for the first day of *Lent* in the publick *Liturgy*. As for the other sort of *Penance*, there was not any thing more frequent in the practice of the Church, and the dispensation of the Keyes, then the imposing of it by the Bishops and their Officers, upon Adulterers, Fornicators, and such as otherwise have given scandal by their irregular course of life, or by their obstinate inconformity to the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* here by Law establisht: upon performance of which *Penance* in the face of the Church, or in the way of *Commutation* for the use of the poor, they were to have the benefit of *Absolution*, and consequently be restored to the peace and bosom of the Church. And though there be no form prescribed in our *Liturgy*, for the reconciling of a *Penitent* after the performance of his *Penance*, which I have many times wondered at; yet so much care was taken in the *Convocation* of the year 1640. that no *Absolution* should be given, but by the Bishop himself in person, or by some other in Holy Orders, having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or by some grave Minister, (being a

The rest promiscuously permitted to the Presbyter also.

XIII.

Penance how far retain'd in the Church of England.

Not only as commemorated on Ashwednesday yearly,

but

As judicially imposed on scandalous and notorious Sinners in the open Consistory.



*Master of Arts at the least) and Beneficed within the Diocese, to be appointed by the Bishop, the same to be performed in the open Consistory, or some Church or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving, and taking it upon his knees, Can. 13. Which was as much as could be done in that point of time.*

XIV.  
Consecration  
of Churches  
truly Primitive.

Honoured  
with Dedication  
Feasts.

and

Those Feasts  
made annually,

and

Of the Form  
of Consecration  
observed, but not  
prescribed  
since the Reformation.

14. Such being the duty of the Priest, we shall next look upon the place and times in which they are to be performed; the place of publick Worship they call generally (according to the style of the ancient Fathers) by the name of the *Church*. For consecrating or setting apart whereof to Religious uses, I finde so great authority in the Primitive times, as will sufficiently free it from the guilt of *Popery*: Witnes the testimony which Pope *Pius* gives of his Sister *Eutorepia*, in an Epistle to *Iustus Viennensis*, Anno 158. or thereabouts, for setting apart her own House for the use and service of the *Church*: Witnes the testimony which *Metaphrastes* gives of *Felix* the first, touching his Consecrating of the house of *Cicilia*, about the year 272. And that which *Damusus* gives unto *Marcellinus*, who succeeded *Felix*, for consecrating the house of *Lucinia* for Religious uses: witnes the famous consecration of the Temple of the *Holy Martyrs* in *Jerusalem*, founded by *Constantine* the Great, at which almost all the *Bishops* in the Eastern parts were summoned, and called together by the Emperors Writ: and finally (not to descend to the following times) witnes the 89th Sermon of St. *Ambrose*, entituled, *De Dedicatione Basilice*, Preached at the Dedication of a *Church* built by *Vitalianus* and *Majanus*, and the invitation of *Paulinus*, another *Bishop* of that Age, made by *Sulpitius Severus* his especial Friend, *Ad Basilicam quæ pro rexerat, in nomine Domini consummabitur, dedicandum*, to be present at the Dedication of a *Church* of his foundation: which Dedications, as they were solemnized with Feastings, for entertainment of the company which resorted to them; so were those Feasts perpetuated in succeeding Ages by an annual Repetition, or Remembrance of them: such annual Dedication-Feasts being called in *England*, *Wakes*, or *Revels*, and in some places only *Feasts*, according to the style and phrase of their several Countries. I must confess that there occurs no form of such Consecration in our English *Liturgies*: those times were more inclinable to the pulling down of old *Churches*, then building of new; witnes the demolition of so many *Hospitals*, *Chanteries*, and *Free Chappels* in the unfortunate minority of King *Edward vi.* But when the times were better settled, and that new *Churches* began to be erected, and the old ones to be repaired, some *Bishops* made a Form of *Consecrating* to be used by themselves on such occasions. And others followed a Form composed by *Bishop Andrews*; a man as much averse as any, from the Corruptions and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. But if the *Convocation* of the Year 1640. had not been so precipitated to a speedy conclusion by the tumults of unruly people, it is probable, if not certain, that a Canon had been passed for digesting an uniform order



order of such Consecrations, as there was made a body of Visitation-Articles for the publick use of all that exercised Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which every Bishop and Arch-Deacon had before fashioned for themselves.

15. Next to the Consecration of Churches, follows in course the necessary repair and adorning of them; not only required by several Canons and Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth's* time, the Canons of the Year 1603. and some Rubricks in the Book of Common-Prayer; but also by some Homilies which were made of purpose to excite the people thereunto: that is to say, the Homilies of the right use of the Church, for repairing and keeping clean the Church, and of the time and place of Prayer. The question is, whether the use of painted Images on the Walls or Windows were tolerated or forbidden by the Rule of the Reformation; They which conceive them to have been forbidden by the Rules of the Church, alledge for defence of their opinion, the Queens injunction, published in the first year of her Reign, *Anno 1559.* the Articles of the Regal Visitation following thereupon, and the main scope of the three Homilies against the peril of Idolatry. In the first of which it was ordered, first, "That to the intent that all Superstition, and Hypocrisie crept into divers mens hearts might vanish away, no Ecclesiastical persons should set forth or extol the Dignity of any Images, Reliques, or Miracles; but declaring the abuse of the same, they shall teach that all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for only of God as the very author and giver of the same, and of none other. *Num. 2.* And secondly, That they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all *Shrines*, coverings of *Shrines*, all Tables, Candlesticks, *Trindats*, and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and all other Monuments of fained Miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry, and Superstition; so that there remain no memory of the same, in Walls, Glas-Windows, or elsewhere, within their Churches and Houses; preserving and repairing nevertheless both the Walls and Glas-Windows: and that they should exhort all their Parishioners to do the like, within their several Houses, *Num. 23.* For which last, there follows afterwards a more special Injunction, *Numb. 35.* According whereunto this Article was framed to the Visitation. *viz.* "Whither in all Churches, and Chappels, all Images, Shrines, Tables, Candlesticks, *Trindals*, and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and other Monuments of feigned and false Miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry, and Superstition, were removed, abolished, and destroyed, *Numb. 2.* But these objections carried their own answers in them; it being manifest by the words both of the Articles and Injunctions, that it never was the meaning of the Queen, her Council, or Commissioners, to condemn, abolish, or deface all Images, either of Christ himself, or of any of the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and other godly Fathers in the Church of Christ; the abuse whereof is ordered to be reformed by the

XV.

What kinde  
of Images  
they are,  
which were  
prohibited  
by the Queens  
Injunctions.

The Articles  
of the Regal  
Visitation,



and the first Injunction, but only to remove such Pictures of false and feigned Miracles, as had no truth of being, or existence in Nature; and therefore were the more abused to Superstition; and Idolatry in the times of Popery. In answer to such passages as are alledged out of the said Homilies, it is replied; first, that is confessed in the beginning of the last of the said three *Homilies*, that Images in Churches are not simply forbidden by the New Testament, *Hom. Fol. 39.* And therefore no offence committed against the Gospel, if they be used only for History, Example, and stirring up of pure Devotion in the souls of men; in which respect called not unfitly by Pope Gregory, *The Lay-mans Books.* Secondly, The Compilers of those Homilies were the more earnest in point of removing or excluding Images, the better to wean the People from the sin of Idolatry, in which they had been trained up from their very infancy, and were not otherwise to be weaned from it, then by taking away the occasions of it. And thirdly, All that vehemence is used against them; not as intollerable in themselves, but as they might be made in those broken and unsettled times an occasion of falling, before men could be fully instructed in the right use of them; as appears plainly by these passages, *viz. Our Images also have been, and be, (and if they be publickly suffered in Churches, and Chappels) ever will be also worshipped, and so Idolatry committed to them, p. 13. So hard it is, and indeed impossible any long time to have Images publickly in Churches and Temples without Idolatry, fol. 33.* And finally by the passage which before we touched at, where after much vehemency, not only against Idolatry and Worshipping of Images, but also against Idols and Images themselves, the heats thereof are qualified by this expression, *viz, I mean alwayes thus herein, in that we be stirred and provoked by them, to worship them; and not as though they were simply forbidden by the New Testament, without such occasion and danger, ibid. fol. 39.* And thereupon it is first alledged by those of contrary judgment, that all such as lived in times of Popery, being long since dead, and the people of this last age sufficiently instructed in the unlawfulness of worshipping such painted Images, they may be lawfully used in Churches, without fear of Idolatry, which seems to have been the main inducement for their first defacing. Secondly, Many of the Eastern Churches, which notwithstanding do abominate the Superstitions of the Church of Rome, retained the use of painted Images, though they reject those which were cut, and carved. Thirdly, That Images are still used in the Lutheran Churches, upon which our first Reformers had a special eye; and that Luther much reproved Carlostadius for taking them out of such Churches, where before they had been suffered to stand, letting him know, *Ex mentibus hominum potius removendas*, that the worship of Images, was rather to be taken out of mens mindes by diligent and painful preaching, then the Images themselves to be so rashly, and unadvisedly cast out of the Churches. That painted Images were not only retained in the Chappels of the Queen, and of many great men of the Realm, in most

What is to be said in answer to such passages as are found against them in the Book of Homilies.



most of the Cathedral Churches, and in some private Churches and Chappels also, without any defacing (witness the curious painted Glass in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, the Parish Church of *Faireford* in the County of *Glocester*, and the Chappel of the Holy Ghost, near *Basingstoke*) but a rich and massy Crucifix was kept for many years together, on the Table or Altar of the Chappel Royal in *Whitehal* (as appears by *Saunders* and *Du Chesne*) till it was broke in pieces by *Pach*, the Queens Fool (when no wiser man could be got to do it) upon the secret instigation of *Sir Francis Knollis*: and finally, it appears by the Queens Injunctions, that the Priests being commanded not to extol the dignity of any Images, Relicks, &c. and the people diligently to teach, that all Goodness, Health, and Grace ought to be asked and looked for only at the hands of God, whereby all Superstition might be taken out of their hearts, the Images might lawfully remain as well in publick Churches, as in private Houses, as they had done formerly.

16. As for the times of publick Worship, we must behold them in their *Institution*, and their *Observation*. And first, as for their Institution it is agreed on of all hands, that the Annual Feasts, Saints Dayes, or Holy Dayes, as now commonly called, do stand on no other ground then the Authority of the Church, which at first ordained them; some in one age, and some in another, till they grew unto so great a number, that it was thought fit by King *Henry viii.* and afterwards by King *Edward vi.* to abolish such of them as might best be spared. Nor stands the Sunday, or Lords Day (according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*) on any other ground then the rest of the Holy dayes; for in the Homily touching the time and place of Prayer, it is thus doctrinally resolved, *viz.* "As concerning the time in which God hath appointed his people to assemble together solemnly, it doth appear by the fourth Commandment, &c. "Which Example and Commandment of God, the godly Christian people began to follow, after the *Ascension* of our Lord Christ, and began to chuse them a standing day in the week to come together in; yet not the seventh day, which the Jews kept, but the Lords day, the day of the Lords *Resurrection*, the day after the seventh day, which is the first day of the week, &c. This makes the matter clear enough; and yet the Statute 5 and 6 of *Edw. vi.* in which all the Prelates did concur with the other Estates, makes it clearer then the *Homily* doth "Forasmuch (saith the Statute) as men be not at all times so mindeful to laud and praise God, so ready to resort to hear Gods holy Word; and come to the holy Communion, &c. as their bounden duty doth require; therefore to call men to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmities, it hath been wholesomely provided, that there should be some certain dayes and times appointed wherein Christians should cease from all kindes of labour, and apply themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy works properly pertaining to true Religion,

XVI.

The Lords Day built upon the same foundation with the other Holy dayes,

according to the Book of Homilies,

and

The Act of Parliament, 5. 6. of EDW. vi.



gion, &c. Neither is it to be thought that there is any certain times or definite number of dayes prescribed in Holy Scripture: but the appointment both of the time, and also of the number of dayes, is left by the Authority of Gods word, unto the Liberty of Christs Church to be determined and assigned orderly in every Countrey by the discretion of the Rulers and Ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the setting forth of Gods Glory, and the edification of their people. Now for the number and particularities of those dayes which were required to be kept holy to the Lord, they are thus specified and enumerated in the Common-Prayer-Book, confirmed by Parliament in that year. These to be kept Holy Dayes, and no other; that is to say, all Sundayes in the Year, the Feast of the Circumcision of our Lord and Saviour, the Feast of the Epiphany, &c. Which specification and enumeration, is made also in the aforesaid Statute.

## XVII.

What works of labour were permitted on the Lords Day, and the other Holy dayes,

by the Book of Homilies.

The Statute 5. and 6. of EDW. vi.

The Injunctions of King EDW. vi.

and

Of Queen ELIZ.

17. As for the observation of those dayes, there was no difference made between them by the first Reformers; the same Divine Offices prescribed for both; the diligent attendance of the people required in both; the penalties upon such as wilfully and frequently did absent themselves, were the same for both; and finally the works of necessary labour no more restrained upon the one then upon the other. For first it is declared in the foresaid Homily, that *Christian People are not tyed so streightly to observe and keep the other Ceremonies of the Sabbath day, as were the Jews, as touching the forbearing of the work and labour in time of great necessity, &c.* Secondly, and more particularly in the Statute before-mentioned we finde it thus, *viz.* "That it shall be lawful for every Husband-man, Fisher-man, and to all and every other person or persons, of what Estate, Degree, or Condition he or they be upon the Holy Dayes aforesaid (of which the Lords Day is there reckoned for one) in Harvest, or at any other times in the Year, when necessity shall so require, to Labour, Ride, Fish, or Work any kinde of Work at their own will and pleasure. Thirdly, It is ordered in the Injunctions of the said King Edw. vi. that it shall be lawful for the people in time of Harvest to labour upon Holy and Festival Dayes, and save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity to abstain from working on those dayes, doth grievously offend God. Fourthly, We finde the like in the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, published with the advice of her Council, Anno 1559. Being the first year of her Reign, *viz.* That all persons, Vicars, Curates, shall teach and declare unto their Parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet conscience after Common-Prayer in the time of Harvest labour upon the Holy and Festival Dayes, and save that thing which God hath sent. And if for any scrupulosity or grudge of Conscience, men shall superstitiously abstain from working on those dayes, that then they should grievously offend and displease God. And as for the practice of the Court, it was ordered by the said King

Ed-



Edward, "That the Lords of the Council should upon Sunday attend the publick affairs of the Realm, and dispatch answers to Letters for the good order of the State, and make full dispatches of all things concluded in the Week before: Provided, that they be present at Common-Prayers, and that on every Sunday night the Kings Secretary should deliver him a memorial of such things as were to be debated in the Privy Council the week ensuing. Which course of meeting in the Council on Sunday in the afternoon, hath been continued in the Court, from the time of the said King Edward the vi. to the death of King Charles, without dislike or interruption. If then the Country people in some times and cases were permitted to employ themselves in bodily labour on the Sundayes and other Holy Dayes; and if the Lords of the Council did meet together on those dayes to consult about affairs of State, as we see they did, there is no question to be made but that all man-like exercises, all lawful Recreations and honest Pastimes were allowed of also.

18. As for the duties of the people in those times and places, it was expected at their hands, that due and lowly reverence should be made at their first entrance into the Church; the place on which they stood, being by Consecration made Holy Ground, and the business which they came about being holy business. For this there was no Rule nor Rubrick made by the first Reformers, and it was not necessary that there should; the practice of Gods people in that kinde being so universal, *Vi Catholica consuetudinis*, by vertue of a general and continual usage, that there was no need of any Canon to enjoin them to it: Nothing more frequent in the Writings of the ancient Fathers then Adoration toward the East, which drew the Primitive Christians into some suspicion of being Worshippers of the Sun, *Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos versus orientis regionem praeuari*, as *Tertullian* hath it. And though this pious custom began to be disused, and was almost discontinued, yet there remains some footsteps of it to this very day. For first, It was observed by the Knights of the most noble Order of the Garter, (who I am sure hate nothing more then Superstitious Vanities) at their approaches toward the Altar in all the Solemnities of that Order. Secondly, In the Offerings or Oblations made by the *Vice-Chancellor*, the *Proctors*, and all Proceeders in the *Arts and Faculties* at the *Act* at *Oxon*. And thirdly, By most Countrey Women; who in the time of my first remembrance, and a long time after, made their obeysance toward the East, before they betook themselves to their Seats; though it was then taken (or mistaken rather) for a Courtesie made unto the Minister; revived more generally in these latter times (especially amongst the *Clergy*) by the Learned and Reverend Bishop *Andrews*, a man as much versed in Primitive Antiquity, and as abhorrent from any thing which was meerly *Popish*, as the greatest *Precisian* in the Pack. Which point I finde exceedingly well applyed, and prest in the Speech made by this Arch-Bishop, at the Censure of Dr. *Bastwick*, Mr. *Burton*, on

Practised accordingly in the Court from that time to this.

XVIII.

Reverence required of the people at their first entrance into the Church,

According to the practice of the Primitive times,

and

The example of the Knights of the Garter, &c.

and



That example  
well enforced  
by Archbi-  
shop LAUD,

P. 47.

XIX.

Kneeling and  
standing,  
when requi-  
red.

The reve-  
rence to be  
used at the  
name of Jesus  
continued by  
Injunct. 52.

and

Afterwards  
renewed by  
the Canon  
of the year,  
1603.

with

The Reasons  
for it.

June 26. 1637. Who speaking to such of the Lords as were *Knights* of the *Garter*, he accosts them thus, "And you (saith he) my Ho-  
"nourable Lords of the *Garter*, in your great solemnities, you do  
"reverence, and to Almighty God I doubt not: but yet it is *versus*  
"Altare, toward the *Altar*, &c. And this your reverence you do  
"when you enter the Chappel, and when you approach nearer to  
"offer, &c. And Idolatry it is not to worship God toward his *Holy*  
"Table; for if it had been Idolatry, I presume Queen *Elizabeth*,  
"and King *James* would not have practised it, no not in this great  
"Solemnity. And being not Idolatry, but true Divine Worship,  
"you will I hope give a poor Priest leave to Worship God as your  
"selves do. For if it be Gods Worship, I ought to do it as well as  
"you, and if it be Idolatry, you ought not to do it more then I.

19. This duty being performed at their first entrance into the Church, it was next required by the *Rubrick*, that they should reverently kneel at the reading of the publick Prayers, and in the receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper; that they should stand up at the reading of the Apostles Creed; and consequently at the *Athanasian* and *Nicene* also, which are as Commentaries on that Text; as also at the frequent Repetitions of the *Gloria Patri*, which is an Abridgement of the same. And in the next place it was required by the Queens *Injunctions*, "That whensoever the Name of *Jesus*  
"shall be in any Lesson, Sermon, or otherwise, in the Church pro-  
"nounced, that due reverence be made of all persons, young and  
"old, with lowness of courtesie, and uncovering the heads of the  
"mankinde, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore  
"hath been accustomed. In which it is to be observed, that though this  
Injunction was published in the first year of the Queen, yet then this bowing at the Name of *Jesus* was lookt on as an ancient custom; not only used in Queen *Maries* Reign, but also in King *Edwards* time, and in those before. And in this case, and in that before, and in all others of that nature, it is a good and certain rule, that all such Rites as had been practised in the Church of *Rome*, and not abolished, nor disclaimed by any Doctrine, Law, or Canon of the first *Reformers*, were to continue in the same state in which they found them. But this commendable custom, together with all other outward reverence in Gods publick Service, being every day more and more discontinued, as the *Puritan* Faction got ground amongst us, it seemed good to the *Prelates*, and *Clergy*, assembled in *Convocation*, Anno 1603. to revive the same with some enlargement, as to the uncovering of the Head in all the acts and parts of publick worship. For thus we have it in the 18. Canon of that year, viz. "No man  
"shall cover his head in the Church or Chappel in time of Divine  
"Service, except he have some Infirmitie; in which case let him wear  
"a night Cap or Coife. And likewise when the Name of *Jesus* shall  
"be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all per-  
"sons present, as it hath been accustomed; testifying by this out-  
ward



ward Ceremony, and Gesture, their inward Humility, Christian Resolution, and due acknowledgement, that the *Lord Jesus* Christ the true and eternal Son of God is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all Graces, Mercies, and Promises of Gods love to mankind for this life, and the life to come, are wholly comprised. In which Canon, we have not only the Doctrine, that bowing is to be used to the Name of *Jesus*, but the uses also; and not alone the custom, but the reasons of it: both grounded on that Text of Scripture, *Phil. 2. 10.* that *at the Name of JESUS every knee should bow*, according to such expositions as were made thereof by *St. Ambrose*, and others of the ancient Writers.

20. In matters which were meerly doctrinal, and not practical also, the first Reformers carried on the work with the same equal temper, as they did those which were either mixt or meerly practical. And first, beginning with the *Pope*, having discharged themselves from the Supremacy, which in the times foregoing he had exercised over them in this Kingdom; I finde no Declaration in any publick Monument, or Records of the Church of *England*, that the *Pope* was *Antichrist*, whatsoever some of them might say in their private Writings; some hard expressions there are of him in the Book of Homilies, but none more hard then those in the publick Litany, first published by King *Hen. viii.* at his going to *Bologne*, and afterwards retained in both Liturgies of King *Edward vi.* In which the people were to pray for their deliverance from the tyranny of the *Bishop of Rome*, and his detestable enormities, &c. This was conceived to be (as indeed it was) a very great scandal and offence to all those in the Realm of *England*, who were well affected to the Church of *Rome*; and therefore in the Liturgy of Queen *Elizabeth* it was quite left out, the better to allure them to the Divine Service of the Church as at first it did: And for the Church of *Rome* it self, they beheld it with no other eyes, then as a Member of the visible Church, which had for many hundred years maintained the *Fundamentals* of the Christian Faith, though both unsound in Doctrine and corrupt in Manners: Just as a man distempered in his Brain, Diseased in all the parts of his Body, and languishing under many putrified Sores, doth still retain the being of a natural man as long as he hath sense and motion, and (in his lucid intervals) some use of Reason. They tell us in the 19. Article, that the Church of *Rome* hath erred not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but in matters of Faith. But then they lookt upon her as a Member of the Visible Church, as well as those of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, which are there affirmed to have erred also. Erre then she might, and erre she did indeed too grossly, and yet might notwithstanding serve as a conduit-pipe to convey to us many of those Primitive Truths, and many of those godly Rites and Ceremonies which she had superstitiously defiled. In which last place it was a very pious rule, that in the Reformation of a Church, abuses being taken away, the primitive Institution should be left remaining;

XX.

The moderate proceedings of the first Reformers,

In reference to the Pope

and

The Church of ROME.



Observed and  
applauded by  
K. JAMES.

*Tollatur abusus, maneat usus*, as the saying is : and in the first, as pi-  
ously observed by King James in the Conference at Hampton-Court,  
that in all Reformation, he would not have any such departure from  
the Papists in all things, that because we in some points agree with them,  
therefore we should be accounted to be in an error. Let us then see how  
near the first Reformers did and might come unto the Papists, and yet  
not joyn with them in their Errors to the betraying of the Truth.

## XXI.

The Power of  
the Church  
asserted in the  
twentieth Ar-  
ticle.

In the 34<sup>th</sup>.  
reduced to  
practice,

and

Of the power  
ascribed in  
Sacred Mat-  
ters to the  
Kings of  
ENGLAND.

21. The Pope they deprived of that unlimited Supremacy; and  
the Church of Rome of that exorbitant power, which they formerly  
challenged over them; yet did they neither think it fit to leave the  
Church without her lawful and just Authority; nor safe to put her  
out of the protection of the Supream Governour. Touching the first,  
it was resolved in the 20. Article, "*That the Church hath power not  
only to decree Rites and Ceremonies, but also in Controversies of Faith,*  
as the English, *Ecclesia habet Ritus & Ceremonias Statuendi jus, & in  
fidei controversiis Authoritatem*, as it is in the Latine. And so it stands  
in the Original Acts of the Convocation, Anno 1562. and publisht  
in the self same words both in Latine and English. Afterwards in the  
year 1571. by the power and prevalency of some of the Genevian  
Faction the Articles were reprinted and this Clause left out. But the  
times bettering, and the Governors of the Church taking just notice  
of the danger which lay lurking under that omission; there was care  
taken that the said clause should be restored unto its place in all fol-  
lowing impressions of that Book, as it hath ever since continued:  
Nor was this part of the Article a matter of speculation only, and not  
reducible to practice, or if reducible to practice, not fit to be enfor-  
ced upon such as gain-said the same. For in the 34. Article it is thus  
declared, "That whosoever through his private judgement willing-  
ly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies  
of the Church, which be not repugnant unto the word of God, and  
be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be re-  
buked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as he that of-  
fendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the  
the Authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the Consciences of  
the weak Brethren. More power then this as the See of Rome did  
never challenge; so less then this, was not reserved unto it self by the  
Church of England. And as for the Authority of the Church in contro-  
versies of Faith, the very Articles by which they declared that power  
(seconded by the rest of the points which are there determined) is a  
sufficient Argument, that they used and exercised that power which  
was there declared. And because some objection had been made both  
by the Papists, and those of the Genevian party, that a Papal power  
was granted, as at first to King Henry viii. under the name of Supream  
Head, so afterwards to Queen Elizabeth and her Successors; it was  
thought expedient by the Church to stop that clamour at the first;  
and thereupon it was declared in the Convocation of the Prelates and  
Clergy (who make the representative Body of the Church of Eng-  
land)



land) in the 37. Article of the year 1562. "That whereas they had  
 "attributed to the Queens Majesty the chief Government of all the  
 "Estates of this Realm, whether *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil* in all cases,  
 "they did not give unto their Princes, the ministring either of Gods  
 "Word, or of the Sacraments, but that only *Prerogative* which was  
 "known to have been given alwayes to all godly Princes, in Holy  
 "Scripture by God himself; that is to say, that they should rule all  
 "Estates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether  
 "they be *Ecclesiastical* or *Temperal*, and restrain with the Civil Sword,  
 "the stubborn and evil doers. Less Power then this, as good Subjects  
 could not give unto their King, so more then this hath there not been  
 exercised or desired by the Kings of *England*. Such power as was  
 by God vouchsafed to the godly Kings and Princes in Holy Scripture  
 may serve abundantly to satisfie even the unlimited desires of the  
 mightiest *Monarch*, were they as boundless as the *Popes*.

22. Next to the point of the *Supremacy*, esteemed the Principal  
 Article of Religion in the Church of *Rome*, (*primus & precipuus Ro-*  
*manensis fidei Articulus*) as is affirmed in the History of the Council  
 of *Trent*, the most material differences betwixt them and us relate  
 to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and the natural efficacy of  
 good works, in which the differences betwixt them and the first *Re-*  
*formers* seem to be at the greatest; though even in those they came as  
 near to them as might stand with Piety. The Sacrament of the Lords  
 Supper they called the Sacrament of the *Altar*, as appears plainly by  
 the Statute, 1 *Edward vi.* entituled, *An Act against such as speak unre-*  
*verently against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, common-*  
*ly called the Sacrament of the ALTAR*: For which consult the Body  
 of the Act it self. Or secondly, by Bishop *Ridley* (one of the chief  
 Compilers of the Common-Prayer-Book) who doth not only call it  
 the *Sacrament of the Altar*, affirming thus, *that in the Sacrament of the*  
*Altar, is the natural Body and Blood of Christ, &c.* But in his Reply  
 to an Argument of the Bishop of *Lincoln's*, taken out of St. *Cyril*,  
 he doth resolve it thus, *viz.* "The word *Altar* in the Scripture sig-  
 "nifieth as well the *Altar* whereon the Jews were wont to offer their  
 "Burnt Sacrifice, as the Table of the Lords Supper: and that St.  
 "Cyril meaneth by this word *Altar*, not the *Jewish Altar*, but the  
 "Table of the Lord, &c. *Acts and Mon.* part 3. p. 492.  
 and 497. Thirdly, By Bishop *Latimer* his fellow Martyr who  
 plainly grants, "That the Lords Table may be called an *Altar*, and  
 "that the Doctors called it so in many places, though there be no  
 "propitiatory Sacrifice, but only Christ, part 2. p. 85. Fourthly,  
 By the several affirmations of *John Lambert*, and *John Philpot*, two  
 Learned and Religious men, whereof the one suffered death for  
 Religion under *Henry viii.* the other in the fiery time of Queen *Mary*.  
 This Sacrament being called by both, the Sacrament of the *Altar* in  
 their several times: for which consult the Acts and Monuments com-  
 monly called the *Book of Martyrs*.

XXII.

The Sacra-  
 ment of the  
 Lords Supper  
 called fre-  
 quently,

The Sacra-  
 ment of the  
 Altar, as, viz.  
 by the Act of  
 Parliament,

by

Bishop RID-  
 LEY,

Bishop LA-  
 TIMER,

and

Some other  
 Martyrs.

23. And



XXIII.

The Lords  
Table order-  
ed to be pla-  
ced where the  
Altar stood,

by the Injun-  
ctions of Q.  
ELIZ, 1559.  
The Book of  
Orders, 1561  
and

Advertis. of  
the year  
1565.

and

At the same  
the second  
Service to be  
said on the  
Sundayes and  
Holy Dayes.

XXIII.

The Lords  
Supper fre-  
quently cal-  
led a Sacrifice  
by

The Ancient  
Fathers

And that this Sacrament might the longer preserve that name, and the Lords Supper be administred with the more solemnity, it was ordained in the *Injunctions* of Queen Elizabeth, no *Altar* should be taken down, but by the over-sight of the Curate of the Church, and the Church-Wardens, or one of them at least, and that the Holy Table in every Church be decently made and set up in the place where the *Altar* stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth. It is besides declared in the Book of Orders, Anno 1561. published about two years after the said *Injunction*, "That in the place where the Steps were, the Communion Table should stand; and that there shall be fixed on the Wall over the Communion Board, the Tables of Gods Precepts imprinted for the same purpose. The like occurs in the Advertisements published by the *Metropolitan*, and others the High Commissioners, 1565. In which it is ordered, "That the Parish shall provide a decent Table, standing on a frame for the Communion Table, which they shall decently cover with a Carpet of Silk, or other decent covering, and with a white Linnen Cloath in the time of the administration, and shall set the Ten Commandments upon the East-Wall over the said Table. All which being laid together, amounts to this, that the Communion-Table was to stand above the steps, and under the Commandments; therefore all along the Wall, on which the Ten Commandments were appointed to be placed, which was directly where the *Altar* had stood before. Now that the *Holy Table* in what posture soever it be plac'd, should not be thought unuseful at all other times, but only at the time of the Ministration; it was appointed by the Church in its first Reformation, that the *Communion-Service*, commonly called the *Second Service*, upon all Sundayes and Holy-dayes, should be read only at the Holy Table. For first, in the last *Rubrick* before the beginning of that Service, it is ordered, that the Priest standing at the Holy Table shall say the Lords Prayer, with the Collect following, &c. And it is ordered in the first *Rubrick* after the Communion, "That on the Holy Dayes (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion until the end of the Homily; concluding with the general Prayer for Christs Church Militant here on earth, and one or more of the Collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve. No place appointed for the reading of the second Service, but only at the *Altar*, or Communion Table.

24. Here then we have the Wood, the *Altar*; sed ubi est *victima holocausti* (as Isaac said unto his Father) But where is the Lamb for the burnt-offering? Gen. 22. 7. Assuredly, if the Priest and *Altar* be so near, the *Lamb* for the Burnt-Offering cannot be far off, even the most blessed *Lamb of God*; which taketh away the sins of the world, as the Scripture styles him, whose Passion we finde commemorated in the Sacrament, called therefore the Sacrament of the *Altar*, as before is said: called for the same reason by St. Augustine in his *Enchiridion*, *Sacrificium Altaris*, the Sacrifice of the *Altar*; by the English Liturgy in



in the Prayer next after the participation; the *Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving* (*Sacrificium laudis*;) by *Chrysostom*, 'Αγάπης ἡ Θυσία, the remembrance of a *Sacrifice*; by many Learned Writers amongst our selves, a *commemorative Sacrifice*. For thus saith Bishop *Andrews* in his answer to Cardinal *Bellarmino*, c. 8. *Tollite de Missa Transubstantiationem vestram nec diu nobiscum lis erit de Sacrificio*, &c. "Take from  
 "the Mass your *Transubstantiation*, and we will have no difference  
 "with you about the *Sacrifice*. And the King grants (he means the  
 "learned Prince, King *James*) the name of a *Sacrifice* to have been  
 "frequent with the Fathers. Which *Sacrifice* he sometimes calls  
*Commemorationem Sacrificii*, and sometimes *Sacrificium Commemora-*  
*tivum*, A *Commemorative Sacrifice*. The like we finde in Bishop *Mor-*  
*ton*, who in his Book of the Roman Sacrifice, l. 6. c. 5. called the  
*Eucharist*, a *representative* and *commemorative Sacrifice*, in as plain  
 terms as can be spoken. But what need any thing have been said for  
 the proof hereof, when the most Reverend Archbishop *Cranmer*,  
 one (and the chief) of the Compilers of the publick Liturgy, and  
 one who suffered death for opposing the *Sacrifice* of the Mass, distin-  
 guisheth most plainly between the *Sacrifice propitiatory*, made by  
 Christ himself only, and the *Sacrifice commemorative* and gratulatory  
 made by Priests and People: for which consult his Defence against  
 Bishop *Gardiner*, lib. 5. p. 439. And finally the testimony of *John*  
*Lambert*, who suffered for his Conscience in the time of King *Henry*  
*viii.* whose words are these: "Christ (saith he) being offered up  
 "once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to be offered up,  
 "not only every year at *Easter*, but also every day in the Celebration  
 "of the Sacrament; because his Oblations once for all, made it there-  
 "by represented, *Act. Mon.* p. 2. 35. So uniform is the consent of  
 "our Liturgy, our Martyrs, and our Learned Writers in the name  
 "of *Sacrifice*; so that we may behold the *Eucharist* or the Lords Sup-  
 per. First, as it is a *Sacrifice*, or the *Commemoration* of that *Sacrifice*  
 offered unto God; by which both we and the whole Church do  
 obtain remission of our Sins, and all other benefits of Christs Passi-  
 on. And secondly, As it is a *Sacrament*, participated by men, by  
 which we hope, that being made partakers of that Holy Communion  
 we may be fulfilled with his Grace and heavenly Benediction. Both  
 which occur in the next Prayer after the Communion. Look on it as  
 a *Sacrifice*, and then the Lords Board not improperly may be called  
 an *Altar*, as it is properly called the Table in respect of the *Sacra-*  
*ment*.

By many  
Learned men  
amongst our  
selves.

Some of our  
godly Mar-  
tyrs also,

and

In what re-  
spect.

25. With the like uniform consent we finde the Doctrine of a  
*Real Presence* in the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper to be main-  
 tained and taught in the first Constitution of this Church: and this  
 is first concluded from the words of *Distribution*, retained in the first  
*Liturgy* of King *Edward vi.* and formerly prescribed in the ancient  
*Missals*, viz. *The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was*  
*given for thee, preserve thy Body and Soul unto life everlasting. The*  
*Blood*

XXV.

A Real Pre-  
sence proved.

by

The publick  
Liturgy,



By Bishop  
RIDLEY.

By Mr.  
Alex. Nowel.

and

By Bishop  
BILSON.

XXVI.  
The same  
confirmed by  
the words of  
the Catechism

*Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, &c.* Which words being thought by some precise and scrupulous persons to encline too much toward *Transubstantiation* (and therefore not unfit to justify a Real Presence) were quite omitted in the second Liturgy of that King: the words of *Participation, Take and eat this, &c. Take and drink this, &c.* being used in the place thereof. Which alteration notwithstanding, it is affirmed by Bishop Ridley (one of the principal Compilers of these two Books) *that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the natural Body and Blood of Christ.* And if there be the *Natural Body*, there must needs be a *Real Presence* in his opinion. When this last *Liturgy* was reviewed by the command of *Queen Elizabeth, Anno 1558.* the former clause was super-added to the other, which put the business into the same state and condition in which we finde it at the first. And when by the *Articles of Religion*, agreed upon in Convocation, *Anno 1562.* the *Sacrifice of the Mass* was declared to be a pernicious Imposture, a blasphemous Figment, and that *Transubstantiation* was declared to be repugnant to the plain words of Holy Scripture, to overthrow the Nature of a Sacrament, and to have given occasion to many Superstitions; yet still the Doctrine of a *Real Presence* was maintained as formerly. *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of *St. Pauls*, was chosen Prolocutor for that Convocation, and therefore as like to know the true intent and meaning of the Church of *England* in every point which was there concluded, as any other whatsoever; and yet he thought it no contradiction to any of them to maintain and teach a *Real Presence*. For in his *Catechism* publickly allowed of in all the Grammar Schools of this Realm, he first propounds this question, *viz. Cælestis pars & ab omni sensu externo longe disjuncta, quænam est?* &c. that is to say, What is the Heavenly, or Spiritual part of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which no sense is able to discover? To which the party Catechized returns this answer, *Corpus & Sanguis Christi, quæ fidelibus in cæna dominica præbentur, ab illis accipiuntur, comeduntur, & bibuntur, cælesti tantum & spirituali modo, verè tamen atque reipsa.* That is to say, the heavenly or spiritual part is the Body and Blood of Christ which are given to the faithful in the Lords Supper, and are taken, eaten, and drank by them; which though it be only in an heavenly and spiritual manner; yet are they both given and taken *truly, and really*, or in very deed. Conform to which we have in brief the Suffrage of the Right Learned Bishop *Bilson*, who lived the greatest part of his time with the said Mr. *Nowel*, by whom we are told in his Book of *True Subject. &c. p. 779.* And he tells it with a God forbid, that we deny not, "That the Flesh and Blood of Christ are truly present, and truly received of the faithful at the *Lords Table*."

26. A clear explication of which Doctrine was made in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, by whose appointment, with the consent of the *Metropolitan*, some of the Bishops and other learned men of the *Clergy*, it was ordered in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, that



that the Doctrine of the Sacraments should be added to the Authorized Catechism of the Church where before it was not: in which addition to the Catechism, it is said expressly, *That the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken of the Faithful in the Lords Supper. Verily and indeed*, saith the English Book, *Vere & reipsa*, or *Vere & realiter*, saith the Latine Translations; by which the Church doth teach us to understand, that Christ is *truly* and *really* present (though after a *spiritual* manner) in that Blessed Sacrament. And that this was the Churches meaning will be made apparent, by the Testimony of some of the most learned men, which have written since; two of which I shall here produce, that *out of the mouths of two such witnesses*, the truth hereof may be *established*. The first of these shall be the most eminent Bishop *Andrews*, a contemporary of the said Bishop *Bilson*, who in his answer unto Cardinal *Bellarmino*, thus declares himself, *Presentiam credimus non minus quam vos veram, deinde presentie nil temere definimus*: We acknowledge (saith he) a *presence* as true and real as you do; but we determine nothing rashly of the manner of it. The second shall be Bishop *Morton*, as great an enemy to the Errors and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, as any that ever wrote against it, who could not but be sixty years of age at the death of Bishop *Andrews*; and he affirms expressly, "That the question betwixt us and the *Papists* is not concerning a *Real Presence*, which the Protestants (as their own Jesuites witness) do also profess. *Fortunatus*, a Protestant, holding that Christ is in the Sacrament most *Really*, *Verissime*, *Realissime*, as his words are. By which it seems it is agreed on on both sides (that is to say, the Church of *England*, and the Church of *Rome*) that there is a *true* and *real* Presence of Christ in the Holy *Eucharist*; the disagreement being only in the *modus presentie*.

As also by the testimony of Bishop *ANDREWS*.

Bishop *Morton*.

27. The like Dispute is also raised *de modo descensus*, touching the manner and extent of Christs *Descending* into Hell, which the *Papists* will have to be only partial, and to extend no farther then to the upper Region of that infernal Habitation, called by them commonly *Limbus Patrum*. The *Calvinists* will have it to be only figurative, no *descent* at all, and they are sub-divided into three opinions. *Calvin* himself interprets it of our Saviours Sufferings on the Cross, in which he underwent all those torments, even to *Desperation*, which the damned do endure in Hell. Many of the *Calvinian* party understand nothing by Christs *Descent* into Hell, but his *Descending* into the Grave; and then his descending into Hell will be the same with his being buried, Which Tautology in such a short summary of the Christian Faith cannot be easily admitted. And therefore the late Lord *Primate* of *Ireland* not liking either of their opinions, will finde a new way by himself; in which I cannot say what leaders he had, but I am sure he hath had many followers. And he by Christs descending into Hell, will have nothing else to be understood but his *continuing* in the State of Separation between the Body and the Soul, his remaining

XXVII.  
The Article of Christs descent made figurative

by  
*calvin*,  
and

The Lord  
Primate,

but

E

under



Justified to  
be Local,

By the Arti-  
cles of the  
Church of  
ENGLAND.

The words of  
Mr. Alexander  
Nowel.

and

The works of  
Learned Bi-  
shop Bilson.

XXVIII.

The necessity  
of Baptisme  
maintained  
by the first  
Reformers,

under the power of death during the time that he lay buried in the Grave, which is no more in effect though it differ somewhat in the terms, then to say he dyed and was buried, and rose not again till the third day, as the Creed instructs us; and then we are but where we were with the other Calvinists. But on the contrary, the Church of England doth maintain a *Local Descent*, that is to say, "That the Soul of Christ at such time as his Body lay in the Grave, did *Locally* Descend into the neathermost parts, in which the Devil and his Angels are reserved in everlasting Chains of Darknes, unto the Judgment of the great and terrible Day. And this appears to be the meaning of the first Reformers, by giving this Article a distinct place by its self, both in the Book of *Articles*, published in the time of King Edward vi. Anno 1552. and in the Book agreed upon in the Convocation of the 5. of Queen Elizabeth, 1564. in both which it is said expressely in the self-same words, viz. *As Christ dyed for us and was buried, so also is it to be believed that he went down into Hell*: which is either to be understood of a *Local Descent*, or else we are tyed to believe nothing by it, but what explicately or implicately is comprehended in the former Article, in which there is particular mention of Christs Sufferings, Crucifying, Death, and Burial. Now that this is the Churches meaning, cannot be better manifested then in the words of Mr. Alexander Nowel before-mentioned; who for the reasons before remembred, cannot in reason be supposed to be ignorant of the true sense and meaning of the Church in that particular: and he accordingly in his Catechism publickly allowed of, with reference to a *Local Descent*, doth declare it thus, viz. *Ut Christus corpore in terra viscera; ita anima, corpore separata, ad inferos descendit, &c.* that is, "As Christ descended in his Body into the bowels of the earth, so in his Soul, separated from that Body, he descended also into Hell; by means whereof the power and efficacy of his Death was not made known only to the dead, but to the Devils themselves: insomuch that both the souls of the unbelievers did sensibly perceive that condemnation, which was most justly due to them for their incredulity: and Satan himself, the Prince of Devils, did as plainly see, that his tyranny, and all the powers of darkness were oppressed, ruined, and destroyed. Which Doctrine (when it began to be decryed, and the Calvinian Gloss, to get ground upon it) was learnedly asserted by Dr. Thomas Bilson, then Bishop of Winchester, in his Book, entituled *A Survey of Christs Sufferings*; in which he hath amassed together, whatsoever the Fathers, Greek and Latine, or any of the ancient Writers have affirmed of this Article, with all the points and branches which depend upon it,

28. The Sufferings of Christ represented in the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, with some of the effects thereof by his descending into Hell, being thus dispatched, we shall next look into that of *Baptisme*, in which we shall consider the necessity first, and after-



afterwards the efficacy of it : And first in reference to the *Necessity*. The first Reformers did not only allow the administration of this Sacrament in *private* houses, but permitted it to private persons, even to women also. For it was ordered in the *Rubrick of Private Baptism*, "That when any great need shall compel (as in extremity of weakness) they which are present shall call upon God for his Grace, and say the Lords Prayer if the time will suffer, and then one of them shall name the Childe, and dip him in the water, or poure water upon him, saying these words, *N. I Baptize thee in the name of the Father, &c.* At which passage when King James seemed to be offended in the Conference at Hampton-Court, because of the liberty which they gave to *women* and *Laicks* : It was answered then by Dr. *Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, "That the administration of *Baptism* by Women and Lay Persons, was not allowed in the practice of the Church : but enquired of, and censured by the *Bishops* in their *Visitations* ; and that the words in the Book inferred no such meaning. Against which when the King excepted, urging and pressing the words of the Book, that they could not but intend a permission and suffering of Women, and private Persons to Baptize : It was answered by Dr. *Babington*, then Bishop of *Worcester*, "That indeed the words were doubtful, and might be pressed to that meaning, but that it seemed by the contrary practice of this Church (censuring Women in this case) That the Compilers of that Book did not so intend them, and yet propounded them ambiguously, because otherwise perhaps the Book would not have then passed in the Parliament. But then stood forth the Bishop of London, (Dr. *Bancroft*) and plainly said, "That it was not the intent of those Learned and Reverend men, who framed the Book of *Common-Prayer* by ambiguous terms, to deceive any ; but did indeed by those words intend a permission of private persons to Baptize in case of *Necessity*, whereof their Letters were witnesses, some parts whereof he then read ; and withal declared, "That the same was agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church, as appeared by the Authority of *Tertullian*, and of *S. Ambrose* on the 4th. of the *Ephesians*, who are plain in that point ; laying also open the absurdities and impieties of their opinions who think there is no necessity of *Baptism*. And though at the motion of that King it was ordered that the words *Lawful Minister* should be put into the *Rubrick* (*First let the LAWFUL MINISTER, and them that be present, call upon God for his Grace, &c. The said LAWFUL MINISTER shall dip it into the water, &c.* yet was the alteration greater in sound then sense, it being the opinion of many great Clerks, that any man in cases of extream necessity (who can pronounce the words of *Baptism*) may pass in the account and notion of a *lawful Minister*. So much for the necessity of *Baptism*. And as for the efficacy thereof, it is said expressly in the 27. Article, "To be a sign of *Regeneration*, or *New Birth*, whereby, as by an Instrument, they

Justified in the Conference at Hampton-Court

and

Not gain-said by any alteration in the publick Rubrick,

and

Of the efficacy ascribed unto it by the Church.



“ that receive *Baptisme* rightly, are grafted into the Church; the  
 “ promises of forgiveness of Sin, and of our Adoption to be the  
 “ Sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed;  
 “ Faith is confirmed, and Grace is encreased by vertue of Prayer un-  
 “ to God: and, as expressly it is said in one of the *Rubricks* before  
 “ *Confirmation*, That it is certain by Gods word, that Children be-  
 “ ing *Baptized*, have all things necessary for their Salvation, and be  
 “ undoubtedly saved: that is to say (for so it must be understood)  
 in case they dye before they fall into the committing of *Actual*  
 Sins.

XXIX.  
 Justification  
 how divided  
 betwixt Faith  
 and Works,

In what re-  
 spects ascribed  
 to Faith, by  
 the Church  
 of ENGL.

and

In what to  
 Works.

29. Touching *good works*, and how far they conduce unto our  
*Justification*, the breach was wider at the first breakings out of *Lu-  
 ther* then it hath been since: *Luther* ascribing *Justification* unto *Faith*  
 alone, without relation unto *Works*; and those of *Rome* ascribing it  
 to good *Works* alone, without relation unto *Faith*, which they rec-  
 koned only amongst the *preparatives* unto it. But when the point  
 had been long canvassed, and the first heats were somewhat cooled,  
 they began to come more neer unto one another. For when the *Pa-  
 pists* attributed *Justification* unto *Works* alone, they desired to be un-  
 derstood of such good *Works* as proceeded from a true and lively  
*Faith*: and when the *Lutherans* ascribed it to *Faith* alone, they de-  
 sired to be understood of such a *Faith* as was productive of good  
*Works*, and attended by them. The *Papists* thereupon began to che-  
 rish the distinction between the first and second *Justification*, ascri-  
 bing the first unto *Faith* only; the second (which the *Protestants*  
 more properly called by the name of *Sanctification*) to the *works* of  
 Righteousness. The *Protestants* on the other side distinguishing be-  
 tween *Fides sola*, and *solitaria*, between *Sola Fides*, and *Fides quæ est*  
*Sola*, intending by that nicety; that, though *Faith* alone doth *justifie*  
 a sinner in the sight of God: yet that it is not such a *Faith* as was  
 alone, but stood accompanied with good *Works*. And in this way  
 the Church of *England* went in her Reformation, declaring in the  
 II, Article, “ That we are accounted righteous before God, only  
 “ for the Merits of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* by *Faith*, and  
 “ not for our own works or deservings. Which *Justification* by *Faith*  
 only is further declared to be a most wholesome Doctrine, and very  
 full of comfort; for which we are referred to the Book of *Homilies*.  
 And in the Book of *Homilies* we shall also finde, “ That we may  
 “ well bear the name of Christian men; but we lack that true *Faith*  
 “ which belongeth thereunto: For true *Faith* doth evermore bring  
 “ forth good *Works*, (as *St. James* speaketh) Shew me thy *Faith* by  
 “ thy *Works*. Thy Deeds and *Works* must be an open testimony of  
 “ thy *Faith*; otherwise thy *Faith* being without good *Works*, is but  
 “ the Devils *faith*, the *faith* of the wicked, a phantasie of *Faith*,  
 “ and not a true Christian *Faith*. And that the people might be  
 be trained up in the works of Righteousness, it is declared in the  
 7th. Article, That no Christian man whatsoever is free from the  
 obe-



obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral. According whereunto, it is ordered by the publick *Liturgys*, that the said Commandments shall be openly read in the Congregation upon *Sundayes* and *Holy Dayes* (contrary to the usage of all ancient *Liturgies*) the people humbly praying God, *To have mercy upon them for their transgression of those Laws*; and no less humbly praying him *To encline their hearts to keep the same*. So that, though Faith must lead the way to our *Justification*; yet holiness of life manifested in the works of *Charity*, and all other acts of godly living, must open the way for us to the Gates of Heaven, and procure our entrance at the same, as is apparent by the 25. of St. *Matthews* Gospel, from verse 34. to 41.

30. Which being so, it may be well affirmed without any wrong to Faith, that good Works are necessary to salvation; and not so only: but that they are *efficienter necessaria*, as was maintained publicly in the Schools of *Cambridge*, though it was much carpt at by some men that did not rightly and distinctly understand the term. And secondly, It may be said without any wrong to the *Free Grace and Merits* of Almighty God, that a reward is due for the *Works of Righteousness*, proceeding from a *lively Faith*, in a man regenerate; not that the Church ascribeth any merit to the works of man, which may deserve eternal life, either *ex congruo*, or *condigno*, as the School-men phrase it; for *Deus non coronat in nobis merita nostra sed dona sua*, as the Father hath it. No reward is due unto good Works, *ratione operis*, in reference to the work it self: but *ratione pacti & acceptationis* (though *Bellarmino* be otherwise minded) in respect of Gods merciful acceptance, and his most gracious promise to reward the same. It was his grace and goodness only which moved him to encourage our imperfect and weak obedience with the promise of eternal life: yet having made the promise, he became our debtor, *Non aliquid debendo, sed omnia promittendo, Deus se facit debitorem*, as St. *Augustine* tells us. And most agreeable it is to his heavenly justice, not to be wanting to his promise. Such a Reward as this for the works of Righteousness, as the Scriptures frequently do mention both in the *Old Testament* and *New*, *Gen. 47. Psalm 19. 11. Mat. 5. 12. and 10. 41, 42. Mark 9. 41. Apoc. 22. 11.* so is the same defended in the Church of *England*. And this appears first by the *Athanasian Creed*, incorporated into the body of our publick *Liturgy*, as a part thereof. In the close of which it is affirmed, "That  
"at Christs coming unto Judgement all men shall rise again with  
"their bodies, and give an account of their own works, that they  
"which have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that  
"have done evil into everlasting fire. And secondly, It appears as plainly by the Collect for the 25. Sunday after Trinity, where the Church called on the Lord, "To stir up the wills of his faithful  
"people, that they plenteously bringing forth the fruits of good  
"works, may of him be plenteously rewarded, through *Jesus*  
"Christ.

XXX.

Of the efficacy  
of good  
Works,

and

The Reward  
belonging to  
them,

and

Of the Do-  
ctrine of the  
Church of  
ENGLAND  
in that parti-  
cular.



"Christ, In which we have not only a reward for the fruit of good works, but a plentiful reward into the bargain, according to the quality of the work it self, and the acceptableness of the person in the sight of God.

XXXI.  
The great Divisions in the Church touching Predestination.

The stating of the point by the Church of ENGLAND,

Illustrated by the story of Agilmond and Lamistus, Kings of Lombardy.

31. Next look we on the Doctrine of *Predestination*, and the points depending thereupon, which have given matter of division to the Christian Church in all times and ages, dividing between the general current of the Fathers till St. *Augustines* time, and the learned men which followed him and his authority; between the *Jesuites* and *Franciscans* on the one side, and the *Dominicans* on the other in the Church of *Rome*; between the moderate and rigid *Lutherans* in the Church Protestant; between the *Remonstrants*, and the *Contra-Remonstrants* in the Schools of *Calvin*; and finally between the *Sublapsarians*, and the *Supra-Lapsarians*, amongst the *Contra-Remonstrants* themselves. Of these the *Sublapsarian Calvinists* (for of the dotages of the other I shall take no notice) the *Rigid Lutherans* and the *Dominican Friars* pretend St. *Augustine* for their Patron: and on the other side, the *Remonstrants* (commonly nick-named *Arminians*) The *Moderate* or *Melancthonian Lutherans*, together with the *Jesuites* and *Franciscans*, appeal unto the general current of the ancient Fathers, who lived and flourished *ante mota certamina Pelagiana*, before the starting up of the *Pelagian* Controversies. And to this general current of the ancient Fathers, the Church of *England* most enclines; teaching according to their Doctrine, that God from all eternity, intending to demonstrate his power and goodness, designed the Creation of the World, the making of man *after his own Image*, and leaving him so made, in a perfect liberty to do or not to do what he was commanded; and that fore-knowing also from all eternity, that man abusing this liberty, would plunge himself and his posterity into a gulph of miseries, he graciously resolved to provide them such a *Saviour* who should redeem them from their sins; to elect all those to life eternal, who by true Faith laid hold upon him, leaving the rest in the same state in which he found them, for their incredulity. It is reported of *Agilmond* the second, King of the *Lombards*, that riding by a Fish-Pond, he saw seven young Children sprawling in it, whom their unnatural Mothers (as *Paulus Diaconus* conceived) had thrown into it not long before. Amazed whereat, he put his Hunting Spear amongst them, and stirred them gently up and down, which one of them laying hold of, was drawn to Land, called *Lamistus*, from the word *Lama*; which in the Language of that people signifies a Fish-Pond, trained up in that Kings Court, and finally made his Successor in the Kingdom. Granting that *Agilmond* being fore-warned in a Vision, that he should finde such Children sprawling for life in the midst of that Pond, might thereupon take a resolution within himself to put his Hunting Spear amongst them; and that which of them soever should lay hold upon it, should be gently drawn out of the water, adopted for his Son, and made



made Heir of all his Kingdom : no humane Story could afford us the like parallel case to Gods proceeding in the great work of *Predestination* to eternal life, according to the Doctrine of the Church of England.

32. Now, that such was the Doctrine of the first *Reformers*, may be made evident by the *Definition of Predestination*. "Predestination on unto life (saith the 17. Article) is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly declared by his Council, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation. In which *Definition* there are these things to be observed; First, That *Predestination* doth pre-suppose a curse or a state of Damnation, in which all mankind was presented to the sight of God. Secondly, That it is an act of his from everlasting, because from everlasting he foresaw that misery into which wretched man would fall. Thirdly, That he founded it, and resolved for it in the Man and Mediator Christ Jesus, both for the purpose and performance. Fourthly, That it was of some special ones alone, *Elect*, called forth, and reserved in Christ, and not generally extended unto all mankind. Fifthly, That being thus elected in Christ, they shall be brought by Christ to everlasting salvation. And sixthly, That this Council is secret unto us; for though there be revealed to us some hopeful signes of our *Election* and *Predestination unto life*: yet the certainty thereof is a secret hidden in God, and in this life unknown to us. Nothing obscure in this Definition but these words, *whom he hath chosen in Christ*; which being the very words of the Apostle, *Eph. 1. 4.* are generally interpreted by the ancient Fathers, of those who do believe in Christ, For thus St. Ambrose amongst others, *Sicut elegit nos in ipso*, as he hath chosen us in him; *Prescius enim Deus omnes scit qui credituri essent in Christum*, For God (saith he) by his general Presence did fore-know every man that would believe in Christ: The like saith *Chrysostom* on the Text. And that our first Reformers did conceive so, it appears by that of Bishop *Latimer* in his Sermon on the third Sunday after the *Epiphany*, "When (saith he) we hear that some be chosen, and some be damned, let us have good hope, that we be among the chosen, and live after this hope, that is uprightly and godly; then shall we not be deceived. Think that God hath chosen those that believe in Christ; and Christ is the Book of Life: If thou believest in him, then art thou written in the Book of Life, and shall be saved. Secondly, The Doctrine of *Predestination*, as before laid down, may be further proved out of the last clause of the said 17. Article, where it is said, "That we must receive Gods promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture; and that in all our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared to us in the word of God. Then which nothing can be more repugnant to the

XXXII.

Predestination how defined.

The definition explicated.

The explication justified by the ancient Fathers,

By Bishop LATIMER,

and

The last clause of the 17th. Article.



the Doctrine of *Predestination*, delivered by the *Contra-Remonstrants* (whither *Supra-lapsarian*, or *Sub-lapsarian*, is no great matter) which restrains *Predestination unto Life* to a few particulars, without respect had to their *Faith in Christ*, or to *Christs* Sufferings and Death for them: which few particulars so *predestinated* to life eternal, shall (as they teach us) by an irresistible Grace, be brought to God, and by the infallible conduct of the Holy Spirit, be preserved from falling away from grace and favour.

XXXIII.  
The Church  
why silent in  
the point of  
Reprobation.

The absolute  
Decree un-  
known to Bi-  
shop HOOPER,

By Bishop  
LATIMER,

33. Such is the Churches Doctrine in the point of *Election* or *Predestination unto life*, but in the point of *Reprobation* or *Predestination unto death*, she is utterly silent; leaving it to be gathered upon *Logical* Inferences from that which is delivered by her in the point of *Election* (for *Contrariorum contraria est ratio*, as *Logicians* say) though that which is so gathered ought rather to be called, a *Dereliction*, then a *Reprobation*. No such *absolute irreversible*, and *irrespective* decree of *Reprobation* taught or maintained in any publick Monument or Record of the Church of *England*, by which the far greatest part of mankind are *præ-ordained* (and consequently *præ-condemned* to the pit of Torments, without respect had unto their sins, as the *Supra-lapsarians*, or to their credulities, as generally is maintained by the *Sub-lapsarians* in the Schools of *Calvin*. Much I am sure there is against it in the Writings of Bishop *Hooper*, and Bishop *Latimer*, who took great pains in the first carrying on of the *Reformation*; and therefore we may judge by them of the Churches meaning in that particular. For in the Preface to a Book written by *John Hooper*, afterwards Bishop of *Glocester*, containing an Exposition of the Ten Commandments, and published, *Anno 1550*. we shall finde it thus, *viz.* "That *Cain* "was no more excluded from the promise of *Christ*, till he excluded himself, then *Abel*; *Saul*, then *David*; *Judas*, then *Peter*; " *Esau*, then *Jacob*: that God is said to have hated *Esau*, not because "he was dis-inherited of eternal Life, but in *laying his Mountains* " *and his Heritage waste for the Dragons of the wilderness*, *Mal. 1. 3.* "That the threatnings of God against *Esau*, (if he had not of his "wilful malice excluded himself from the promise of Grace) should "no more have hindered his Salvation, then Gods *threatnings* against " *Ninive*, &c, That it is not a Christian mans part to say, That "God hath written fatal Laws, as the *stoick*, and with necessity of destiny, violently pulleth the one by the hair into *Heaven*, "and thrusteth the other head-long into *Hell*; that the cause of *Rejection*, or *Damnation* is sin in man, which will not hear, neither "receive the promise of the Gospel, &c. And in a Sermon on the third Sunday after *Epiphany*, we finde Bishop *Latimer* speaking thus, *viz.* "That if the most are damned, the fault is not in God, "but in themselves; for *Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri*, God "would that all men should be saved, but they themselves procure "their own *damnation*, and despise the *Passion* of *Christ* by their "wicked and inordinate living. Thus also in his fourth Sermon preached



Preached in *Lincolnshire*, "That *Christ* only, and no man else merited *Remission*, *Justification*, and eternal felicity, for as many as will believe the same; that *Christ* shed as much Blood for *Judas*, as for *Peter*; that *Peter* believed it, and therefore was saved; that *Judas* would not believe, therefore was condemned; the fault being in him only, and no body else. More of which passages might be gathered from the Writings of those godly Martyrs, were not these sufficient. And though the *Calvinian* fancies in the points of *Election* and *Reprobation* got so much ground on this Church, that they began to be obtruded on the people for the Doctrines of it; yet were they vigorously opposed by some of our Confessors in Prison in Queen *Maries* dayes, by Dr. *Harsnet*, and Mr. *Banret* in the Pulpit; and *Peter Baro*, and Dr. *Overald* in the Divinity Schools of *Cambridge* in Queen *Elizabeths* time; by Dr. *Bancroft*, then Lord Bishop of *London*, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, Anno 1603. being the first year of King *James*: and finally by King *James* himself, refusing (as he did) to admit the nine Articles of *Lambeth*, containing all the points and particularities of the *Calvinian* Doctrines of *Predestination*, and *Reprobation*, among the Articles of Religion here by Law established, when Dr. *Reynolds* in that Conference did desire it of him: But nothing better proves the Churches Doctrine in these points, than the Church it self; by holding forth the universal Redemption of all mankind, by the Death of *Christ*; the free co-operation of the will of man, with the Grace of God in the chief acts of his Conversion; the possibility of falling into grievous sins, Gods displeasure, and consequently from the grace received: all which are utterly destructive of *Calvins* Doctrine in this point, and that not of the whole *Machina* only, but of every part and parcel of that ruinous building, as will appear by the particulars hereafter following.

and

By King  
James.

34. And first the Universal Redemption of all mankind by the death of *Christ*, hath been so clearly and explicitly delivered by the Church of *England*, that nothing can be more plain. For in the second Article it is said expressly, "That *Christ* suffered, was Crucified, Dead, and Buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice not only for Original Guilt, but also for the actual sins of men. Agreeable whereunto, it is declared, Art. 31. That the offering of *Christ* once made, is the perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual. In both which Articles, as well the Sacrifice, as the effect and fruit thereof, which is the Reconciliation of mankind to God the Father, is delivered in general terms, without any Restriction put upon them. Neither the Sacrifice, nor the Reconciliation are by the Articles either restrained to this man, or that, or unto one part of the world only, (as for example, *Intra partem donati*) and not to another, but extended to the whole world, saith the 31. Article; to mankind, or to men in general, as it is in the second.

XXXIV.

Universal Re-  
demption  
maintained  
by the Book  
of Articles.



Many plain  
passages in the  
Publick, Li-  
turgy,

And the testi-  
mony of our  
ancient Mar-  
tyrs.

XXXV.  
The freedom  
of the Will  
too much ad-  
vanced by the  
Pelagians.

cond. A clearer comment on which Text we cannot possibly have (as to the understanding of the Churches meaning) then that which may be found in the publick Liturgy: For first in the authorized *Catechism* of the Church of *England*, the party *Catechized* being asked what he doth learn in his belief, makes answer as to this particular, that *he believes in God the Father, who made him and all the world*: And secondly, that he believes *in God the Son, who hath redeemed him and all mankind*, &c. It may be secondly proved in that clause in the Letany, *O God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us*, &c. Thirdly, By the Prayer of *Consecration* before the *Communion*, viz. "Almighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son *Jesus Christ* to suffer death upon the Cross for our *Redemption*, who made there (by his own Oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satisfaction for the sins of the *WHOLE WORLD*, &c. And fourthly, By the Prayer or Thanksgiving, after the *Communion*, in which we do most humbly beseech the Lord to grant that by the Merits and Death of his Son *Jesus Christ*, and through Faith in his Blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our Sins, and all other benefits of his Passion. Not was it without some meaning this way, that She selected those words of our Saviour in *St. Johns Gospel*, viz. *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son*, &c. to be used in the preparation of the Communion; as She reiterated some others, viz. *O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world*, &c. incorporated into the *Gloria in excelsis*, at the end thereof. A truth so clear in the delivery of this Church, that there needs no proof of it from the Writings of private men: or if there did, what could be more expresse than those words of Bishop *Hooper*, viz. As the sins of *Adam* without priviledg, or exception, extended and appertained unto all *Adam's*, and every of *Adam's* Posterity; so did the promise of Grace generally appertain as well to every, and singular of *Adam's* Posterity, as to *Adam* himself, as in the Preface above-mentioned: or what can be more positive than that of Bishop *Latimer* in his first Sermon, preached in *Lincolnshire*, viz. The promises of Christ our Saviour are general, they pertain to all mankind. He made a general proclamation, saying, *Qui credit in me, habet vitam aeternam, whosoever believeth in me hath everlasting life*? especially being seconded with that which before we had, that Christ did shed as much Blood for *Judas*, as he did for *Peter*; which puts the matter high enough without all exception.

35. Touching *Free-will*, the powers of nature and the celestial inferences of the Grace of God, in the conversion of a sinner, the Church of *England* ran after a middle way, between the *Rigid Lutherans*, and the old *Pelagians*. It was the Heresie of *Pelagius* to ascribe so much power to the will of man, in laying hold upon the means of his Salvation, *Ut gratiam Dei necessariam non putaret*, that he thought the Grace of God to be unnecessary, of no use at all.



all. And *Luther* on the other side ascribed so little thereunto, that he published a Book, entituled, *De seruo Arbitrio*, touching the servitude of the will; in which he held that there was no such thing as *Free-will*; that it was a meer fiction, *Et nomen sine re*, a thing only titular, but of no existency in nature, that a man is forcibly drawn to heaven, *Velut inanimatum quiddam*, No otherwise than a senseless stock, or an unreasonable creature. The like we finde to be declared by the *Contra-Remonstrants*, in the *Collatio Hagiensis*, by whom there was no more ascribed to the will of man in the work of his own *Regeneration*, or in the raising of himself from the death of Sin, to the life of Righteousness, than they did ascribe unto him in his generation to the life of nature, or in his Resurrection from the Dead to life eternal. For thus they say, *Sicut ad nativitatem suam nemo de suo quicquam confert; neque ad sui exitationem ex mortuis nemo quicquam confert de suo; ita etiam ad conversionem suam, nemo homo quicquam confert, sed est purum putum opus ejus gratie Dei in Christo, que in nobis operatur, non tantum potentiam credendi, sed etiam fidem ipsam*. Which monstrous *Paradox* of theirs was afterwards inserted in the Canons of the *Synod of Dort*: against which that divine saying of *St. Augustine* may be fitly used, *Si non est gratia Dei, quomodo salvat mundum, Si non est liberum Arbitrium quomodo judicat mundum*, If there be no Grace of God (saith he) by what means can he save the world; if there no *Free-will* in man, with what equity can he condemn it. Of the same temper is the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: For first, she thus declares against the *Pelagians* in the first clause of the 10th. Article, "That the condition of man after the fall of *Adam* is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to Faith and calling upon God. And secondly, she declares thus against *Luther* in the second clause of that Article, *viz*, "That without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us; when we have that good will, we have no power to do good works, which are pleasing and acceptable unto God: and thereupon it must needs follow, that by the freedom of mans will, co-operating with grace preventing, and by the subsequent Grace of God co-operating with the will of man, we have a power of doing such works as may be acceptable and pleasing to our heavenly Father: which may be further evidenced by this Collect after the Communion, *viz*. "Prevent us O Lord in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorifie thy Holy Name, and finally by thy Mercy obtain life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Decryed as much by *Luther*,

and

The *contra Remonstrants*.

The temper of *St. Augustine* in it.

Approved and imitated in the Articles of the Church of ENGL.

and

Her Publick Liturgie.

XXXVI.

The Churches Doctrine vindicated and explained by Bishop Hooper.

36. Now that both the last clause of the Article, and the whole Collect in the *Liturgy* are to be understood no otherwise then as it is before laid down, appears by this Gloss of Bishop Hooper on that Text of *St. John*, *viz*. *No man cometh to me except my Father draw him,*



and him, chap. 6. 44. Many (saith he) understand the words in a wrong sense; as if God required no more in a reasonable man, than in a dead post, and marke not the words which follow, "Every man that heareth and learneth of my Father cometh to me: God draweth with his word, and the Holy Ghost, but mans duty is to hear and learn, that is to say, to receive the grace offered, consent to the promise, and not repugn the God that calleth. The like occurs in by Bishop Latimer, in his Sermon on the Sunday commonly called *Septuagesima*; in which we find, "That seeing the preaching of the Gospel is universal, it appeareth that God would have all mankind saved; and that the fault is not in him if they be damned: for it is written thus, *Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri*. God would have all men be saved; but we are so wicked of our selves, that we refuse the same, and will not take notice when it is offered to us. as also It cannot be denyed, but that the same Doctrine is maintained by the *Arminians* (as they call them) and that it is the very same with that of the Church of *Rome*, as appears by the Council of *Trent*, cap. *De fructu justificationis, & merito bonorum operum*, Can. 3. 4. But then it must be granted also, that it is the Doctrine of the *Melanctonian* Divines, or *Moderate Lutherans*, as was confessed by *Andreas vega*, one of the chief sticklers in the Council of *Trent*, who on the agitating of the point did confess ingenuously, that there was no difference betwixt the *Lutherans* and that Church touching that particular. And then it must be granted also, that it was the Doctrine of *St. Augustine*, according to that divine saying of his, *Sine gratia Dei praeveniente, ut volumus, & subsequente ne frustra volumus, ad pietatis opera nil valemus*: so that if the Church of *England* must be *Arminian*, and the *Arminians* must be *Papist*, because they agree together in this particular, the *Melanctonian* Divines among the *Protestants*, yea and *St. Augustine* himself must be *Papist* also.

XXXVII. 37. Such being the freedom of the will, in laying or not laying hold upon those means which are offered by Almighty God for our Salvation; it cannot be denyed, but that there is a freedom also of the will, in standing unto Grace received, or departing from it: Certain I am that it is so resolved by the Church of *England* in the 16th. Article for Confession, in which it is declared, "That after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from Grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives; which is the very same with that of the 14th. Article in King *Edward's* Book of the year 1557. where plainly the Church teacheth a possibility of falling or departing from the grace of the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us; and that our rising again, and the amending of our lives upon such a rising, is a matter of contingency only, and no way necessary on Gods part to assure us of. Conform to which we finde Bishop *Hooper* thus discoursing in the said Preface to his exposition of the Ten Commandments, "The cause of Rejection or Damnation (saith he) is sin in man,

Made clear by some expressions of Bishop *Hooper*,



“man, which *will not hear*, neither *receive* the promise of the Gospel; or else after he hath received it, by accustomed doing of ill, *falleth* either into a contempt of the Gospel, and will not study to live thereafter; or else hateth the Gospel, because it condemneth his ungodly life, And we finde Bishop *Latimer* discoursing thus in his eighth Sermon in *Lincolnshire*, “Those persons (saith he) that be not come yet to Christ, or if they were come to Christ, be *fallen again from him*, and so *lost their Justification* (as there be many of us when we *fall willingly* into sin against Conscience) we *lose the favour of God*, our *Salvation*, and *finally the Holy Ghost*. And before (c. 6.) thus, But you will say (saith he) How shall I know that I am in the *Book of Life*? How shall I try my self to be the *Elect* of God to everlasting life? I answer, First, We may know that we may be one time in the *Book*, and another time *come out again*, as it appeareth by *David*, who was written in the *Book of Life*: but when he sinned, he at that time was *out of the Book* of the *favour of God*, until he repented, and was sorry for his faults: so that we may be in the *Book* one time, and afterwards when we forget God and his Word, and do wickedly, we come out of the *Book*, that is, out of Christ, who is the *Book*. Which makes the point so clear and evident on the Churches part, that when it was moved by Doctor *Reynolds* at *Hampton-Court*, that the words, *Nec totaliter, nec finaliter*, might be added into the Clause of that Article, the motion was generally rejected, and the Article left standing in the same terms, in which it then stood. By which we may the better judge of some strange expressions amongst the most Rigid sort of the *Contra-Remonstrants*, especially of that of *Roger Dantelock*, by whom it is affirmed, that if it were possible for any one man to commit all the sins over again which have been acted in the world, it would neither frustrate his Election, nor alienate him from the love and favour of Almighty God: for which consult the *Appendix to the Piece or Declaration, Sententie Remonstrantium*, Printed at *Leyden*, Anno 1616.

Of Bishop  
Latimer.

and

The Conference at  
Hampton Court.

38. Such is the Doctrine of this Church, and such the Judgement of those Reverend Bishops, and right godly Martyrs in the Predestinarian Controversies, before remembred. And though I have insisted on those two alone, yet in theirs I include the Judgement of *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and the rest of those learned men who laboured in the great work of the Reformation. Some difference there had been betwixt *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, on the one side, and *Hooper* only on the other in matter of Ceremony in which *Hooper* at the last submitted to the other two. But in all the Doctrinal truths of their Religion there was a full consent between them: which appears plainly in this passage of a Letter sent from *Ridley* to *Hooper*, when they were both prisoners for the same cause, though in several places. “But now my dear Brother (saith he) for as much as I understand by your works, which I have but superficially seen, that we

XXXVIII.  
The harmony  
and consent  
in Judgment  
between Bishop  
*Hooper*  
and Bishop  
*Ridley*.

and



Between Bi-  
shop Ridley  
and Archbi-  
shop Cranmer.

The judgment  
of Archbishop  
Cranmer in the  
point dispu-  
ted.

“throughly agree, and wholly consent together in those things  
“which are the grounds and substantial points of our Religion,  
“against which the world so rageth in these our dayes: Howsoever  
“in times past, in certain by-matters, and circumstances of Reli-  
“gion, your Wisdom, and my simplicity (I grant) have a little jar-  
“red; each of us following the *abundance of his own sense and*  
“*Judgement*. Now I say, be you assured, that even with my whole  
“heart (God is my witness) in the Bowels of Christ I love you in  
“truth, and for truths sake, which abideth in us, and I am perswa-  
“ded by the Grace of God, shall abide in us for evermore. *Acts*  
*and Mon. in Edw. vi. fol. 1366.* Now as Bishop Ridley thus declares  
himself to be of the same Judgement with Bishop Hooper, so Cran-  
mer the Archbishop doth declare himself to be of the same Judge-  
ment with Bishop Ridley: for being charged in his examination  
with thinking otherwise in the point of the Sacrament then he had  
done about seven or eight years before, he answereth, “That he  
“then believed otherwise than he did at that present, and that he  
“did so till the Lord of London, Dr. Ridley, did confer with him;  
“and by sundry perswasions and Authorities of other Doctors,  
“drew him quite from his opinion, with whom he now agreed,  
*ibid, fol. 1702.* Which words though spoken only in relation to such  
points about the Sacrament of the *Altar*, concerning which he was  
then examined by the Popes Commissioners; yet do they sig-  
nifie withal that he relied very much on *Ridleys* Judgement, and  
that they were as like to be accorded in all other matters of Religi-  
on, as they were in that. And though Cranmer exercised his Pen  
for the most part against the Papists, yet in his Book against *Steven*  
*Gardiner, Concerning the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood*, first  
published in the year 1551. he thus delivereth his opinion in the  
present Controversies. For speaking of the Sacrifice which was made  
by Christ, he lets us know, “That he took unto himself not only  
“their sins that many years before were dead, and put their trust in  
“him; but also all the sins of those that until his coming again  
“*should truly believe his Gospel*: so that now we may look for no  
“other Priest, nor Sacrifice to take away our sins, but only him and  
“his Sacrifice; that as he dying once was offered for all, so  
“as much as pertained unto him, he took all mens sins unto him-  
“self, *fol. 372.* Which is as much as could be looked for from a  
man, who did not purposely apply himself to the points in question.  
Finally, it were worth the learning to know why the Paraphrases of  
*Erasmus* (a man of a known difference in Judgement from *Calvins*  
Doctrines in these points, should be translated into English by the  
care of our Prelates; and being so translated, should be commend-  
ed both by King *Edward vi.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, to the diligent  
reading of their Subjects of all conditions; which certainly they  
had not done, if they had not been thereunto perswaded by those  
Bishops, and other learned men about them, who had a principal  
hand



hand in the Reformation, which clearly shews how much, as well the Priest as the people were to ascribe unto the Judgement of that learned man, and consequently how little unto that of *Calvin* in the present Controversies.

39. So near this Church comes up unto the Church of *Rome* in Government, forms of Worship, and some points of *Controversie*. And some there are in which they totally disagreed, and stood in opposition unto one another, viz. In the Articles touching the *sufficiency of the Scripture*, *Justification*, the *merit of good works*, *works done before Justification*, *works of Supererogation*; the Fallibility or Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*; the *Authority of General Councils*, *Purgatory*, *Adoration of Images*, *Invocation of Saints*; the *Celebrating of Divine Service* in the vulgar tongues; the nature and number of the *Sacraments*; *Transubstantiation*, the Communion in both kinds, the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, the single life of *Priests*; the power of *National Churches* in ordaining *Ceremonies*; and of the Civil Magistrate in matters of Ecclesiastical nature: In many of which it might be found no difficult matter to atone the differences, whensoever it shall please God to commit the managing of them to moderate and prudent men, who prefer truth before opinion, and peace before the prevalency of their several parties. But whether it be so in all, is a harder question, and will remain a question to the end of the world, unless all parties lay aside their private interest, and conscientiously resolve to yield as much to one another as may stand with Piety. And then what reason can there be, why the breaches in the walls of *Jerusalem* should not be made up? and being made up, why *Jerusalem* should not be restored to its former Honour, of being a *City at unity within it self*? The hopes of which may be the greater; because there are so many points (so far forth as they stand comprised in the Book of Articles) in which the first *Reformers* were so far from being at any difference with the Church of *Rome*, that they did rather joy with them, in opposing the common enemy; *Famili-*

The authority ascribed to the Works of *Erasmus* by our first Reformers.

XXXIX.

The Points which still remain in difference betwixt the Churches.

How far within the possibility of Reconciliation.

And in what points they joy together against the *Anabaptists* and *Sectaries*.

of that age, who seemed to dig at the foundation of the Christian Faith, and aim at the subversion of humane Society; Of which sort are the *Articles* of the *Holy Trinity*, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the *Divinity* of the *Holy Ghost*, of the Old Testament, of the three *Creeds*, of Original Sin, of the *Authority* of the Church, of ministering in the Congregation, of hindring the effect of the *Sacraments* by unworthy Ministers, of Infant Baptism, and the *Traditions* of the Church; of the Consecration of *Bishops*, and *Ministers*; of the Authority of the Civil Magistrate in making Wars, and punishing *Malefactors* with *Temporal Death*; of the community of Goods, and the exacting of an Oath to finde out the truth: Of most of which it may be said in St. *Augustine's* language, *His qui contra dicit, aut a Christi fide alienus est, aut est Hereticus*; that he who shall



shall deny to give his assent unto them, is either an alien from the Faith, or at least an *Heretick*.

XL.

Liberty of  
Opinion left  
in other  
Points by the  
first Reformers,

and

Their discre-  
tion in so do-  
ing :

Approved  
and commen-  
ded by King  
James.

40. And then there are some other things which are not comprehended in those *Articles*, in which, though there were differences between them in point of Judgement, yet the Reformers thought not fit to determine of them positively upon either side, but left them to the liberty of opinion, to be disputed, *Pro* and *Con*, amongst learned men, according as their understandings fancy, or affections should dispose them to it : some points there are of *Phy-logical*, and others of *Scholastical Divinity*, in which there is *Libertas opinandi*, a liberty of opinion left unto us, *de quibus, sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias loqui liceat*, in the words of *Tacitus*. In these and such as these *St. Paul* himself seems to leave a latitude, when he gives way, *Ut quilibet Abundet in suo sensu*, *Rom. 14. 5.* that is to say, *Let every man abound in his own sense*, as the *Rhemists* read it; especially, *If he be fully perswaded in his own minde* (touching the truth of what he writes) as our last Translation : Which liberty as some have taken, in closing with the *Papists* in some particulars, which are not contrary to the *Faith* and *Doctrine*, or to the established *Government*, and *Forms of worship* of the Church of *England*, they are not for so doing to be branded by the name of *Papists*; or their writings to be censured and condemned for *Popish*, because perhaps they differ in those matters from the Churches of *Calvins Platform*, *Veritas a quocunque est, est a spiritu sancto*, as divinely *Ambrose*. Truth is no more restrained to the Schools of *Calvin*, then to those of *Rome*; some truths being to be found in each, but not all in either. And certainly in this the first *Reformers* did exceeding wisely, in not tying up the judgements of learned men, where they might be freed; but leaving them a sufficient scope to exercise their wits and Pens, as they saw occasion. Had they done otherwise, and condemned every thing for *Popish*, which was either taught or used in the times of *Popery*, they must then have condemned the *Doctrine of the Trinity* it self, as was well observed by *King James* in the Conference at *Hampton-Court* : And then said he, *You (Dr. Reynolds) must go barefoot, because they wore hose and shooes in times of Popery*, p. 75. Besides which inconvenience it must needs have followed, that by a general renouncing of all such things as have been taught and used by the Church of *Rome*, the Confession of the Church of *England*, must have been like that (both in condition and effect) which *Mr. Craig* composed for the Kirk of *Scotland*, of which *King James* tells us, p. 39. that with his, I renounce and I abhor his *Detestations* and *Protestations*, he did so amaze the simple people, that they (not able to conceive all those things) utterly gave over all, falling back to *Popery*, or still remaining in their former ignorance.

41. Such



41. Such was the Moderation which was used by our first Reformers, and on such Principles and Positions, did they ground this Church. Which I have laid down here at large, that so we may the better Judge of those Deviations, which afterwards were made by Factious and unquiet men; as also of the Piety of their endeavours, who aimed at the Reduction of her to her first condition. If the great *Prelate*, whom I write of, did either labour to *subvert* the *Doctrine* or *innovate* any thing, either in the Publick Government, or Formes of Worship, here by Law Established, contrary to the Principles and Positions before expressed; his Adversaries had the better Reason to clamor against him whilst he lived, and to persue their clamors till the very last. But on the other side, if neither in his own person, or by the diligence and activity of his *subservient Ministers*, he acted or suffered any thing to be justified in point of Practice, or allowed any thing to be Preached or Prayed, or hindred any thing from being Published or Preached, but what may be made good by the Rules of the Church, and the complexion of the times in which he lived; those foul Reproaches, which so unjustly and uncharitably have been laid upon him, must return back upon the Authors, from whom they came, as stones thrown up against the Heavens, do many times fall upon the heads of those that threw them. But whither side deserved the blame for innovating in the Doctrine, Rites, and Ceremonies of the *Anglican Church*, according to the first Principles and Positions of it; will best appear by the course of the ensuing History, Relation being had to this Introduction, which I have here placed in the front, as a Lamp or Candle (such as we find commonly in the Porches of Great Mens houses) to light the way to such as are desirous to go into them, that they may enter with delight, converse therein with pleasure, and return with safety.

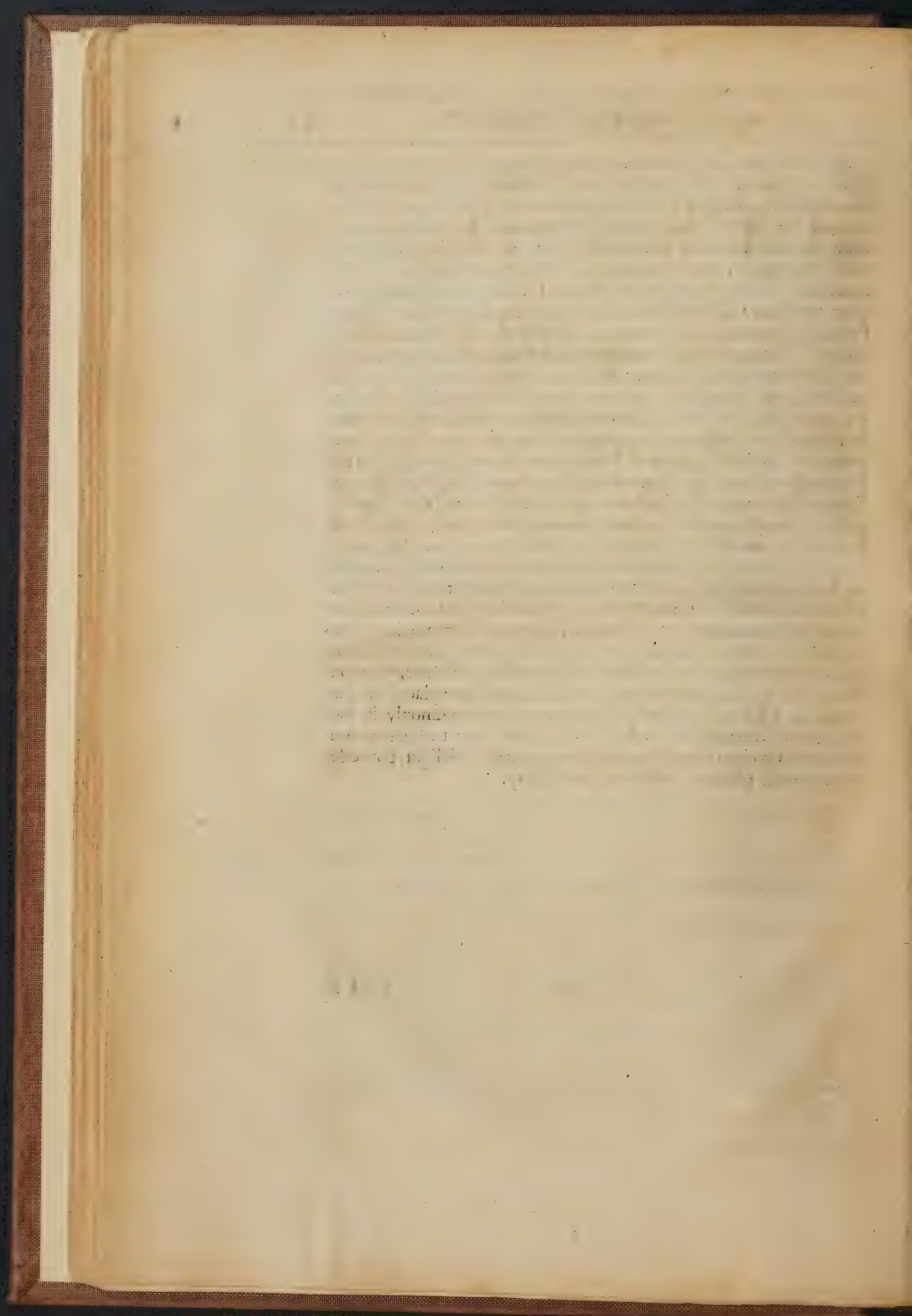
XLI.

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GTHE

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CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:  
OR, THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE

Life and Death,

OF

The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE

WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all

ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the

Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the

Lords of the Privy Council to His late most

SACRED MAJESTY

King CHARLES

Second MONARCH of *Great-Brittain*.

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PART. I.

*Containing the History of his Life and Actions from the day of his Birth, Octob. 7. 1573. to the day of his Nomination to the See of Canterbury, August 6. 1633.*

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LONDON:

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *A. Seile*, 1668.



WILLIAM  
H. 2 10 R Y

Life and Letters

WILLIAM

2 1 1 1 5 2 001

Printed by J. B. Jones, 1880



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THE  
L I F E

O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

---

L I B. I.


*Extending from the time of his Birth, till his being made  
Bishop of St. Davids.*

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O Recommend unto Posterity the *Lives* and *Actions* of eminent and famous Persons, hath alwayes been esteemed a work becoming the most able Pens. Nothing so much enobleth *Plutarch*, as his committing unto memory, the Actions and Achievements of the most renowned *Greeks* and *Romans*; or added more unto the fame of *Diogenes Laertius*, than that which he hath left us of the *Lives* and *Apophthegms* of the old *Philosophers*. Some pains have fortunately been taken in this kind, by *Paulus Javins* Bishop of *Como*, and by *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the dayes of our Fathers. Nor can we be so little studded in the World, as not to know, that even particular persons (I speak not here of Kings and Princes) have had their own particular and distinct *Historians*; by whom their Parts and Piety, their Military Exploits, or Civil Prudence, have been transmitted to the knowledge of succeeding ages. So that adventuring on the *Life* of this famous *Prelate*, I cannot be without Examples, though without Encouragements. For what Encouragements can there be to such a  
work.



LIB. I.  work, in which there is an impossibility of pleasing all; more than an ordinary probability of offending many; no expectation of Reward, nor certainty of any thing but misconstructions, and Detractions, if not dangers also. Howsoever I shall give my self the satisfaction, of doing my last duty, to the memory of a man so Famous, of such a Publick Spirit in all his actions, so eminently deserving of the Church of *England*: With which profession of my Piety, and Ingenuity, I shall not be altogether out of hope, but that my Labours in this *Piece* may obtain a pardon, if they shall not reach to an Applause.

Anno Dom. 1573. *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was born on the 7th. day of *October*, An. 1573. A year remarkable for the buslings of the *Puritan* Faction, who before they had served an Apprentiship in the Trade of Sedition, began to set up for themselves; and seeing they could not have the countenance of Authority, to justifie the advancing of their Holy Discipline, resolved to introduce it by little and little, as opportunity should be given them; which they did accordingly. His *Birth place*, *Reading*, the principal Town of *Berks*, for Wealth and Beauty; remarkable heretofore for a stately and magnificent *Abby*, founded and liberally Endowed by King *Henry I.* and no less eminent in these last Ages for the Trade of Clothing, the Seminary of some Families of Gentry within that County. And of this Trade his Father was, who kept not only many *Lomes* in his house, but many *Weavers*, *Spinners*, and *Fullers*, at continual work; living in good Esteem and Reputation amongst his Neighbours to the very last. His Mother *Lucy Webb*, was Sister to Sir *William Webb* Lord Maior of *London*, Anno 1591. the Grand-Father of Sir *William Webb* not long since deceased: She was first Married to *John Robinson* a Clothier of the same Town also; but a Man of so good Wealth and Credit, that he Married one of his Daughters to Dr. *Cotsford*, and another unto Dr. *Layfield*, men of parts and worth; and left his youngest Son called *William*, in so good a way, that he came to be Doctor of *Divinity*, *Prebend* of *Westminster*, and *Archdeacon* of *Nottingham*, beside some other preferments which he dyed possesst of. Having buryed her Husband *John Robinson*, she was Re-married unto *Laud*, this Archbishops Father, to whom she brought no other child than this Son alone; as if she had satisfied that duty which was owing to her second Marriage bed, by bringing forth a Son, who was to be the Patriarch (in a manner) of the *British Islands*.

(ab) *Brev. I.* He was not born therefore of such Poor and (a) obscure Parents, Lord *Brook*, as the Publisher of his *Breviat* makes him, much less (b) *E facce Plebis*, of the dregs of the People, as both he and all the rest of the Bishops were affirmed to be by the late Lord *Brook* (who of all others had least Reason to upbraid them with it) in a book of his touching the nature of that *Episcopacy*, which had been exercised in *England*.



England. A Speech becoming none so ill as him that spake it, whose L I B. I.  
 Father in his best Preferment, was but Keeper of one of Sir Fulk Gre- Anno Dom.  
 vill's Parks, though the Son had afterwards the good fortune to suc- 1573.  
 ceed that noble Gentleman in his Lands and Honours. But granting  
 that he had been born of as *poor and obscure Parents* as those Authors  
 make him; yet must it needs add to the commendation of his parts  
 and industry, who from so mean and low a Birth, had raised him-  
 self into such an eminent height of Power and Glory, that no Bishop  
 or Archbishop, since the Reformation, had attained the like. The  
 greatest Rivers many times have the smallest Fountains, such as can  
 hardly be found out, and being found out, as hardly quit the cost of  
 the discovery; and yet by long running and holding on a constant  
 and continual course, they become large, navigable, and of great  
 benefit unto the Publick. Whereas some Families may be compar-  
 ed to the *Pyramides of Egypt*, which being built on great Foun-  
 dations, grow narrower and narrower by degrees, until at last they  
 end in a small *Conus*, in a point, in nothing. For if we looke into  
 the Stories of the Times foregoing, we shall find that poor and ob-  
 scure Cottages have bred Commanders to the Camp, Judges unto  
 the Seats of Justice, Councillors to the State, Peers to the Realm,  
 and Kings themselves unto the Throne, as well as *Prelates* to the  
 Church; when such as do pretend to a nobler birth, do many times  
 consume themselves in effeminate Luxuries, and waste their Fortunes  
 in a Prodigal and Libidinous course; which brings into my minde the  
 Answer made by Mr. Pace (one of the Secretaries to King Hen. 8.)  
 to a Nobleman about the Court; For when the said Nobleman had  
 told him, in contempt of Learning, *That it was enough for Noble-*  
*mens Sons to wind their Horn, and carry their Hawk fair, and to leave*  
*Study and Learning to the Children of mean men*; Mr. Pace thereunto  
 replied, *Then his Lords<sup>hip</sup> and the rest of the Noblemen must be content to*  
*leave unto the Sons of meaner persons the managing of Affairs of Estate,*  
*when their own Children please themselves with winding their Horns,*  
*and managing their Hawks, and other Follies of the Country.*

Cam. Rem.  
 p. 273. last  
 Edit.

But yet notwithstanding, such was the envy of the Times, that he  
 was frequently upbraided in the days of his greatness, as well (in  
 common Speech) as scattered Libells, with the *mean* condition of  
 his birth. And I remember that I found him once in his Garden at  
*Lambeth*, with more than ordinary Trouble in his Countenance; of  
 which not having confidence enough to enquire the Reason, he shewed  
 me a Paper in his hand, and told me it was a printed sheet of a Scan-  
 dalous *Libell* which had been stopped at the Press, in which he found  
 himself reproach'd with so base a Parentage, as if he had been raked  
 out of the Dunghill, adding withall, that though he had not the  
 good fortune to be born a Gentleman, yet he thank'd God he had been  
 born of honest Parents, who lived in a plentiful condition, employ-  
 ed many poor people in their way, and left a good report behind  
 them. And thereupon beginning to clear up his countenance, I told  
 him



PART I. him as presently as I durst, that *Pope Sextus* the Fifth, as stout a *Anno Dom.* Pope as ever wore the Triple Crown, but a poor mans Son, did use familiarly to say in contempt of such *Libells* as frequently were made against him, That he was *domo natus illustri*, because the Sun-beams passing through the broken walls and ragged Roof, *illustrated* every corner of that homely Cottage in which he was born; with which facetiousness of that *Pope* (so applicable to the present occasion) he seemed very well pleased.

1573.

1589. But to go forwards with our Story, Having escaped a dangerous Sickness in his Childhood, he was trained up (as soon as he was fitted for it) in the Free Grammar-School of *Reading*; in which he profited so well, and came on so fast, that before he was sixteen years of age (which was very early for those times) he was sent to *Oxon*, and entred a Commoner in *St. John's Colledge*, and there committed to the tuition of *Mr. Buckridge*, one of the Fellows of that Colledge, and afterwards the worthy *President* of it. It proved no ordinary happiness to the Scholar to be principled under such a *Tutor*, who knew as well as any other of his time how to employ the two-edged Sword of holy Scripture, of which he made good proof in the times succeeding, brandishing it on the one side against the *Papists*, and on the other against the *Puritans* or *Nonconformists*. In reference to the

(d) Et tam scribendo, quam concionando veritatem Evangelicam haud segnitur satagit propugnare. Godwin Carol. Episc. 584.

first it is said of him in the general by Bishop *Godwin*, (d) That he endeavoured most industriously both by preaching and writing to defend and propagate the true Religion, here by Law established: Which appears plainly by his Learned and Laborious Piece entituled, *De potestate Papæ in temporalibus*, printed at *London*, An. 1614. in which he hath so shaken the foundation of the *Papal Monarchy*, and the pretended Superiority of that *See* over Kings and Princes, that none of the Learned Men of that Party did ever undertake a Reply unto it. With like success, but with less pains unto himself, he managed the Controversie concerning Kneeling at the Lords Supper, against those of the *Puritan* Faction; the piety and antiquity of which Religious posture in that holy Action, he asserted with such solid Reasons and such clear Authorities, in a Treatise by him published An. 1618. that he came off without the least opposition by that Party also. But before the publishing of these Books, or either of them, his eminent Abilities in the Pulpit had brought him into great credit with King *James*; insomuch that he was chosen to be one of the four (*Dr. Andrews* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Dr. Barlow* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Dr. King* then Dean of *Christchurch*, and not long after Bishop of *London*, were the other three) who were appointed to preach before his Majesty at *Hampton-court* in the Month of *September* 1606. for the Reductions of the two *Melvins*, and other *Presbyterian Scots* to a right understanding of the Church of *England*: In the performance of which Service he took for his Text those words of the Apostle, *Let every soul, &c.* Rom. 13. 1. In canvassing whereof he fell upon the point of the Kings Supremacy in causes Ecclesiastical; which he handled,



handled (e) (as the most Reverend Archbishop *Spotwood* (who was present at the Sermon) hath informed us of him) "both learned-ly and soundly, to the satisfaction of all the hearers; but that the "*Scottish* Ministers seemed very much grieved to hear the *Pope* and "the *Presbytery* so often equalled in their opposition to *Sovereign* "Princes. *Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Lib. VII. pag. 497.* And though the other three, with the like abilities and elocution had discharged their parts, yet gained they nothing on the *Scots*, who were resolved, like the *deaf Adder* in the *Psalmist*, *not to give ear unto the Charmers, charmed they never so wisely.* But whatsoever they lost in the opinion of that proud and refractory Generation, they gained exceedingly on the King, and great Preferments for themselves, Bishop *Andrews* being not long after removed to the See of *Ely*, Bishop *Barlow* unto that of *Lincoln*, Dr. *King* preferred to the See of *London*, and Dr. *Buckridge* to that of *Rocheſter*, where he continued till the year 1627. when by the power and favour of this his present Pupill (then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*) he was translated to the rich Bishoprick of *Ely*, in which See he died.

LIB. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1589.  
(e) Hist. of  
Scot. lib. 7.  
p. 497.

Of this man I have spoken the more at large, that finding the temper of the *Tutor*, we may the better judge of those ingredients which went to the making up of the *Scholar*. Having spent about a year in his Colledge, there was raised such a good report of him in the Town of *Reading*, that partly by his own proficiencies, and partly by the good esteem which was had of his Father, he was nominated by the Mayor and others of that Corporation unto a Scholars place in that House, according to the Constitutions of Sir *Tho. White*, the Honourable and sole Founder of it, who though he had designed the *Merchant-Taylors* School in *London* for the Chief Seminary of his Colledge, yet being a man of a more publick Spirit, than to confine himself to any one place, he allowed two Fellowships to the City of *Coventry*, and as many to *Bristol*, two also to the Town of *Reading*, and one to *Tunbridg*. Admitted a Scholar of the House on this nomination, at the end of three years (according to the Custom of that Colledge) he was made one of the Fellows, taking his *Academical* Degrees according to that custom also; by which custom those of that Society are kept longer from taking their degrees in the Arts, but are permitted to take their Degrees in *Divinity* much sooner than in other Houses; so that although he proceeded not Master of Arts till the Month of *July* 1599. yet at the end of five years only he took the Degree of *Batchelour* in *Divinity*, without longer stay; during which interval he was first made *Deacon*, and afterwards was put into the Order of *Priesthood* by Dr. *Young* then Bishop of *Rocheſter*, the See of *Oxon*. being vacant, in which vacancy it had continued for the space of 11. years, that is to say, from the death of Bishop *Underhill*, An. 1592. till the Consecration of Dr. *Bridges* on the twelfth of *February*, An. 1603. The Patrimony of that Church being in the mean time much dilapidated and made a prey (for the most part) to the Earl of *Essex*,

1590.

1593.

1599.



PART I. to whom it proved as miserably fatal, as the Gold of *Tholouse* did  
*Anno Dom.* of old to the Soldiers of *Cepio*.

1600.



(f) *Full.*  
*Hist. lib. 9.*  
 p. 234.

And now being fallen upon his Studies in Divinity, in the exercise whereof he met with some affronts and oppositions, it will be necessary to take a short view of the then present Estate of that University, that so we may the better discern the Reasons of those affronts and oppositions under which he suffered. Know then, that Mr. *Lawrence Humphrey*, one of the Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge*, being deprived of his Fellowship there in Queen *Maries* time, betook himself to the City of *Zurich*, a City of chiefest note amongst the *Switzers*, remarkable for the Preachings and Death of *Zwinglius*; from whence, and from the Correspondence which he had at *Geneva*, he brought back with him at his returning into *England* on Queen *Maries* death, so much of the *Calvinian*, both in Doctrine and in Discipline, that the best that could be said of him, by (f) one who commonly speaks favourably of all that Party, is, that he was a moderate and conscientious Non-conformist. Immediately on his return he was by Queen *Elizabeth* made President of *Magdalen Colledge*, and found to be the fittest man (as certainly he was a man of very good parts, and the Master of a pure Latin Style) for governing the *Divinity Chair*, as her Majesties Professor in that Faculty; in which he continued till the year 1596. and for a great part of that time was *Vice-chancellor* also. By which advantages he did not only stock his Colledge with such a generation of Non-conformists as could not be wormed out in many years after his decease; but sowed in the Divinity Schools such seeds of *Calvinism*, and laboured to create in the younger Students such a strong hate against the Papists, as if nothing but Divine Truths were to be found in the one, and nothing but Abominations to be seen in the other. And though Doctor *John Holland* Rector of *Exeter Colledge*, who succeeded *Humphries* in the *Chair*, came to it better principled than his Predecessor, yet did he suffer himself to be borne away by the violent current of the times, contrary in some cases to his own opinion.

And yet as zealous as Doctor *Humphries* shewed himself against the Papists (insomuch as he got the title of a *Papisto Mastyx*) he was not thought, though seconded by the Lady *Margarets* Professor for that University, to make the distance wide enough betwixt the Churches. A new Lecture therefore must be founded by Sir *Francis Walsingham* Principal Secretary of Estate, a man of Great Abilities in the Schools of *Policy*, an extreme hater of the Popes and Church of *Rome*, and no less favourable unto those of the *Puritan* Faction. The designe was to make the Religion of the Church of *Rome* more odious, and the differences betwixt them and the Protestants to appear more irreconcilable than before they did. And that he might not fail of his purpose in it, the Reading of this Lecture was committed to Doctor *John Reynolds* President of *Corpus Christi Colledge*, a man of infinite Reading, and as vast a Memory; who having lived some-



sometimes in one of our *English* Seminaries beyond the Seas, declared himself as profest a *Papist*, and as eager in the pursuit of that way, as any other whatsoever: But being regained unto this Church by his Brother *William*, who lost himself in the encounter, he thought he could not sufficiently express his detestation of the errors and corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, but by running to the other extrem, and making himself considerable amongst the *Puritans*. On which account, as he became very gracious to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, so was he quickly made the Spiritual Head of the *Puritan* Faction; in which capacity he managed their business for them in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, Anno 1603. where he appeared the principal if not only Speaker, the other three (that is to say, *Spark*, *Chadderton*, and *Knewstubs*) serving no otherwise than as Mutes and Cyphers to make up the mess.

LIB. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1600.

By the power and practices of these men, the disposition of those times, and the long continuance of the Earl of *Leicester* (the principal Patron of that Faction) in the place of *Chancellor*, the face of that University was so much altered, that there was little to be seen in it of the Church of *England*, according to the Principles and Positions upon which it was at first Reformed. All the *Calvinian* Rigors in matters of *Predestination*, and the Points depending thereupon, received as the Established Doctrines of the Church of *England*; the necessity of the one Sacrament, the eminent dignity of the other, and the powerful efficacy of both unto mans salvation, not only disputed, but denied; the Article of Christs local descent into hell, so positively asserted in two Convocations, Anno 1552. and 1562. at first corrupted with false Glosses, afterwards openly contradicted, and at last totally disclaimed, because repugnant to the Fancies of some Forreign Divines, though they at odds amongst themselves in the meaning of it; *Episcopacy* maintained by halves, not as a distinct Order from that of the *Presbyters*, but only a degree above them, or perhaps not that, for fear of giving scandal to the Churches of *Calvins Platform*; the Church of *Rome* inveighed against as the *Whore of Babylon*, or the *Mother of Abominations*; the *Pope* as publickly maintained to be *Antichrist*, or the Man of Sin, and that as positively and magisterially as if it had been one of the chief Articles of the Christian Faith; and then for fear of having any good thoughts for either, the visibility of the Church must be no otherwise maintained, than by looking for it in the scattered *Conventicles* of the *Berengarians* in *Italy*, the *Albigenses* in *France*, the *Hussites* in *Bohemia*, and the *Wickliffists* among our selves. Nor was there any greater care taken for the *Forms* and *Orders* of this Church, than there had been for points of Doctrine, the Surplice so disused in officiating the Divine Service of the Church, and the Divine Service of the Church so flubbered over in most of the Colledges, that the *Prelates* and *Clergy* assembled in Convocation, Anno 1603. were necessitated to frame two *Canons*, that is to say, *Can. 16, 17.* to bring them



PART I.  
Anno Dom.  
1600.  
(g) Cant.  
Dome. p.  
469.

(h) Hooker  
Preface.

(i) *Eamus ergo, quia sic placet, in communes errores. Ludo. Vives in Aug. de Civit. Dei. Nisi quod ex illa ipsa doctrina, catholici Patres & veteres Episcopi collegierint.*  
(k) *Lib. Can. cap. De concionat. p. 19.*

them back again to the ancient practise; particularly, the bowing at the Name of *JESUS*, commanded by the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, Anno 1559. and used in most Churches of the Kingdom, so much neglected and decryed, that *Airy* (g) *Provost of Queens College* writ a Tract against it; the Habits of the Priests, by which they were to be distinguished from other men, (not only by the Queens Injunctions, but also by some following Canons made in *Convocation*) so much despised, and laid aside, that Doctor Reynolds had the confidence to appear in the Conference at Hampton Court in his Turkey Gown, and therefore may be thought to have worn no other in the University: And in a word, (h) the Books of Calvin made the Rule by which all men were to square their Writings, his only word (like the *ipse dixit* of Pythagoras) admitted for the sole Canon to which they were to frame and conform their Judgments, and in comparison of whom the Ancient Fathers of the Church (men of Renown, and the Glories of their several Times) must be held contemptible; and to offend against this Canon, or to break this Rule, esteemed a more unpardonable Crime, than to violate the Apostles Canons, or dispute the Doctrines and Determinations of any of the four first general Councils; so as it might have proved more safe for any man, in such a general deviation from the Rules and Dictates of this Church, to have been look'd upon as an Heathen or Publican, than an Anti-Calvinist.

But *Laud* was of a stronger Metal than to give up himself so tamely, and being forged and hammered on a better Anvil, would not be wrought on by the times, or captivate his Understanding to the Names of Men, how great soever they appeared in the eyes of others. Nor would he run precipitately into common Opinions (for common Opinions many times are but common Errors) as *Calderinus* is reported to have gone to (i) *Mas* because he would not break company with the rest of his friends. His Studies in Divinity he had founded on the Holy Scriptures, according to the Glosses and Interpretations of the ancient Fathers; for doing which he had the countenance and direction of a Canon made in *Convocation*, Anno 1571. by which it was appointed, That in interpreting the Scriptures, they were to raise no other Doctrines from them than what had been collected thence from the ancient Fathers, and other godly Bishops of the Primitive times. (k) And laying to this Line the establish'd Doctrines and Determinations of the Church of England, it was no hard matter to him to discern how much the Church had deviated from her self, or most men rather from the Church, in those latter times; how palpably the Articles had been wrested from the *Literal* and *Gramatical* sence, to fit them to the sence of particular persons; how a different construction had been put upon them, from that which was the true and genuine meaning of the men that framed them, and the Authority which confirmed them; and finally, that it would be a work of much glory, but of much more merit,



rit, to bring her back again to her native Principles. But then withal, it was as easie to discern how desperate an attempt it must needs appear for a single man, unseconded, and not well befriended, to oppose himself against an Army; how vain a thing to strive against so strong a stream, and cross the current of the times; that the disease by long neglect was grown so natural and habitual, that more mischief might be feared from the Medicine, than from the Malady; that he must needs expose himself to many Censures and Reproaches, and possibly to some danger also by the undertaking. But these last considerations being weighed in the Scale of the *Sanctuary*, appeared so light, that he was resolved to try his fortune in the work, and to leave the issue thereof unto God, by whom *Paul's planting* and *Apollo's watering* do receive increase?

LIB. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1600.

For being thus resolved upon the point, it was not long before he had an opportunity to set it forwards. He had before attained unto an high esteem for Arts and Oratory, and was conceived to have made so good a proficiency in the Studies of Divinity also, that in the year 1602. he was admitted to read the Lecture of Mrs. *May's* Foundation, with the general liking of that Colledge. With the like general consent and approbation he was chosen out of all the rest of that Society to be a *Candidate* for the *Proctorship* in the University, into which Office he was chosen on the fourth of *May*, 1603. which was as soon as he was capable of it by the University Statutes; which Office he discharged with great applause as to himself, and general satisfaction unto others. Doctor *George Abbot* Master of *University* Colledge (who afterwards attained to the See of *Canterbury*) was at that time *Vice-chancellor* of the University, whom with the rest of the Doctors and *Heads* of Houses he accompanied to *Woodstock* Manor, to present themselves and tender their most humble service to the most Mighty Prince King *James*, succeeding on the 24th. of *March* before to the Crown of *England*: And in this year it was (but whether in reading of the Lecture of Mrs. *May's* Foundation, or some other *Chappel Exercise*, I am not able to say) he maintained the constant and perpetual *visibility* of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of *Rome*, continued in that Church (as in others of the *East* and *South*) till the *Reformation*. Dr. *Abbot* Master of *University* Colledg, and *Vice-chancellor*, was of a different opinion, and could not finde any such *visibility* of the Christian Church, but by tracing it as well as he could from the *Berengarians* to the *Albigenses*, from the *Albigenses* to the *Wickliffists*, from the *Wickliffists* unto the *Hussites*, and from the *Hussites* unto *Luther* and *Calvin*; for proof whereof, we may consult a Book of his, entituled, *The Visibility of the Church*, published in those busie Times when this impertinent Question, *viz. Where was your Church before Luther?* was as impertinently insisted on by the Priests and Jesuites. This being his opinion also when he lived in *Oxon*, he thought it a great derogation to his Parts and Credit, that any man should dare

1602.

1603.



PART I. to maintain the contrary, and thereupon conceived a strong grudge  
*Anno Dom.* against him, which no tract of time could either abolish or diminish.

1603.

In the next year, *viz.* 1604. he performed his Exercise for *Batchelor of Divinity*, in which he maintained these two Points: First, *The necessity of Baptism*: Secondly, *That there could be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops*: For which last he was shrewdly ratled

1604.

by Doctor *Holland* above-mentioned, as one that did endeavour to cast a bone of Discord betwixt the Church of *England*, and the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; and for the first it was objected, That he had taken the greatest part of his *Supposition* out of *Bellarmines Works*, as if the Doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, or any necessary Truths, were to be renounced because they are defended by that Learned Cardinal. But misfortunes seldom come alone, if at the least it may be counted a misfortune to be reproach'd for standing up in defence of truth: For not long after, *viz.*

1606.


*Anno 1606.* he was questioned by Dr. *Airy*, being *Vice-chancellor* for that year, for a Sermon preached in *St. Maries Church* on the 26th. of *October*, as containing in it sundry scandalous and *Popish* passages; the good man taking all things to be matter of *Popery*, which were not held forth unto him in *Calvins Institutes*; conceiving that there was as much Idolatry in bowing at the Name of *JESUS*, as in worshipping the *brassen Serpent*, and as undoubtedly believing that *Antichrist* was begotten on the Whore of *Babylon*, as that *Pharez* and *Zara* were begotten on the body of *Tamar*. Which advantage being taken by Doctor *Abbot*, he so violently persecuted the poor man, and so openly branded him for a *Papist*, or at least very *Popishly* enclined, that it was almost made an *Heresie* (as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one to be seen in his company, and a *mispriſion* of *Heresie* to give him a civil Salutation as he walked the Streets. But there will one day come a time, when Doctor *Abbot* may be made more sensible of these Oppressions, when he shall see this poor despised man standing upon the higher ground, and more above him in respect of Power, than beneath in Place: So unsafe a thing it is for them that be in Authority to abuse their Power, and carry matters on to the last extremities, as if they had *Fortune* in a string, and could be sure to lead her with them whithersoever they went.

*L. Decad. 3.  
 Epist.*

This scandal being raised at *Oxon*, it was not long before it flew to *Cambridge* also, at what time Mr. *Joseph Hall* (who died Bishop of *Norwich* about the year 1657.) was exercising his Pen in the way of Epistles, in one of which inscribed to Mr. *W. L.* (the two first Letters of his Name) it was generally supposed that he aimed at him, and was this that followeth. "I would (*saith he*) I knew  
 "where to finde you; then I could tell how to take direct aims;  
 "whereas now I must pore and conjecture. To day you are in the  
 "Tents of the *Romanists*, to morrow in ours; the next day between  
 "both, against both. Our Adversaries think you ours, we theirs;  
 "your Conscience findes you with both, and neither. I flatter you  
 "not:



“not : This of yours is the worst of all tempers : Heat and Cold  
 “have their uses ; Lukewarmness is good for nothing, but to trou-  
 “ble the stomach. Those that are spiritually hot, find acceptation ;  
 “those that are stark cold, have a lesser reckoning ; the mean between  
 “both is so much worse, as it comes neerer to good, and attains it  
 “not. How long will you halt in this indifferency ? Resolve one way,  
 “and know at last what you do hold, what you should. Cast off  
 “either your wings or your teeth, and loathing this Bat-like Nature,  
 “be either a Bird or a Beast. To die wavering and uncertain, your  
 “self will grant fearful. If you must settle, when begin you ? If  
 “you must begin, why not now ? It is dangerous deferring that  
 “whose want is deadly, and whose opportunity is doubtful. God  
 “cryeth with *Jehu, who is on my side, who ?* Look at last out of  
 “your window to him, and in a resolute courage cast down the *Je-*  
 “*zebel* that hath bewitched you. Is there any impediment which  
 “delay will abate ? Is there any which a just answer cannot remove ?  
 “If you had rather waver, who can settle you ? But if you love not  
 “inconstancy, tell us why you stagger ? Be plain, or else you will  
 “never be firm, &c.

L I B. I.  
 Anno Dom.  
 1606.  


But notwithstanding these false bruits, and this smart Epistle, Doctor *Buckridge* who had been his *Tutor*, and from whom he received his Principles, had better assurance of his unfeigned sincerity in the true Protestant Religion here by Law established, than to be so perswaded of him ; he had not else preferred him to the service of Bishop *Neile*, or recommended him to the Colledge, as the fittest man to succeed him in the *Presidents* place, when he himself was at the point of his preferment to the See of *Rocheſter*. So also had the whole Body of the University, when they conferred upon him his Degrees in Divinity, which certainly they had never done, if either they had believed him to have been a *Papist*, or at the least so *Popishly* affected as the Faction made him. Neither could he have taken those Degrees (had it been so with him) without a most perfidious dissimulation before God and Man ; because in taking those Degrees, he must both take the Oath of *Supremacy*, and subscribe to the three Articles contained in the 36 *Canon* of the year 1603. In the first of which he was to have abjured the Popes Authority, and in the next to have declared his approbation of the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship established in the Church of *England* : Which may sufficiently serve to over-balance the Depositions of Sir *Nath. Brent* and Doctor *Featly*, the first of which deposed at his Tryal, That whilst the Archbishop remained in Oxon, he was generally reputed to be *Popishly* affected ; the other, Not only that the Archbishop was generally reported to be *Popish* when he lived in Oxon, but that both he and others conceived so of him. But both these men were *Abbot's* Creatures, and had received their Offices and Preferments from him ; I need say no more, For had he either been a *Papist*, or so strongly biased on that side, what should have hindred him from making an open

Cant. Dome.  
 p. 409.



PART I. open Declaration of it, or stop him from a reconciliation with the Church of Rome? His Fellowship was not so considerable, but that

1605.

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(m) *Injuria  
& contume-  
lici, R. E.  
Clericorum  
exagitatus in  
Montani  
partes tran-  
sit. B. Rhen.  
in Tertull.*

(n) *Collect. of  
Speeches, p. 5*

he might presume of a larger Maintenance beyond the Seas: Nor was he of such common parts, but that he might have looked for a better welcom, and far more civil usage there than he found at home. Preferments in the Church he had none at the present, nor any strong presumptions of it for the time to come, which might be a temptation to him to continue here against the clear light of his Understanding. And this may be a further Argument, not only of his unfeigned sincerity, but of his constancy and stedfastness in the Religion here established, that he kept his station; that notwithstanding all those clamours under which he suffered, he was resolved to ride out the storm, and neither to desert the Barque in which he sailed, nor run her upon any of the *Roman Shores*. In this of a far better Temper than *Tertullian* was, though as much provok'd, of whom it is reported by *Beatus Rhenamus*, That at first he only seem'd to favour *Montanus*, or at the least not to be displeased with his proceedings: But afterwards being continually tormented by the tongues and pens of the *Roman Clergy*, (m) he fell off from the obedience of the Church, and became at last a downright *Montanist*. All which together make it plain, that it was not his design to desert the Church, but to preserve her rather from being deserted, to vindicate her by degrees from those *Innovations* which by long tract of time, and the cunning practises of some men, had been thrust upon her. And being once resolved on this, the blustering winds which so rag'd against him, did rather fix him at the root, than either shake his resolution, or force him to desist from his purpose in it: And therefore it was well resolved by Sir *Edw. Dering*, (n) though his greatest enemy, *That he was always one and the same man; that beginning with him at Oxon. and so going on to Canterbury, he was unmoved and unchanged; that he never complied with the times, but kept his own stand until the times came up to him, as they after did.* Such was the man, and such the purpose of the man, whom his good friends in *Oxon.* (out of pure zeal no doubt we must take it so) had declared a *Papist*.

During these Agitations and Concussions in the *University*, there hapned an accident at *wansteed* in the County of *Essex*, which made as great a noise as his being a *Papist*; but such a noise as might have freed him from that Accusation, if considered rightly. In the year 1605. he had been made Chaplain to *Charles Lord Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonshire*, a man in great favour with King *James* for his fortunate Victory at *Kinsale* in *Ireland*, by which he reduced that Realm to the obedience of this Crown, broke the whole Forces of the Rebels, and brought the Earl of *Tir-owen* a Prisoner into *England* with him. For which great Services he was by King *James* made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and one of the Lords of his Privy Council, created Earl of *Devonshire*, and one of the Knights of the most No-  
ble



ble Order of the *Garter*. This Gentleman being a younger Brother of *William* Lord *Mountjoy*, and known only by the name of Sir *Charles Blunt*, while his Brother lived, had bore a strong and dear affection to the Lady *Penelope* Daughter of *Walter* Earl of *Essex*, a Lady in whom lodged all attractive Graces of Beauty, Wit, and sweetness of Behaviour, which might render her the absolute Mistress of all Eyes and Hearts. And she so far reciprocated with him in the like affection (being a compleat and gallant man) that some assurances past between them of a future Marriage. But her friends looking on him as a younger Brother, considerable only in his depending at the Court, chose rather to dispose her in Marriage to *Robert* Lord *Rich*, a man of an independent Fortune, and a known Estate, but otherwise of an uncourtly disposition, unsociable, austere, and of no very agreeable conversation to her. Against this *Blunt* had nothing to plead in Bar, the promises which passed between them being made in private, no Witnesses to attest unto it, and therefore not amounting to a pre-Contract in due form of Law.

L I B. I.

Anno Dom.

1605.



But long she had not lived in the Bed of *Rich*, when the old flames of her affection unto *Blunt* began again to kindle in her, and if the Sonet in the *Arcadia*, (*A Neighbour mine not long ago there was, &c.*) be not too generally misconstrued, she made her Husband the sole instrument to acquaint him with it: But whether it were so or not, certain it is, that having first had their private meetings, they afterwards conversed more openly and familiarly with one another, than might stand with honour unto either; especially when by the death of his elder Brother, the Title of Lord *Mountjoy*, and the Estate remaining to it, had accrued unto him: As if the alteration of his Fortune could either lessen the offence, or suppress the *fame*. Finding her, at his coming back from the Wars of *Ireland*, to be free from *Rich*, legally freed by a Divorce, and not a voluntary separation only, *a toro & mensa*, as they call it; he thought himself obliged to make her some Reparation in point of Honour, by taking her into his Bosom as a Lawful Wife. Besides, he had some Children by her, before she was actually separated from the Bed of *Rich* (some of which afterwards attained to Titles of Honour) whom he conceived he might have put into a capability of a Legitimation, by this subsequent Marriage, according to the Rule and Practice of the Civil Laws, in which it passeth for a Maxime, That *subsequens Matrimonium legitimat prolem*. And to that end he dealt so powerfully with his Chaplain, that he disposed him to perform the Rites of that Solemnization, which was accordingly done at *Wanstead*, Decemb. 26. being the Festival of St. *Steven*, Anno 1605.

Nor did he want some Reasons to induce him to it (besides the perswasion of his Friends) which might have gained upon a man not so much concerned in it as he was, and may be used for his excuse, if not for his justification also. He found by the averment of the Parties, that some assurances of Marriage had passed between them,



PART I. before she was espoused to *Rich*; which though they could not  
*Anno Dom.* amount to a pre-Contract in *Foro Judicii*, in a Court of Judicature;  
 1605. yet he might satisfie himself in the truth thereof in *Foro Conscientie*,  
 in the Court of his own private Conscience: And thereupon he  
 might conclude, That being satisfied in the reality and truth of those  
*Assurances*, and finding that *Rich* had quitted his pretensions to her  
 by a formal Sentence of Divorce, he might conceive it lawful for  
 him to perform that Service which was required at his hands. He  
 had found also three Opinions touching the lawfulness or unlawfulness  
 of such Marriages, which are made after a Divorce: The first,  
*That such Marriages are lawful unto neither Party, as long as either of*  
*them liveth*; which is the Doctrine of the *Papists*, determined positively  
 in the Council of *Trent*: The second, *That such Marriages*  
*are lawful to the Party wronged, but not unto the Guilty also*; which  
 Opinion is maintained by some of the *Calvinists*, and divers of the  
 Ancient Writers: The third, *That both the innocent and the guilty Party*  
*may lawfully marry if they please*; which *Maldonate* (o) makes to be  
 (o) *Malden.* the general Opinions of the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Ministers, as also  
 in *Mat.* 19.9 of some *Catholick Doctors*. And then why might he not conceive that  
 course most fit to be followed, in which all Parties did agree, than either  
 of the other two, which was commended to him but by one Party  
 only. And though he followed in this case the worst way of the three,  
 yet may it serve for a sufficient Argument that he was no *Papist*, nor  
*cordially* affected unto that Religion, because he acted so directly against  
 the Doctrines and Determinations of the Church of *Rome*. If any  
 other considerations of Profit, Preferment, or Compliance, did  
 prevail upon him (as perhaps they might) they may with Charity be  
 looked on as the common incidencies of Humane frailty, from which  
 the holiest and most learned men cannot plead Exemption.

But whatsoever motives either of them had to put a fair colour  
 upon the business, certain it is, that it succeeded well with neither:  
 The Earl found presently such an alteration in the Kings countenance  
 towards him, and such a lessening of the value which formerly had  
 been set upon him, that he was put to a necessity of writing an Apology  
 to defend his action: But finding how little it edified both in  
 Court and Country, it wrought such a sad impression on him, that he  
 did not much survive the mischief, ending his life before the end of  
 the year next following. Nor did the Chaplain brook it long without  
 such a check of Conscience, as made him turn the Annual Festival  
 of *St. Steven* into an Anniversary Fast, humbling himself from  
 year to year upon that day before the Father of Mercies, and craving  
 pardon for that Error which by the persuasions of some Friends,  
 and other the temptations of flesh and blood, he had fallen into.  
 And for this purpose he composed this ensuing Prayer.

*Cant. Doem.*  
 29.

**B**ehold thy Servant, O my God, and in the bowels of thy mercy  
 have compassion on me. Behold I am become a Reproach to thy  
 holy



holy Name, by serving my Ambition and the sins of others; which though I did by the perswasion of other men, yet my own Conscience did check and upbraid me in it. Lord I beseech thee for the mercies of Jesus Christ, enter not into Judgement with me thy Servant; but hear his blood imploring thy mercies for me: Neither let this Marriage prove a Divorcing of my Soul from thy grace and favour; for much more happy had I been, if being mindful of this day, I had suffered Martyrdom, as did St. Steven the first of Martyrs, denying that which either my less faithful friends or less godly friends had pressed upon me. I promised to my self that the darkness would hide me, but that hope soon vanished away: Nor doth the light appear more plainly, than I that have committed that foul offence: Even so, O Lord, it pleased thee of thy infinite mercy to deject me with this heavy Ignominy, that I might learn to seek thy Name. O Lord how grievous is the remembrance of my sin to this very day, after so many and such reiterated Prayers poured forth unto thee from a sorrowful and afflicted Spirit. Be merciful, O Lord, unto me; hearken to the Prayers of thy humble and dejected Servant, and raise me up again, O Lord, that I may not die in this my sin, but that I may live in thee hereafter, and living evermore rejoyce in thee, through the merits and the mercies of Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour. Amen.

LIB. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1605.

A brave example of a penitent and afflicted Soul, which many of us may admire, but few will imitate. And though I doubt not but that the Lord in mercy did remit this fault, yet was he not so mercifully dealt with at the hands of men, by whom it was so frequently and reproachfully cast in the way of his Preferment, that he was fain to make the Duke of Buckingham acquainted with the story of it, and by his means to possess King Charles his gracious Master with the truth thereof: So long it was before his Enemies had desisted from pressing this unhappy Error to his disadvantage.

9 Bre. p. 4.  
& p. 6.

The Earl of Devonshire being dead, he was by Doctor Buckridge his most constant friend (Anno 1608.) commended to the Service of Doctor Richard Neile, then Bishop of Rochester, a man who very well understood the Constitution of the Church of England, though otherwise not so eminent in all parts of Learning, as some other Bishops of his time: But what he wanted in himself, he made good in the choice of his Servants, having more able men about him from time to time than any other of that age: Amongst which (not to reckon Land, of whom now I speak) were Doctor Augustine Linsell Bishop of Hereford, Doctor Thomas Jackson President of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxon. and Dean of Peterburrrough, Doctor John Cosen Prebend of Durham, and Dean of Peterburrrough after Jackson, Doctor Benjamin Lany Master of ~~Pembroke Hall~~ in Cambridge, and Dean of Rochester, Doctor Robert Newell his half Brother, Prebend of Westminster and Durham, and Archdeacon of Buckingham, Doctor Gabriel Clarke Prebend and Archdeacon of Durham, Doctor Eliazer

1608.



PART I. *Duncum* one of the Prebends of *Durham* also, Mr. *Barlow* a right  
*Anno Dom.* solid man, but not possessed of any Dignity in the Church to my  
 1608. best remembrance; and some others of good note, whose Names  
 and Titles I cannot presently call to minde. In the beginning of the  
 Reign of King *James* (by the power and mediation of Archbishop  
*Bancroft*) he was made Clerk of the Closet to that King, that  
 standing continually at his Elbow, he might be ready to perform  
 good offices to the Church and Churchmen: And he discharged his  
 trust so well, that though he lost the love of some of the Courtiers,  
 who were too visibly enclined to the *Puritan* Faction, yet he gained  
 the favour of his Master, by whom he was preferred to the *Deanry*  
 of *Westminster*, and afterwards successively to the Bishopricks of *Ro-*  
*chester*, *Litchfield*, *Lincoln*, and *Durham*, one of the richest in the  
 Kingdom; which shews that there was in him something more than  
 ordinary, which made that King so bountiful and gracious to him.  
 Nor staid he there, but by the Power and Favour of this his Chap-  
 lain, he was promoted in the Reign of King *Charles* to the See of  
*Winton*, and finally exalted to the *Metropolitan* See of *Tork*, where  
 at last he died about the latter end of *October* 1640. None of his  
 Chaplains received so much into his Counsels as Doctor *Laud* (to  
 which degree he was admitted in the year 1608.) whom he found  
 both an active and a trusty Servant, as afterwards a most constant and  
 faithful friend upon all occasions.

The first Ecclesiastical Preferment which fell unto him was the  
 Vicaridge of *Stamford* in *Northamptonshire*: But having put himself  
 into the Service of Bishop *Neile*, he was by him preferred into the  
 1610. Rectory of *Cuckstone* in *Kent*, toward the latter end of *May* 1610.  
 On the acceptance thereof he gave over his Fellowship in *October* fol-  
 lowing, that so he might more fully apply himself to the service of  
 his Lord and Patron. But *Cuckstone* proving an unhealthy place, he  
 exchanged it for another called *Norton*; a Benefice of less value,  
 but situate in a better and more healthy Air: His Patron in the  
 mean time being translated to the See of *Litchfield* on the end of  
*September*, whose Fortunes he was resolved to follow, till God  
 should please to provide otherwise for him: For first the Bishop,  
 before his going off from the Deanry of *Westminster*, which he held in  
*commendam* with his Bishoprick of *Rocheſter*, obtained for him of King  
*James*, (to whom not otherwise known but by his Recommendation)  
 the Reversion of a *Prebend* in that Church; which though it fell not to  
 him until ten years after, yet it fell at last, and thereby neighbour'd  
 him to the Court. And on the other side, his good Friend and Tu-  
 tor Doctor *Buckridge* being nominated Successor unto *Neile* in the See  
 of *Rocheſter*, laid a good ground for his Succession in the *President-*  
*ſhip* of *St. John's* Colledge, thereby to render him considerable in  
 the University. But this was both suspected and feared by *Abbot*,  
 who being consecrated Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* on the third  
 of *December* 1609. and from thence removed to *London* in the end of  
 January



January next ensuing, resolved to hinder the design with all care and diligence: So natural a thing it is to hate the man whom we have wronged; to keep him down, whom we have any cause to fear, when we have him under. To which end he made great Complaints against him to *Thomas Lord Elmer*, Lord Chancellor of *England* many years before, and newly then made Chancellor of that University, on the death of the Lord Archbishop *Bancroft*, insinuating to him, *That he was at the least a Papist in heart; and cordially addicted unto Popery; That he kept company with none but profest and suspected Papists; and, That if he were suffered to have any place of Government in the University, it would undoubtedly turn to the great Detriment of Religion, and Dishonour of his Lordship.* The Chancellor hereupon makes his Address unto the King, informing him of all which had been told him concerning *Laud*, which was like to have destroy'd his hopes as to that design (notwithstanding his petition to the King to believe otherwise of him) if Bishop *Neile* his constant and unmovable Friend, had not acquainted his Majesty with the Abilities of the man, and the old grudge which *Abbot* had conceived against him.

L I B. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1610.

This Bar being thus removed, the design for the Presidentship went on; in the obtaining whereof, he found a greater difficulty than he had expected: *Rawlinson*, once a Fellow of the same House, and afterwards Principal of *St. Edmonds Hall*, appearing a Competitor for it. Each of them having prepared his Party, the Fellows proceeded to an Election May 10. Anno 1611. The Scrutiny being made, and the Election at the point to be declared, one of the Fellows of *Rawlinson's* Party, seeing which way the business was like to go, snatch'd up the Paper, and tore it suddenly in pieces. The Nomination being thus unhappily frustrated, an Appeal was made unto King *James*, who spent three hours in giving Audience to both parties; and upon full consideration of the Proofs and Allegations on either side (notwithstanding all the former practices and prejudices to encline him otherwise) he gave Sentence in behalf of *Laud*; which hapning on the 29th. of *August*, being the day of the beheading of *St. John Baptist*, by whose Name that Colledge was entituled by the Founder of it, hath given an occasion unto some to look upon it as an Omen or Prognostication, that this new Head should suffer death by being beheaded, as the other did. The King having thus passed Judgment for him, he was thereupon sworn, and admitted President; and being so sworn and admitted, he could not for example sake but inflict some punishment on the party who had torn the Scrutiny: But knowing him for a man of hopeful Parts, industrious in his Studies, and of a Courage not to be disliked, he not only released him from the Censure under which he lay, but took him into special Favour, trusted him in all his weighty businesses, made him his Chaplain, and preferred him from one good Benefice to another, married him to his Brothers Daughter, and finally promoted him to the very

1611.



PART I. very *Presidentship* (which had been the first cause of that breach) and  
*Anno Dom.* one of the best *Deanries* of the Kingdom. To such others of the

1611.

Fellows as had opposed him in his Election to that place, he always  
 shewed a fair and equal countenance, hoping to gain them by degrees; But if he found any of them to be untractable, not easily to be gained by favours, he would finde some handsom way or other to remove them out of the Colledge, that others not engaged upon either side might succeed in their places. But notwithstanding all this care, the Faction still held up against him, the younger fry inclining to the same side which had been taken by their Tutors.

But whiles these things were in agitation, there hapned a great alteration in the Church of *England*, by the death of the most Reverend Archbishop *Bancroft*, who died on the second of *November* 1610. and with whom died the *Uniformity* of the Church of *England*. A man he was of eminent parts, and of a most undaunted spirit; one who well knew his work, and did it. When Chaplain only to the Lord *Chancellor Hatton*, he piec'd himself with Doctor *Whitgift*, not long after his first coming to the See of *Canterbury*, to whom he proved a great support in gaining the Lord *Chancellor* for him, by whose assistance he was enabled to hold out against the over-ruling Power of the *Earl of Leicester*, the Patron-General of the Faction. In the year 1588. he Preached a Sermon at *St. Paul's Cross*, and therein made an open Declaration of those manifold Dangers which the prevalency of that Faction would bring upon the Church and State, if they might be suffered; which blow he followed in a Book entituled, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings published and practised within this Island of Britain; under pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyterial Discipline*: And in that Book he made such a perfect discovery of their Plots and Practises, and so anatomized them in every part, that he made them odious unto those who before had been their greatest Patrons. In the year 1593. he published another Treatise, entituled, *A Survey of the Pretended holy Discipline*, in which he so dissected the whole Body of *Calvin's Presbyterial Platform*, shewing the incoherencies of it in it self, and the inconsistencies thereof with *Monarchical Government*, that he took off the edge of many (and those Great ones too) who had not only seemed to like it, but had longed for it: The Plot was so laid down by *Whitgift*, that at the same time there should come out two other Books, the one written by Doctor *Thomas Bilson*, Warden of the Colledge neer *Winton*, for proof of the Antiquity and perpetual Government of the Church by Bishops; the other by Doctor *Richard Cofens* a right Learned Civilian, in justification of the Proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts. By which four Books the *Puritan* Faction was so muzzled, that they were not able to bark in a long time after: Nor do they want their several and just Rewards for such good performances, *Bilson* being first made Bishop of *Worcester*, and not long after Bishop of *Winton*, *Bancroft* advanced to the See of *London*, and  
 Doct or



Doctor *Cofeius* Vicar-general and Dean of the Arches, within few years after being consecrated Bishop of *London*, on the eighth of *May* 1597. he kept such a watchful eye over it, and held so strict a hand upon it, that from a receptacle and retreat of the *Grandeers* of the *Puritan* party, it became almost as free from Faction as any other in the Kingdom: And knowing how much the Peace of this Church did depend upon it, he managed a secret Correspondency with King *James* in *Scotland*, insinuating unto him the necessity of conforming the Churches of both Kingdoms in Government and Forms of Worship, and laying down a plot for restoring *Episcopacy* to that Kirk, without noise or trouble: Which counsel being advisedly followed by King *James* before his coming into *England*, was afterwards so well pursued (though not without some violent struggling of the *Presbyterians* of that Kingdom) that on the 21. day of *October* in the year 1609. the designed Bishops of *Glasgow*, *Brechen*, and *Galloway* received Episcopal Consecration in the Chappel of *London-house*, by the hands of Doctor *George Abbot* then Bishop of *London*, Doctor *Lancelot Andrews* Bishop of *Ely*, Doctor *James Montague* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and Doctor *Richard Neile* then Bishop of *Rochester*; *Bancroft* himself forbearing to lay hands upon them, for the avoiding of all scruples amongst the *Scots*, as if he pretended any Jurisdiction or Authority over them.

In the mean time, *Anno* 1603. he carried a chief hand in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, and had the sole management of the Convocation of the same year also, in which he passed that excellent body of *Canons* and *Constitutions Ecclesiastical*, to serve for a perpetual standing Rule to the Church of *England*. Succeeding *Whitgift* in the See of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1604. he resolved to put the *Canons* into execution, and press'd it with so stout a courage, that few had confidence enough to stand out against him: Some of them did, and those he either depriv'd or silenc'd, and thereby terrified the rest to an open Conformity. They saw too plainly that they must not dally with his patience, as they did with *Whitgifts*; and that he was resolved to break them, if they would not bow: And they did wisely in so bowing; for who could stand against a man of such a spirit, armed with Authority, having the Law on his side, and the King to friend, who had declared publickly in the (p) Conference at *Hampton Court*, That if they would not conform, he would either hurry them out of the Kingdom, or else do worse? In the year 1608. he was chosen *Chancellor* at *Oxon*. and questionless would have set all things right in that University, if Sickness and the stroke of Death had not prevented his intendments. But die he must; and being dead, there was a Consultation amongst some of the Bishops and other Great men of the Court, whom to commend unto King *James* for his Successor in that See. They knew that *Mountague* and *Abbot* would be venturing at it, but they had not confidence enough in either of them, both of them being extremely popular, and such as would ingratiate themselves

LIB. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1610.

(p) Conf. at  
Hamp. p. 85.



PART I.  
Anno Dom.

1610.

Hist. of K.  
Charles by  
H. L. p 31.

themselves with the *Puritan* Faction, how dearly soever the Church paid for it: And thereupon it was resolved to fix on *Andrews* for the man; a man, as one says very well of him, of Primitive Antiquity, in whom was to be found whatever is desirable in a Bishop, even to admiration; to whom they found the King to be well affected, for taking up the Bucklers for him against Cardinal *Bellarmino*. The Motion was no sooner made, but it was embraced, and they departed from the King with as good assurance as if the business had been done, and *Andrews* fully settled in the Throne of *Canterbury*. In confidence whereof, some of them retired to their Country Houses, and others lessened their accustomed diligence about the King, and thereby gave an opportunity to the Earl of *Dunbar* (a powerful Minister of State) to put in for *Abbot*, who had attended him in some Negotiations which he had with the *Scots*; and he put in so powerfully in his behalf, that at last he carried it, and had the Kings Hand to the passing of the publick Instruments, before the other Bishops ever heard of the Plot: But when they heard of it, there was no Remedy but Patience; but it was *Patience perforce*, as the Proverb hath it: For much they feared that *Abbot* would unravel all the Web which *Bancroft* with such pains had weaved, and that he was (as the same Author well observes) *better qualified with Merit for the Dignity, than with a spirit answering the Function*. Follow his Character to the end, and you shall be told, "That in the exercising of his Function he was conceived too facil and yielding: His extraordinary Remissness in not exacting strict Conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremonie, seemed to resolve those Legal Determinations to their first Principle of Indifferency, and led in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future Reduction of those tender Conscienced men, to long discontinued Obedience, was at the last interpreted an Innovation. If *Andrews* had succeeded *Bancroft*, and *Laud* followed *Andrews*, the Church would have been settled so sure on a Foundation, that it could not easily have been shaken; to the preventing of those deplorable Miseries, which the Remiss Government of that Popular Prelate did so unfortunately bring both on the Church and State.

1611.

But to go forward where we left, *Laud* was no sooner settled in the Presidentship of his Colledge, but he conceived himself advanced, one step at the least, towards a Precedency in the Church, and therefore thought it was high time to cast an eye upon the Court. His good Friend and Patron Bishop *Neile*, then being of *Rocheſter*, had procured him a Turn before the King at *Theobalds* on the 17th. of *September* 1609. and by the power and favour of the same man, being then translated unto *Litchfield*, he was sworn one of his Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary on the third of *November*, Anno 1611. yet so that he continued his dependencies on his former Lord, to whom he was as dear and necessary as before he was; injoying freely all the accomodations of his House, whensoever his occasions brought



brought him to *London*. Having thus set foot within the Court, he promised himself great hopes of some present preferment; but those hopes deceived him. Nothing is more uncertain than Court Preferments: Some have them suddenly at the first, and then continue at a stand without farther Additions, as in the case of Doctor *Young* Dean of *Winchester*: Some attend long, and get nothing, as in the case of Mr. *Arthur Terringham*, and many others; and some are in the same case with the Apostles in *St. John* (2) when they went a fishing, of whom it is said, *That having caught nothing all the night, they cast their net the next morning on the right side of the Ship, and then they were not able to draw it for the multitude of Fishes.* And so it was with this new Chaplain; many Preferments fell, but none fell to him; For whensoever any opportunity was offered for his Advancement, Archbishop *Abbot* (who had before defamed him to the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, and by his mouth unto the King) would be sure to cast somewhat in his dish; sometimes inculcating to him all his actings at *Oxon.* and sometimes rubbing up the old sore of his unfortunate business with the *Earl of Devonshire*. These Artifices so estranged the Kings Countenance from him, that having waited four years, and seeing his hopes more desperate than at the first, he was upon the point of leaving the Court, and retiring wholly into his Colledge: But first he thought it not amiss to acquaint his dear Friend and Patron Bishop *Neile*, both with his resolution and the reasons of it. But *Neile* was not to be told what he knew before; and therefore answered, That he was very sensible of those many neglects which were put upon him, and saw too clearly that he had been too long under a cloud; but howsoever advised him to stay one year longer, and that if he had no better encouragement within that year, he would consent to his retirement. In the mean time, to keep him up in heart and spirit, as he had given him the *Prebendary* of *Bugden* belonging to the Church of *Lincoln* (to which See he had been translated *Anno 1613.*) but the year before; so in the year of his complaint, which was 1615. he conferred upon him also the *Archdeaconry* of *Huntington*. It had pleased God so to dispose of his Affairs, that before the year of expectation was fully ended, his Majesty began to take him into his better thoughts, and for a testimony thereof bestowed upon him the *Deanry* of *Glocester*, void by the death of the Reverend Right Learned Doctor *Feild*, whose excellent Works will keep his Name alive to succeeding Ages: A *Deanry* of no very great value, but such as kept him up in reputation, and made men see he was not so contemptible in the eyes of the King as it was generally imagined.

But before we follow him to *Glocester*, we must take *Oxon.* in our way, in which had hapned no small alteration since we left it last: Doctor *Henry Holland* Rector of *Exceter* Colledge, and his Majesties Professor for Divinity, having left this Life in the end of the year 1611. it seemed good to Archbishop *Abbot* to make use of his Power

LIB. I.

Anno Domini.

1611.

(2) *John* 21.  
v. 3, 6.

1614.



PART I. and Favour with King *James*, for preferring to that place his elder *Anno Dom.* Brother Doctor *Robert Abbot*, being then Master of *Baliol Colledge*, and Rector of *Bingham* in the County of *Nottingham*: He had before 1614. been Fellow of it, and Doctor *Lilly* dying so opportunely for the furtherance of his Preferment in the University, he succeeded Master in his place *March 9. 1609.* being the next Month after his Brother had been advanced to the See of *London*: A man he was of eminent Learning, as his Works declare, and a more moderate *Calvinian* than either of his Predecessors, which he expressed by countenancing the *Sublapsarian* way of *Predestination*; by means whereof he incurred the high displeasure of the *Supralapsarians*, who until then had carried all before them, without gaining any thing on those who liked well of neither: But depending altogether on the will of his Brother, he thought he could not gratifie and oblige him more, than in pursuing his old quarrels against *Laud* and others, whom he knew to be disrellished by him, which he thus pursued. It hapned that *Laud* preaching on *Shrove-Sunday, Anno 1614.* insisted on some points which might indifferently be imputed either to *Poperie* or *Arminianism*, (as about that time they began to call it) though in themselves they were no other than the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of *England*: And having occasion in that Sermon to touch upon the *Presbyterians* and their Proceedings, he used some words to this effect, *viz. That the Presbyterians were as bad as the Papists*: Which being so directly contrary to the Judgment and Opinion of this Doctor *Abbot*, and knowing how much *Laud* had been distasted by his Brother when he lived in *Oxon.* conceived he could not better satisfie himself, and oblige his Brother the Archbishop, than by exposing him (on the next occasion) both to shame and censure, which he did accordingly: For being *Vice-chancellor* for the year, and preaching at *St. Peters* upon *Easter-day* in the afternoon. he pointed at him so directly, that none of the Auditors were so ignorant, as not to know at whom he aimed. *Laud* not being present at the first preaching of the Sermon, was by his friends perswaded to shew himself at *St. Maries* on the *Sunday* after, when it should come to be repeated (according to the ancient Custom of that University) to whose perswasions giving an unwilling consent, he heard himself sufficiently abused for almost an hour together, and that so palpably and grossly, that he was pointed too as he sate: Some of the passages of which Sermon I shall here subjoyn, because howsoever they might bring to him some present and personal disgrace, yet they redounded at the last to the great Good and Benefit of the University.

*Some* (said the Doctor in his Sermon) are partly Romish, partly English, as occasion served them, that a man might say unto them, *Noster es, an Adversariorum?* who under pretence of Truth, and preaching against the Puritan, strike at the heart and root of the Faith and Religion now established amongst us, &c. That they cannot plead



plead they are accounted Papists, because they speak against the Puritan, but because, being indeed Papists, they speak nothing against them; If they do at any time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds that are in it; they speak nothing but that wherein one Papist will speak against another; as against Equivocation, and the Popes Temporal Authority, and the like; and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches: But in the Points of Free will, Justification, Concupiscence being a sin after Baptism, Inherent Righteousness, and certainty of Salvation; The Papists beyond the Seas can say they are wholly theirs; and the Recusants at home make their brags of them. And in all things they keep themselves so near the brink, that upon any occasion they may step over to them. Now for this speech, that the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists, there is a sting in the speech, which I wish had been left out, for there are many Churches beyond the Seas which contend for the Religion established amongst us, and yet have approved and admitted the Presbytery &c.

LIB. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1615.

After which, having spoken somewhat in justification of Presbyteries, he proceeded thus:

Might not Christ say (saith he) what art thou, ROMISH or ENGLISH? PAPIST or PROTESTANT? Or what art thou? A Mungrel or compound of both: A Protestant by Ordination, a Papist in point of Free Will, Inherent Righteousness, and the like. A Protestant in receiving the Sacrament, a Papist in the Doctrine of the Sacrament? What, do you think there are two Heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place your selves there, for into this where I am ye shall not come.

It is not to be doubted but that he was much troubled at this harsh usage, and might have been more troubled at it had he stood alone; had not some others of eminent note, been handled in as ill a manner not long before. Howson, and Corbet, both of Christ-Church, had been Præcursors in this case, to the President of St. John Baptist, the Præcursor of Christ: Of these, the first, being a grave and Reverend person, an ancient Doctor in Divinity, and one of the Canons of the Church, had been Vice-Chancellor of the University, when Laud had but newly taken on him the Order of Priesthood; but none of these could privilege him from feeling the dint of that mans spirit: For preaching at St. Maries in the year 1612. he took occasion to speak of the Geneva Notes on the Bible, accusing them as guilty of misinterpretation touching the Divinity of Christ and his Messiahship, (as my Author (s) hath it) as if symbolizing (s) Church with Arrians and Jews against them both. Whereupon he was Hist. l. 10. suspended by this Dr. Abbot, Propter conciones publicas minus Ortho- p. 59.



PART I. *doxas, & offensionis plenas*; that is to say, for some publick Sermons being less Orthodox, and fuller of offence than they ought to have been. The other, being a man of great wit and able parts,

1615.



Vir eruditus  
& virtutibus  
Episcopatus  
instructus,  
Godw. in  
Continuat.

had been Proctor of the University, in the same year in which *Howson* did incur this Censure: And preaching the *Passion* Sermon at *Christ Church*, Anno 1613. insisted on the Article of Christs descending into Hell, and therein grated upon *Calvins* manifest perverting of the true sense and meaning of it: For which he was so rattled up by the Repetitioner, not without *Abbots* setting on (as it was generally conceived) that if he had not been a man of a very great courage it might have made him ashamed of staying in the University; so dangerous a thing it was to touch at any thing in which *Geneva* was concerned. But the best was, that none of them sunk under the burden of these oppressions, if (like the *Camomile*) they did not rise the higher by it. For *Howson* on the ninth of May, 1619. succeeded Dr. *John Bridges* in the See of *Oxon.* from thence translated unto *Durham*, Anno 1627. and left behind him this commendation, (t) that he was a very learned man, and plentifully endowed with all those vertues which were most proper for a Bishop, as *Godwin* tells us of him in his *Continuation.* *Corbet*, being made *Dean* of *Christ Church* in the year 1620. succeeded Bishop *Howson* in the See of *Oxon.* and died Bishop of *Norwich*, Anno 1635. And how it did succeed with *Laud*, the course of this ensuing History will at large inform us.

For he being very sensible of so great an injury, thought it fit to prevent the same by giving an account of It to the Bishop of *Lincoln*; which he did on the Morrow after the Repetition, being the eighteenth day of *April*, desiring his advice, whether he should sit down by the wrong, or make *Abbot* as sensible of it as he was himself. What direction he received in it I am not able to say, but as it seems he was advised to sit down with patience, not to exasperate either of the *Abbots*, and thereby to provoke more enemies against him than he had already. And I conceive that this Advice was given unto him, because I cannot find that he stirred any further in it; the rather in regard that *Abbot* was nominated not long after to the Bishoprick of *Salisbury* in the place of Dr. *Henry Cotton*, who died on the seventh of *May* next following. And yet this Bishoprick was not carried so clearly for him, notwithstanding his Brothers great power and credit in the Court: but that a very strong opposition was made against him; which being overcome at last, he received Episcopal Consecration on the third of *December*, leaving the charge to Dr. *John Prideaux*, Rector of *Exeter* Colledge, who proved a vehement assertor of all the *Calvinian* Rigours in the matter of Predestination; and the Points depending thereupon; as appears by his first Lecture, *De Absoluto Decreto*, and the rest which followed.

Dr. *Abbot* being thus removed to an higher sphere, it seemed not



not good to *Land* to pursue the quarrel, but patiently to attend the year of his expectation; before the expiring whereof the King bestowed upon him the Deanry of *Glocester*, as before was said. At the bestowing of which Deanry his Majesty told him, that he had been informed that there was scarce ever a Church in *England* so ill governed, and so much out of order as that was, requiring him in the general to reform and set in order what he found amiss. Being thus forewarned, and withall forearmed, he makes hast to *Glocester*, where he found the Church in great decay, many things out of order in it, the Communion Table standing almost in the midst of the Quire, contrary to the posture of it in his Majesties Chappell, and of all the Cathedral Churches which he had seen. Which being observed, he called a *Chapter* of the Prebends, and having acquainted them with his Majesties Instructions, easily obtained their consent to two *Chapter Acts*: The one, for the speedy Repairing of the Church where it was most necessary: The other, for transposing the Communion Table to the East end of the Quire, and placing it all along the Wall, according to the situation of it in other Cathedral or Mother Churches, which Transposition being made, he recommended to the Prebendaries, the Quire men, Choristers, and the under-Officers of the Church the making of their humble reverence to Almighty God, not only at their first entrance into the Quire, but at their approaches toward the holy Table; according to the laudible custom of the Primitive times, retained still in the solemnities of the Knights of the Garter at the Act in *Oxon.* in the Chappels of his Majesty, and divers great persons in the Realm. His Majesties instructions, the Contents of the two *Chapter Acts*, and how he had proceeded on them, I find certified under his hand in two Letters; The one, to his good Friend the Bishop of *Lincoln*, bearing date *March 3. 1616.* The other, unto the Bishop of *Glocester* (who had shewed himself offended at his proceedings) bearing date on the twenty seventh of *February* then next foregoing.

LIB. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1616.

The Bishop of *Glocester* at that time was *Dr. Miles Smith*, once of *Brazen-Nose* Colledge, a great Hebrician, and one that took as much pains as any in the last Translation of the Bible, as a reward for which he received this Bishoprick. But then withall he was a man that spared not to shew himself upon all occasions in favour of the *Calvinian* party; and more particularly in countenancing the Lecturers within his Diocess against the lawful Minister of the Parish when ever any complaint of their proceedings was made unto him. No sooner had he heard what the new *Dean* had done about the Communion Table but he expressed his dislike of it, and opposed it with all the power he had; But finding that he could not prevail according unto his desires, he is said to have protested unto the *Dean*, and some of the Prebends, that if the Communion Table were removed, or any such Innovations brought into that Cathedral



PART I. Cathedral, he would never come more within those Walls; which  
*Anno Dom.* Promise or Protestation he is said by some to have made good, and  
 1616. not to have come within that Church to his dying day: Which if he  
 did forbear upon that occasion, he must needs shew himself a man  
 of great pertinacity, and one that feared not to give a publick scan-  
 dall to the Church, and the Court to boot; This transposition be-  
 ing made in the declining of the year 1616. his Pallace standing  
 near the walls of that Cathedral, and he not dying till the year 1624.  
 which was eight years after. Seeing how little he prevailed, one  
*white* his Chaplain takes upon him in a Letter written to the *Chan-*  
*cellor* of that *Diocess*, to acquaint him with the strange Reports  
 which were come unto them touching the scituation of the Commu-  
 nion Table in the place where the High Altar stood before, and  
 that low obeysances were made to it, assuring him how much the se-  
 cret Papists would rejoyce, in hope that that which they long  
 looked for was now near at hand; In which Letter he also challenged  
 and upbraided the Prebends, and other Preachers of that City, that  
 they did not offer either by word or deed to resist the *Dean* in those  
 proceedings; admiring that no man should have any spark of *Elias*  
*Spirit* to speak a word in Gods behalf, that the Preachers should  
 swallow down such things in silence, and that the Prebends should  
 be so faint hearted as to shrink in the first wetting, especially having  
 the Law on their side against it.

It was not long before this Letter was made a Libell: Either the  
 Letter itself, or a Copy of it, being cast into the Pulpit at St. *Mi-*  
*chaels* Church, where *Prior* the *Sub-Dean* used to preach; to the end  
 that he and others of the *Prebendaries* might take notice of it.  
 Found by the Parish Clerk, and by him put into the hands of the  
 Curate, by them communicated unto others, who took Copies of  
 it, and in short time divulged over all the City. The City at that time  
 much pestered with the Puritan Faction, which was grown mul-  
 tudinous and strong by reason of the small abode which the Dean  
 and Prebendaries made amongst them, the dull connivance of their  
 Bishop, and the remiss Government of their *Metropolitan*, so that  
 it seemed both safe and easie to some of the Rabble to make an out-  
 cry in all places that *Popery* was coming in; that the translating  
 of the Communion Table into an *Altar*, with the worship and  
 obeysance which were done to it, were Popish superstitions, and the  
 like. *Jones*, one of the Aldermen of the City, and a Justice of the Peace  
 withall, caused some of the principal dispersers of this Libellous  
 Letter to be brought before him, committed some of them to pri-  
 son, and threatened to bind the rest to their good behaviour. But  
 fearing lest his own power might not be sufficient to crush that Fa-  
 ction which had begun to gather strength by long connivance, he  
 advised that the business might be referred to the *High Commis-*  
*oners*, as men more able to deal with them. Notice hereof being  
 given to the new *Dean* by some Letters thence, bearing date Feb. 21.  
 he



he addressed this Letter above mentioned to the Bishop of *Glocester*: LIB. I.  
 In which he desired such Favour and Equity at his hands, as that his *Anno Dom.*  
 Lordship would joyn to reform such Tongues and Pens as knew not  
 how to submit to any Law but their own; that of necessity he was  
 to acquaint his Gracious Majesty, not only with the thing it self,  
 but with the entertainment which it found among Turbulent Spirits;  
 and that he doubted not but that his Majesty would be well pleased  
 to hear how careful his Lordship shewed himself in preserving the  
 Order and Peace of the Church. But fearing that the Bishop, whose  
 Chaplain was the sole cause of the mischief, would not be very for-  
 ward to redress it, he dispatched the other Letter, above mention-  
 ed, to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and in that Letter he desired his Lord-  
 ship (having first moved that the High Commission would be pleased  
 to take some speedy order in it) to let him have his lawful assistance  
 to the end, that so long as he did nothing but what was established  
 and practised in the Church of *England*, he might not be brought  
 into contempt by turbulent Spirits, at his first entrance on that place,  
 and so be disabled to do that good service which he owed to the  
 Church of Christ; withall propounding to his Lordship, that if it  
 stood with his good liking, his Majesty might be made acquainted  
 with the first success of his endeavors for reforming such things as  
 he found most amiss in that Church, &c.

Whilst these things were thus agitated in the Reformation of the  
 Church of *Glocester*, there were other Actings in the Court, touch-  
 ing the Reformation of some things in the *University of Oxon*. *Land*  
 had before informed the Bishop of *Lincoln* concerning the course  
 usage which he had from Dr. *Abbot*, as before was said. Which be-  
 ing represented to his Majesty, it was withall insinuated to him what  
 dangers would proceed by the training up of young Students in the  
 Grounds of *Calvinism*, if some directions were not issued from his  
 Majesty for the course of their studies; that there was no readier  
 way to advance the *Presbyterial* Government in this Kingdom than  
 by suffering young Scholars to be seasoned with *Calvinian* Doctrines;  
 that it was very hard to say, whether of the two, either the Puritan,  
 or the Papist were more destructive of *Monarchical* Government;  
 and finally, that for want of subscription to the three Articles con-  
 tained in the 36. *Canon*, not only *Lecturers*, but divers other Prea-  
 chers, in and about the University, positively maintained such points  
 of Doctrine as were not maintained or allowed by the Church of  
*England*. Which matter his Majesty having taken into consideration,  
 by the advice of such Bishops and others of the Clergy, as were then  
 about him, upon the eighteenth of *January* he dispatcht these Di-  
 rections following to the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Colledges  
 and Halls, the two Professors, and the two Proctors of the Univer-  
 sity, to be carefully and speedily put in execution.

JAMES



## PART I.

Anno Dom.

1616.



## JAMES REX.

1. That it was his Majesties pleasure that he would have all that take any degree in Schools, to subscribe to the three Articles in the 36th Canon.
2. That no Preacher be allowed to preach in the Town, but such as are every way conformable both by subscription and every other way.
3. That all Students do resort to the Sermons in St. Maries, and be restrained from going to any other Church in the time of St. Maries Sermons; and that provision be made that the Sermons in St. Maries be diligently made and performed, both before-noon and afternoon.
4. That the ordinary Divinity A& be constantly kept with three Replicants.
5. That there be a greater Restraint of Schollars haunting Town-houses, especially in the night.
6. That all Scholars, both at the Chappels, and at the Schools, keep their Scholastical Habits.
7. That young Students in Divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in Doctrine and Discipline to the Church of England, and encited to bestow their times in the Fathers, and Councils, School-men, Histories, and Controversies, and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abreviatures, making them the Grounds of their study in Divinity.
8. That no man, either in Pulpit or Schools, be suffered to maintain Dogmatically any point of Doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of England.
9. That Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and the two Professors, or two of the Heads of Houses, do at such time as his Majesty resorts into those parts wait upon his Majesty, and give his Majesty a just account how these his Majesties Instructions are observed.
10. Let no man presume, of what condition or degree soever, not to yield his obedience to these his Majesty Directions, lest he incur such censures as the Statutes of this University may justly inflict upon such transgressors.

This was the first step toward the suppressing of that Reputation which Calvin and his Writings had attained unto in that University; and a good step it might have been, if Dr Goodwin, Dean of Christ Church, who was then Vice-Chancellor, had not been Father-in-law to Prideaux, or rather if Prideaux himself had approved the Articles, or that Dr. Benfield of Corpus Christi, the other Professor for Divinity, a grave but sedentary man, had been active in it. But howsoever being published, though it went no farther, it gave such a general Alarm to the Puritan Faction, that the terrour of it could not



not be forgotten in 20. years after : Certain I am, that in the year 1636. it was charged by *H. Burton* of *Fryday-street* for an Innovation, one of the many *Innovations* introduced by *Laud*, and others of the *Prelatical* party, to subvert *Religion*. But leaving them to the folly of their own affrightments, let us look back unto the King, who being confident that he had left the *University* in a ready way for coming to an *Unity* in matters of *Doctrine*, prepared for his Journey into *Scotland*, with a like confidence of effecting an *Uniformity* in Forms of *Worship* : A matter of consequence and weight, and therefore to be managed by able Ministers, such as knew how to winde and turn the *Presbyterians* of that Kingdom, if matters should proceed to a Disputation. The known Abilities of *Laud* mark'd him out for one ; which though it were like to bring a great Charge upon him, yet he preferred the Reputation before the Charge, and chearfully embrac'd the Service. Nor was it more welcom unto him, than grateful to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, assured thereby not only of a trusty Friend, but of a sociable Companion, for that tedious Journey. His Majesty having filled up the List of his Attendants, on the 14th. day of *March* began his Journey, accompanied by the Queen and Prince as far as *Theobalds*, and from thence went forward with his Train before appointed. By the way he called in at the City of *Lincoln*, where it is not to be doubted but that the Bishop gave him as magnificent an Entertainment as the Place and Country would afford : And from this place it was that he dated his Instructions of the 14th. of *April*, to the Lord *John Digby*, then going Embassador into *Spain*, to Treat upon and Conclude a Marriage between Prince *Charles*, and the *Infanta Maria* the Second Daughter of that King ; one of which Articles was to this effect, *That the Espousals being made in Spain according to the Order of the Council of Trent, the Marriage should be solemnized in England, where there should be such a Solemnization as by the Laws of this Realm should make the Marriage valid, and take away all scruple touching the Legitimation of the Issue.* Which temperament seems to me to have very much in it of *Laud's* hand and spirit.

LIB. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1616.

In the beginning of *May* 1617. his Majesty was come as far as *Barwick*, and from thence visiting the West parts of *Scotland*, came at last to *Edenburgh*, where he soon found that he might have saved himself a great part of his care, and taken such of his Chaplains with him as came next to hand; the *Presbyterian Scots* not being to be gained by Reason, as he had supposed : For he was scarce settled in that City, when the *Presbyters* conceiving that his coming was upon design to work an *Uniformity* between the Churches of both Kingdoms, set up one *Struthers* to preach against it, who laid so lustily about him in the chief Church of *Edenburgh*, that he not only condemned the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*, but prayed God to save *Scotland* from the same. *Laud*, and the rest of the Chaplains who had heard the Sermon, acquainted his Majesty

1617.

L

with



PART I. with those passages; but there was no remedy: The *Scots* were  
*Anno Dom.* *Scots*, and resolved to go their own way whatsoever came of it. For  
 1617. though the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* had forewarned them, that  
 Hist. Scotl. they should not irritate his Majesty, whom they should finde a gra-  
 l. 7. p. 531. cious Prince, and one that would hear Reason, and give way unto  
 it; yet this prevailed nothing with them; they were resolved nei-  
 ther to give Reason to him, nor take any from him, but only to  
 gain time by delays and artifices: For they knew well, that his Ma-  
 jesty had no resolution to stay long amongst them, and that when he  
 was gone they might do what they listed: And therefore when his  
 Majesty, in a Speech made to them at St. *Andrews*, had told them,

*Idem. p. 534.* That it was a Power belonging to all Christian Princes to order mat-  
 ters in the Church; and that he would never regard what they approved  
 or disapproved, except they brought him a Reason which he could not an-  
 swer; all that they did was to require a little time of Consultation,  
 which being granted, they returned with this Resolution, That if  
 his Majesty would grant them a free Assembly, they would therein sa-  
 tisfie his Majesty in all the Points he had propounded. Patrick Gallo-  
 way, one of the chiefeft amongst them, passing his word for the per-  
 formance. But when the King was gone, and the day of the Assem-  
 bly come, those promises vanished into ~~the~~ smoak; so that the King  
 gained nothing by that chargeable Journey, but the neglect of his  
 Commands, and a contempt of his Authority. His Majesty there-  
 fore took a better course, than to put the point to Argument and  
 Disputation; which was to beat them by the Belly, and to withdraw  
 those Augmentations which he had formerly allowed them out of  
 his Exchequer: Which Pill so wrought upon this indigent and ob-  
 stinate People, that the next year, in an Assembly held at *Perth*,  
 they pass'd an Act for admitting the five *Articles* for which his Maje-  
 sty had been courting them for two years together.

Godwins Ca-  
 tal. Episc.

But whatsoever the King lost by the Journey, I am sure the Bishop  
 of *Lincoln* got well by it: For *James* the Bishop of *Durham* dying  
 during the Kings abode in *Scotland*, his Majesty bestowed upon him  
 that wealthy Bishoprick; one of the wealthiest in Revenues, but  
 Absolutely the greatest in Power and Priviledges. Into this Bishop-  
 rick being canonically confirmed on the ninth of *October*, he presently  
 set himself on work to repair the Palaces and Houses belonging to it,  
 which he had found in great decay; but he so adorned and beautifi-  
 ed them in a very short space, that they that saw them could not  
 think that they were the same. Three thousand pounds he is affir-  
 med by Bishop *Godwin* to have disbursed only upon this account,  
 having laid out before no less than a thousand Marks on the Episco-  
 pal Houses of the See of *Lincoln*, besides a good round Sum on the  
 House of *Bromley*, the Habitation and Retreat of the Bishops of *Ro-*  
*chester*. But that which gave him most content was his Palace of  
*Durham-house* in the *Strand*, not only because it afforded him con-  
 venient Room for his own Retinue, but because it was large enough  
 to



to allow sufficient Quarters for *Buckridge* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Laud* Dean of *Glocester*, which he enjoyed when he was Bishop of *St. Davids* also; some other Quarters were reserved for his old servant Doctor *Linsell*, and others for such Learned men of his Acquaintance as came from time to time to attend upon him; insomuch as it passed commonly by the name of *Durham Colledge*. A man of such a strange composition, that whether he were of a larger and more publick Soul, or of a more uncourtly Conversation, it were hard to say.

LIB. I.  
Anno Dom.  
1617.

But to return again to *Laud*: Finding his Majesty resolved to pass thorow *Lancashire*; and other Counties of the North-west of *England*, in his way to *London*, he obtained leave to go directly unto *Oxon.* and on the second of *August* was inducted into the Rectory of *Ibsack* in the County of *Leicester*; a Rectory belonging to the Patronage of the Bishop of *Rochester*, of whom he had it in exchange for his *Kentish* Benefices. At his return unto the Colledge, he was joyfully welcomed by his Friends, and chearfully received after so long an absence by the greatest part of that Society: But that which seemed most agreeable to him at his coming home, was the good News he heard from *Glocester*, how all things had been quieted there, and that there was no fear or danger of any further opposition to be made against him; for the Rabble being terrified by the severe proceedings of Alderman *Jones*, and more affrighted at the noise of being brought into the Court of *High-Commission*, began to grow more sensible of the error which they had committed, the fury of their first heats being abated, and Reason beginning by degrees (as it is ordinary in such cases) to take place of Passion. Nothing else memorable in this year, as in relation to his Story, but some misfortunes which beset the Archbishop, his perpetual enemy; the greatest whereof (though perhaps not took most to heart) was the death of his Brother the Bishop of *Salisbury*, which produced great sorrow to his Friends, the rather in regard of the manner and occasion of it: For after his advancement to the See of *Sarum*, being then near sixty years of Age, he married the Widdow of one Doctor *Cheynell* a Physician, who had been one of his Contemporaries in *Baliol* Colledge; the news whereof being presented (with some circumstances to his disadvantage) to his Brother the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he received from him such a sharp and bitter Letter, so full of Reproaches and Revilings, that not being able to bear the burthen of so great an insolency, he presently took thought upon it, and as presently died, leaving this life on the second of *March*, the year almost expiring with him.

The Archbishop had been off the hooks ever since the affront (as he conceived) was put upon him in burning his Chaplain Doctor *Mockett's* Book, entituled, *De Politia Ecclesie Anglicane*, which had given no small Reputation to the Church of *England* beyond the Seas; for which severity though many just Reasons were alledged,



PART I. yet it was generally conceived, that as the Book fared the worse for  
*Anno Dom.* the Authors sake, so the Author did not speed the better for his Pa-  
 1617. tron the Archbishops sake, betwixt whom, and Doctor *James Mon-*  
 tague then Bishop of *Winchester*, there had been some differences,  
 which the rest of the Court Bishops were apt enough to make some  
 use of to his disadvantage.

But having thus fallen upon the burning of this Book, I shall speak  
 something of it here, because of some particulars in it which may  
 conduce unto our Story in the times succeeding. This Doctor *Moc-*  
*ket* being Chaplain to Archbishop *Abbot*, and Warden of *All Souls*  
*Colledge* in *Oxon*. had publish'd in the *Latin* tongue the Liturgie of  
 the Church of *England*, the Publick Catechisms, the 39. Articles,  
 the Book of Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and ma-  
 ny Doctrinal Points extracted out of the Book of Homilies; toge-  
 ther with Bishop *Jewel's* Apology, Mr. *Noel's* Chatechism, and his  
 own Book *De Politia, &c.* A Collection which the good man published  
 in a pious zeal, for gaining Honour to this Church amongst Forrein  
 Nations: But then this Zeal of his was accompanied with so little  
 Knowledge in the Constitution of this Church, or so much biassed  
 toward those of *Calvin's* Plat-form, that it was thought fit not only  
 to call it in, but to expiate the Errors of it in a publick Flame: For  
 first, his Extracts out of the Book of Homilies were conceived to  
 be rather framed according to his own Judgment, which inclin'd  
 him toward the *Calvinian* Doctrines, as his Patron did; than squa-  
 red according to the Rules and Dictates of the Church of *England*:  
 And possible enough it is, that some just offence might be taken at  
 him, for making the Fasting-days appointed in the Liturgie of the  
 Church of *England*, to be commanded and observed *ob Politicas so-*  
*lum Rationes*, for politick Considerations only, as insinuated p. 308.  
 whereas those Fasting-days were appointed in the first Liturgy of  
 King *Edward* 6j. Anno 1549. (with reference only to the Primitive  
 Institution of those several Fasts) when no such Politick Considerati-  
 ons were so much as thought on. But that which I conceive to  
 have been the true cause why the Book was burned, was, that in  
 publishing the 20th. Article, concerning the Authority of the  
 Church, he totally left out the first Clause of it, viz. *Habet Eccle-*  
*sia Ritum sive Ceremonias, statuendi jus; & in Controversiis Fidei Autho-*  
*ritatem*: By means whereof, the Article was apparently falsified,  
 the Churches Authority disavowed, and consequently a wide gap  
 opened to dispute her Power in all her Canons and Determinations  
 of what sort soever. I note this here, because of the Relation which  
 it hath to some following passages in the year 1637. when we shall  
 finde Land charged by those of the *Puritan Faction*, for adding this  
 omitted Clause to the rest of that Article.

1618.

In the next year (1618.) we finde not a little done at home, but  
 much more abroad; the *Puritan* Faction being discountenanced  
 here, and the *Calvinists* encouraged there. The *Sabbatarian* Do-  
 ctrines



Strines by the diligence of Archbishop *Whitgift*, and the severity of Justice *Popham*, had been crush'd at their first starting out; and afterwards not daring to implore the Countenance of Authority, they got footing again in divers places by the cunning of the *Puritan* Faction, the ignorant confidence of some of their Lecturers, and the misguided zeal of some publick Ministers of Justice: And they prevailed so far at last, that the Annual Festivals being turned into days of Labour, and the Lords day wholly taken up in Religious Duties, there was no time left for *lawful Recreations* amongst the People: Which being made known unto King *James* as he passed thorow *Lancashire* the last Summer, he gave some present Order in it, for the ease and comfort of his good Subjects in that County; and that it might not serve only for the present, but the times to come, he published his Royal Declaration to the same effect, bearing date at *Greenwich* May 24. of this present year: In which Declaration there are three things to be observed; viz. the *Motives*, the *Liberties*, and the *Restrictions*. First, for the *Motives* which induced that King to this Declaration, they were chiefly four. 1. The general Complaints of all sorts of People, as he passed thorow *Lancashire*, of the Restraint of those innocent and lawful Pastimes on that day, which by the Rigors of some Preachers and Ministers of Justice, had been laid upon them. 2. The hindrance of the Conversion of many *Papists*, who by this means were made to think, that the *Protestant* Religion was inconsistent with all harmless and modest *Recreations*. 3. That by debarring them from all man-like Exercises on those days, on which only they were freed from their daily Labours, they were made unactive, unable, and unfit for Warriors, if either himself or any of his Successors should have such occasion to employ them. 4. That men being hindred from these open Pastimes, betook themselves to Tipling-houses, and there abused themselves with Drunkenness, and censured in their Cups his Majesties Proceedings both in Church and State. Next for the *Liberties* which were indulged upon that day, his Majesty declares his Pleasure, That after Divine Service being ended, his good People should not be discouraged or letted from any *lawful Recreations*, such as Dancing either Men or Women, Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other such harmless Recreations, nor from having of *May-games*, *Whitsun-Ales*, and *Morris-dances*, and the setting up of *May-poles*, and other sports therewith used; and that Women shall have leave to carry Rushes to the Church, for the decoring of it, according to their old Custom, with this *Proviso* notwithstanding, That under the general term of *Lawful Recreations*, he intended neither Bear-baiting nor Bull-baiting, Interludes, nor (at all times in the meaner sort of People prohibited) Bowling. And last of all, for the *Restrictions*, they were these that follow: 1. That these Pastimes should be no impediment or let to the publick Duties of that day. 2. That no Recusant should be capable of the benefit of them. 3. Nor such

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PART I. as were not diligently present at the time of all Divine Offices, which  
*Anno Dom.* the day required. And, 4. That the benefit thereof should redound  
 1617. to none but such as kept themselves in their own Parishes. Such was  
 the substance of his Majesties Declaration about *Lawful Sports*, which  
 raised great clamour at the present, but greater when revived in the  
 Reign of King *Charles* (at what time we shall finde *Land* charged for  
 the Re-publishing of it) so much the greater, by how much the  
 more the *Sabbatarian Doctrines* had prevailed amongst us,

*Hist. of Scot.*  
*fol. 530.*

This being done for the discountenancing of the *Calvinian* Faction  
 here at home, we must next see what was done abroad on the same  
 account; that which was done abroad in relation to it, being of  
 great concernment to this Church, and therefore necessary to be  
 known in reference to the person of whom I write. The Bishops  
 and conformable Clergy of *Scotland* had pass'd two Acts in the *As-*  
*sembly* held at *Aberdeen*, Anno 1616. the one, for making one Uniform  
 Order or Form of Worship, to be prepared by some Bishops, and  
 other Learned men amongst them, by them to be presented to the  
 King, and being by the King approved, to be by him commended to  
 the use of that Kirk: The other for consulting the Registry of their  
 former *Assemblies*, and extracting out of them such Canons, as  
 being ratified by the stamp of Royal Authority, might pass for  
 currant in the same. To speed this business, and strike the Iron  
 whilst it was hot, his Majesty made that chargeable Journey into  
*Scotland*, which before we spake of, with an intent to press them  
 personally to the receiving of some few of the *English* Ceremonies,  
 which had been offered to the consideration of the late Assembly,  
 the better to advance his hopes of introducing by degrees the Litur-  
 gy of the Church of *England*: Which Ceremonies being reduced  
 to five Articles, and propounded to them at his being there, found  
 such success, and put the King upon such Councils as have been for-  
 merly declared. But what he could not compass in the year fore-  
 going, he obtained in this; those Articles being passed in an  
 Assembly held at *Perth* in the Month of *August*, and are these that  
 follow.

1. That for the more reverend Receiving of the Holy Communion, the  
 same should be celebrated to the People thereafter kneeling, and  
 not sitting, as had been the Custom since the Reformation of Re-  
 ligion.
2. If any good Christian visited with sickness which was taken to be  
 deadly, should desire to receive the Communion at home in his house,  
 the same should not be denied to him, lawful warning being given  
 to the Minister the night before, and three or four of good Religion  
 and Conversation being present to Communicate with him.
3. That in case of necessity tried and known to the Minister, it should be  
 lawful to Administer Baptism in private Houses, the same being  
 always Ministred after the form in which it should have been in  
 the



the Congregation: A publick Declaration of it to be made the next Sunday after.

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4. That the days of the Birth, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour Christ, and of the coming down of the Holy Ghost, in regard of those inestimable Benefits which the Church of God had received on them, should be publickly Solemnized in the Congregation, the Ministers making choice of fit Texts of Scripture agreeable to the Occasions. for their several Sermons.
5. That the Minister in every Parish, having Catechized all Children above eight years of age, according to the short Catechism used in the Church, and taught them to repeat by heart the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, should present them to their Bishops in their Visitations, by them to be blessed with Prayers for the increase of Grace, and continuance of Gods heavenly Gifts upon them.

And this indeed was a great step to the work of Uniformity so much desired; which had it been pursued as vigorously by the Bishops of Scotland, as by the King it had been piously begun, the Service which was sent into that Kirk almost twenty years after, had been better welcom'd by the Scots, and drawn less danger upon Laud, (who was then Archbishop) for his pious Actings in the same.

But on the other side, the condemning of the five *Arminian* Articles (as they commonly called them) at the Synod of Dort, was altogether as much displeasing as the others had been grateful to him; for well he saw the great dangers which might thence ensue to the Church of England, whose Doctrines were openly confronted, and her Discipline secretly undermined, by the Decisions and Determinations of that Synodical Assembly: In which regard, it will not be unnecessary to make a brief Relation of those stirs and differences which hapned in the Belgick Churches, from the time that Doctor *Jacob van Harmine* was made one of the Divinity Professors in the University of *Leyden*; Concerning which we are first to know, That at the Alteration of Religion in those Provinces, the French (who were most active in it) brought with them *Calvin's* Platform, both for Doctrine and Discipline (as commonly the one makes way to bring in the other) according unto which the *Belgick Confession* was drawn up in the year 1567. Which notwithstanding, such of their Ministers as better liked the *Melancthonian* Doctrines in the points of Predestination, Grace, Free-will, &c. than they did the other, spared not to publish their Opinions as they saw occasion, as well before as after the establishing of the said Confession, and did it without check or censure: Amongst which we may first reckon *Anastafius Veluanus*, in a Book of his entituled, *Odeus Laicorum*, or the Lay-mans Guide, published in the year 1554. and much commended by *Henricus Antonides* the Divinity Reader in the University of *Franecker*; after whom followed, in the same Opinions, *Johannes Isbrandi*, who openly profess'd



PART I. profess'd himself an *Anti-Calvinian*; *Clemens Martini*, who took  
*Anno Dom.* his Principles from *Hardinbergius*, one of the first Reformers of the  
 1617. Church of *Embsden*; *Gellius Sueranus* in *West-Friesland*, who looked  
 upon those of the other Perswasion as Innovators in that Church;  
*Holmanus* the Divinity Reader in *Leyden*; *Cornelius Menardi*, a man  
 of good esteem amongst them; and generally all the Ministers suc-  
 cessively in the Province of *Utrecht*, some of which had maintained  
 these Doctrines before the birth of *Jacob van Harmine* (better known  
 in these later times by the name of *Arminius*) and all of them before  
 such time as any publick notice had been taken of him; by which it  
 seems, that these Doctrines were of a long standing, and had took  
 deep rooting in these Churches, though they had not gained such a  
 large and general spreading over them as they after did.

For in the year 1603. the Learned *Junius*, one of the Professors for  
 Divinity in the University of *Leyden*, being then deceased, the *Cu-  
 rators* or Overseers of that University made choice of this *Van Har-  
 mine*, the Pastor (as they phrase it) of the Church of *Amsterdam*, to  
 succeed in his place: But the Inhabitants of that Town, amongst  
 whom he had served in the Ministry for the space of 15. years and  
 more, were so affected to the man, that they would by no means  
 yield unto his departure, till over-ruled by the intreaties of some,  
 and the power of others: A matter very displeasing to the Rigid *Cal-  
 vinians* informing against him to the State for several *Heterodoxies* re-  
 pugnant to the received Doctrine of those Churches. *Arminius* for  
 six years before, had by exchange of Letters betwixt him and *Junius*,  
 maintained the *Melanethonian* Doctrines in those points of Con-  
 troversie before remembred; which Papers being dispersed abroad  
 in several Copies (but not published till after his death, and then  
 published by the name of *Amica Collatio, &c.*) gave the *Calvinians*  
 some fair Colour for their information: But the business being heard  
 at the *Hague*, he was acquitted by his Judges, dispatch'd for *Ley-  
 den*, and there confirmed in his place; towards which, the Testi-  
 monial Letters, sent from the Church of *Amsterdam*, did not help a  
 little; in which Letters he stands commended for a man of un-  
 blamable life, (b) sound Doctrine, and fair behaviour, as may be  
 seen at large in the Oration which was made at his Funeral, in the Di-  
 vinity Schools of *Leyden*, on the 22. of October, Anno 1609. During  
 his sitting in that Chair, he drew unto him a great part of that Uni-  
 versity, who by the Piety of the man, his powerful Arguments, his  
 extreme diligence in the place, and the clear light of Reason, which  
 appeared in all his Discourses, were so wedded unto his Opinions,  
 that no time nor trouble could divorce them: For *Arminius* dying  
 in the year 1609. as before was said, the heats betwixt his Scholars,  
 and those of the contrary perswasion, were rather increased than  
 abated; the more increased, for want of such a prudent *Mode-  
 rator* as had before saved and preserved these Churches from a pub-  
 lick Rupture.

(b) ob vitain-  
 cu' p. te, sana  
 doctrine, &  
 morum sum-  
 mam integri-  
 tatem.



The Breach between them growing wider, each side thought fit to seek the Countenance of the State, and they did accordingly; For in the year 1610. the Followers of *Arminius* address their *Remonstrance* (containing the Antiquity of their Doctrines, and the substance of them) to the States of *Holland*, which was encountred presently by a *Contra-Remonstrance*, exhibited by those of *Calvins* Party. From hence the names of *Remonstrants*, and *Contra-Remonstrants*, so frequent in their Books and Writings; till the *Remonstrants* were condemned in the *Synod of Dort*, and either forced to yield the cause or quit their Country; each Party in the mean time had the opportunity to disperse their Doctrines, in which the *Remonstrants* gained exceedingly upon their Adversaries. For the whole Controversie being reduced to these five Points, viz. the Method of *Predestination*, the *Efficacie* of Christs Death, the operations of *Grace*, both before and after mans Conversion, and *perseverance* in the same; the Parties were admitted to a publick Conference at the *Hague* in the year 1611. in which the *Remonstrants* were conceived to have had much the better of the day. But these Tongue-Combates did produce a further mischief than was suspected at the first; For the *Calvinians* hoping to regain by Power what they lost by Argument, put themselves under the Protection of *Maurice van Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, Commander General of the Forces of the United Provinces, both by Sea and Land. The *Remonstrants* on the other side applied themselves unto *John Olden Barnevelt*, a principal Counsellor of State, and of great Authority in his Country: Who fearing the Greatness of the Prince, and having (or thinking that he had) some cause to doubt that he aimed at an absolute Sovereignty over those Estates, did chearfully entertain the offer, in hope to form such a Party by them, as, with the help of some other good Patriots, might make a sufficient Counter-balance against that design. But *Barnevelts* projects being discovered, he was first seized on by the Prince, together with *Grotius*, *Liedenburgius*, and others of his chief Adherents; and that being done, he shewed himself with his Forces before such Towns and Cities as had declared in favour of them; Reducing them under his Command, changing their Magistrates, and putting new Garrisons into them. Next followed the Arraignment and death of *Barnevelt*, contrary to the Fundamentall Laws both of his native Country, and the common Union; whose death occasioned a general dejection (as well it might) amongst those of the *Remonstrant* Party; and their dejection animated the *Calvinians* to refer their differences to a National Council, which thereupon was intimated to be held at *Dort*, one of the principle Towns of *Holland*.

This Council being thus resolved on, their next care was to invite to their assistance some Divines out of all the Churches of *Calvins* Platform; and none else; which did sufficiently declare, that they intended to be both Parties and Judges, as in fine it proved:

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For

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Anno Dom.  
1618.  
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PART I. For unto this Convention assembled the most *Rigid Calvinists*, not  
*Anno Dom.* only of the United Provinces, but also of all the Churches of *High*  
 1619. *Germany*, and amongst the *Switz*, and from the City of *Geneva*  
 whom it most concerned. From *France* came none, because the  
 King, upon good Reason of State, had commanded the contrary;  
 and the *Scots* much complained that they were not suffered by King  
*James* to send their Commissioners thither with the rest of the  
 Churches: For though King *James* had nominated *Balcanel* to  
 that imployment in the name of the *Kirk*, yet that could give them  
 no contentment. From *England*, the King sent Dr. *George Carleton* Bi-  
 shop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Jos. Hall* Dean of *Worcester*, Dr. *John Dave-*  
*nant* Master of *Queens Colledge* and Lady *Margarets Professor* in *Cam-*  
*bridge*, and Dr. *Sam. Ward* Master of *Sydney Colledge* in the same  
 University. And this he did, that by the Countenance of his power,  
 and by the Presence of his Divines, he might support the Party of the  
 Prince of *Orange*, and suppress his Adversaries. On the third of  
*November* they began the Synod: But things were carried there  
 with such inequality, that such of the *Remonstrants* as were like to  
 be elected, by their several Classes, were cited, and commanded to  
 appear as *Criminals* only, and being come, could not be suffered to  
 proceed to a Disputation, unless they would subscribe to such con-  
 ditions as they conceived to be destructive to their Cause, and their  
 Conscience too: Which being refused, they were expelled the  
 House by *Bogerman* (who sat President there) in a most fierce and  
 bitter Oration, condemned without answering for themselves; and  
 finally, for not subscribing to their own condemnation, compelled to  
 forsake their native Country, with their Wives and Children, and  
 to beg their bread even in desolate places. What influence those  
 quarrells had amongst our selves, and what effects that Synod did  
 produce in the Church of *England* we shall see hereafter, when the  
 same Points come to be agitated and debated on this side of the  
 Seas.

His Majesty, having thus made himself the Master of his Designs,  
 both at home and abroad, and being recovered from a dangerous  
 sickness which had fallen upon him at *New-Market*, in the year  
 1619. resolved on such a work of Magnificent Piety, as might pre-  
 serve his name and memory to succeeding Ages: To which end  
 upon *Midlent Sunday*, *Anno 1620.* accompanied by the Prince, at-  
 tended by the *Marquiss* of *Buckingham*, the Bishops, Lords, and  
 most of the principal Gentlemen about the Court, he intended  
 to visit *St. Pauls*. From *Temple-bar* he was conducted in most so-  
 lommanner by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*; and at  
 his entrance into the Church, received under a *Canopy* by the *Dean*  
 and *Canons*, attired in rich *Copes*, and other Ecclesiastical Habits;  
 Being by them brought into the Quire, he heard with very great  
 Reverence and Devotion the Divine Service of the day most solemn-  
 ly performed with *Organs*, *Cornets*, and *Sagbuts*, accompanied and  
 intermingled



intermingled with such excellent voices that seemed rather to 'enchant than chant. The Divine Service being done, he went unto a place prepared, where he heard the Sermon at the *Cross*, preached by the eloquent and religious Prelate, Dr. *John King*, Lord Bishop of *London*. The *Sermon* being ended, the *Collation* began; His Majesty attended with all the Lords, and the rest of his Train, being entertained by the said Lord Bishop at a sumptuous Banquet, with no less honour to himself than content to his Majesty. But there was more intended by this Visit than Pomp and Ostentation only. For his Majesty having taken a view of the Ruinous Estate in which he beheld that goodly Fabrick, issued not long after a *Commission* for repair thereof; and somewhat was done in it both by Bishop *King* and Bishop *Mountain*: But the carrying one of this work was reserved to another man; For a breach following not long after between *Spain* and *England*, and wars soon following on that breach, a stop was made to all proceedings in that work till the year 1631. At what time *Laud*, being Bishop of *London*, obtained a like Commission from the hands of King *CHARLES*, and set his heart so much upon it, that in few years he had made a mighty Progress in it, of which more hereafter.

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1620.

And here it was once feared, that this present History might have ended without going further; for on the second of *April*, as he past from *London* towards *Oxon*, he took up his Inn at *Wickam* upon the Rode; where he fell suddenly dead, and was not without much difficulty, and Gods special favour, restored unto his former being. But God reserved him to a life more eminent, and a death more glorious; not suffering him to dye obscurely, like a traveller, in a Private Inn, but more conspicuously, like a Martyr, on the Publick Theatre; for on the 22. of *January* he was installed Prebend in the Church of *Westminster*, after no less than ten years expectation of it; And on the last of the same Month he sate as Dean of *Glocester* in the Convocation. The Prince Elector *Palatine*, who married the Kings only Daughter in the year 1612. had the last year most inconsiderately took upon him the Crown of *Bohemia*; not taking with him the Kings Counsel in it as he might have done, but giving him an account of it on the Post-Fact only. The Emperour exasperated with this Usurpation (as by him reputed) gave up his Country for a prey, assigning the Electoral Dignity with the Upper *Palatinate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Lower to the King of *Spain*, who had possessed themselves of divers good Towns and pieces in it.

For the recovery whereof, and the Preservation of the rest, in which his Daughter and her Children were so much concerned; it pleased his Majesty to call a Parliament, to begin on the thirtieth day of *January*, accompanied with a Convocation (as the custom is) on the morrow after. The business of their Conveening being signified unto them by the King, the Parliament at their first sitting, which ended *March* 27. bestowed upon his Majesty two Subsidies,

M. 2 but



PART I. but they gave no more ; which rather served to stay his stomach than  
*Anno Dom.* allay his hunger. They had some turns to serve upon him before  
 1620. they would part with any more money, if they did it then. But  
 the Clergy dealt more freely with him in their Convocation, be-  
 cause they had no other ends in it than the expressing of their duty  
 and good affections. In testimony whereof they gave him three en-  
 tire Subsidies of four shillings in the pound at their first sitting ; and  
 would not have been wanting to his Majesty in a further addition, in  
 the second or third, if his Majesty had required it of them. Incou-  
 raged with which supplies, and the hopes of greater, he sent some  
 Regiments of old *English* Souldiers for the defence and preservation  
 of the *Lower Palatinate*, under the Command of that Noble Soul-  
 dier, Sir *Horatio Vere*.

When the Commons bestowed upon him the said two *Subsidies*,  
 he took them only as a bit to stay his stomach, as before was said,  
 giving himself some hopes that at the next Session they would en-  
 tertain him with a better, and more costly dinner ; but then they  
 meant that he should pay the reckoning for it. For at their reassem-  
 bling on the seventeenth of *April*, instead of granting him the supplies  
 he looked for, they fell to pick quarrels with his Servants, and one  
 of his chief Ministers of State, not only questioning Sir *Giles Mom-  
 peyson*, and Sir *Francis Michael*, but even the Lord *Chancellor Bacon*  
 also. These men ( supposing them to have been as criminal as their  
 enemies made them ) were notwithstanding such as acted under his  
 Commissions, and therefore not to have been punished by his own  
 Authority only. The giving of them over to the Power of the Par-  
 liament not only weakened his own Prerogative, but put the House  
 of Commons upon such a Pin, that they would let no Parliament  
 pass ( for the times to come ) without some such Sacrifice. And  
 so fell *Bacon*, Lord *Chancellor of England*, Lord *Verulan*, and Vis-  
 count of *St. Albans* ; a man of good and bad qualities, equally  
 compounded, one of a most strong brain, and a Chymical head ; de-  
 signing his endeavors to the perfecting of the Works of Nature, or ra-  
 ther improving Nature to the best advantages of life, and the com-  
 mon benefit of mankind. Pity it was he was not entertained with  
 some liberal Salary, abstracted from all affairs both of Court and  
 Judicature, and furnished with sufficiency both of means, and helps  
 for the going on in his design, which had it been, he might have gi-  
 ven us such a body of Natural Philosophy, and made it so subser-  
 vient to the publick good, that neither *Aristotle* nor *Theophrastus*  
 amongst the Ancients, nor *Paracelsus*, or the rest of our later Chi-  
 mists would have been considerable. In these Agitations held the  
 Parliament till the fourth of *June*, without doing any thing in order  
 to his Majesties Service, who thereupon adjourned them till the  
 fourteenth of *November* following, before which time we find *Laud*  
 mounted one step higher, and ready to take place amongst the Bi-  
 shops in the House of *Peers* ; And therefore here we will conclude  
 the first Part of our present History.

THE





# THE L I F E

O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

## WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

L I B. II.

*Extending from his being made Bishop of St. Davids till his coming to the See of Bath and Wells.*



It is an observation no less old than true, that *Patience and Perseverance overcome all difficulties*: And so it hapned unto *Laud*. He had with most incredible patience endured the baffles and affronts which were put upon him by the power and practises of his enemies. Nor did he shew less patience in his so long and chargeable attendance at the Court, for which he had so small regard,

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that he was rather looked upon as the Bishop of *Durhams* Servant than the Kings. But notwithstanding these cross winds he was resolved to ride it out, neither to shift his sails, nor to tack about, but still to keep his way, and to stem the current till he had gained the Port he aimed at. His Majesty had been made acquainted by long experience with his great abilities, his constancy, courage, and dexterity, for managing affairs of moment. And thereupon entring into speech with him, in the beginning of *June* he was pleased to take notice of the long and unrewarded service which he had done him, telling him, that he looked on the *Deanry of Gloucester* but as a  
Shell



PART I. Shell without a Kernel. This gave him the first hopes of his growing Fortunes. On Sunday the nineteenth of that Month he preached *Anno Dom.* before the King at *Wansstead*, that being the first of those Sermons, which are now in Print. And on *St. Peters* day next following, there was a general expectation about the Court that he should have been made *Dean of Westminster*, in the place of *Williams*; who having been sworn Privy-Counsellor on the tenth of that Month, and nominated to the See of *Lincoln*, was on the tenth of *July*, honoured with the Custody of the great Seal of *England* upon the Deprivation of the Lord Chancellor *St. Albans*, which before we spake of: but *Williams* so prevailed at Court, that when he was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, he retained this Deanry in *Commendam*, together with such other Preferments as he held at that time; That is to say, A *Prebend* and *Residentiary* place in the Cathedral Church at *Lincoln*, and the Rectory of *Walgrave* in *Northampton-shire*, so that he was a perfect Diocess within himself, as being *Bishop*, *Dean*, *Prebend*, *Residentiary*, and *Parson*; and all these at once. But though *Land* could not get the Deanry, yet he lost nothing by the example; which he made use of in retaining not only his *Prebends* place in the same Church of *Westminster*, and his Benefices in the Country (that being an ordinary indulgence to such as were preferred to the smaller Bishopricks) but also the Presidentship of his Colledge in *Oxon*, which he valued more than all the Rest. For that his own expectation might not be made as frustrate, as was that of the Court, his Majesty nominated him the same day to the See of *St. Davids*, in former times the Metropolitan City of the *Welsh* or *Brittish*. But though he was nominated then, he could not receive the Episcopal Character till five Months after; the stay was long, but the necessity unavoydable, by reason of a deplorable misfortune which had befallen Archbishop *Abbot*, and was briefly this:

The Archbishop had long held a dear and entire Friendship with *Edward Lord Zouch*, a person of an eminent and known Nobility; On whom he pleased to bestow a visit in his house at *Bramshall*, invited to see a Deer hunted; that he might take the fresh air, and revive his Spirits; a Cross-bow was put into his hand to shoot one of the Deer: but his hand most unhappily swerving, or the Keeper as unfortunately coming in his way, it so pleased God (the Disposer of Humane Affairs) that he missed the Beast, and shot the Man. On which sad accident, being utterly incapable of consolation, he retired himself to *Guilford*, the place of his birth; there to expect the Issue of his wofull Fortunes in an Hospital of his own Foundation. The news of this wretched misadventure (as ill news flies far) came the same day to the Lord Keeper *Williams*; and he as hastily dispatches this Advertisement of it to the Marquess of *Buckingham*.



My most Noble Lord,

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**A**N unfortunate occasion of my Lords Grace, his killing of a man casually (as it is here constantly reported) is the cause of my seconding of my yesterdays Letter unto your Lordship. His Grace upon this Accident is by the Common Law of England to forfeit all his Estate unto his Majesty, and by the Canon Law (which is in force with us) irregular ipso facto, and so suspended from all Ecclesiastical Function, until he be again restored by his Superiour, which (I take it) is the Kings Majesty in this Rank and Order of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. If you send for Doctor Lamb, he will acquaint your Lordship with the distinct Penalties in this kind. I wish withal my heart his Majesty would be as merciful as ever he was in all his life; but yet I held it my duty to let his Majesty know by your Lordship, that his Majesty is fallen upon a matter of great Advice and Deliberation. To add affliction unto the afflicted (as no doubt he is in mind) is against the Kings Nature: To leave virum sanguinum, or a man of blood, Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, is a thing that sounds very harsh in the old Councils and Canons of the Church. The Papists will not spare to descant upon one and the other. I leave the knot to his Majesties deep Wisdom to advise and resolve upon. A rheum fallen into mine eye, &c.

Which Letter bearing date July 27. 1621. points us directly to the time of this woful Accident.

Being thus pre-judged and pre-condemned, the miserable man must needs have had a hard bout of it, if his cause had been referred to an hearing in *Chancery*: But King James was as compassionate as just, and as regardful of the Church as he was compassionate to the man. Advising therefore with his Council, and some chief Clergymen about him, though more with his own gracious disposition, he after issued a Commission to the Lord Keeper Williams, the Bishops of London, Winchester, St. Davids, and Exon, as also unto Hubbert and Dodderidge, two of the Justices of the Courts at Westminster-hall, Martin and Steward, Doctors of the Civil Laws, men of great Eminence and Abilities in their several Studies, to make Inquiry into the Fact: And having made Inquiry into the Fact, they were to give their Resolution unto His Majesty, whether the Archbishop had been made *irregular* by that sad accident, as it was commonly reported. In the managing of which great Cause, there was much variety of Opinions amongst the Delegates; some making him obnoxious to *Irregularity*, and others as much labouring to acquit him of it: Amongst these last were Doctor Andrews then Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Henry Martin then Dean of the Arches, and not long after Judge of the *Prerogative Court*, to whose Authority and Judgment the rest of the Commissioners did in time conform. Martin for his part had received his Offices and Preferments from him, and therefore



PART I. therefore in an honest Gratitude thought himself obliged to bend the  
*Anno Dom.* Law (as much as possibly he could) to his best Advantage : But *An-*  
 1621. *drews* had no such impulsives, there being between them some dis-  
 gust, which might have rather prevailed with him to have been his  
 Enemy : First therefore he was willing not to stand too rigidly upon  
 the strictness of the *Canons*, for fear lest others of the Bishops, and  
 himself amongst them, either through ignorance or incogitancy,  
 might commit some acts, which without a fair and mild constructi-  
 on, might render them as uncanonical as that poor man was : And  
 then he saw, that if the Archbishop at that time had been pronoun-  
 ced *irregular*, and the See made void, *Williams* being then Lord Keep-  
 er, and in great favour with his Majesty and the Marquis too, would  
 have step'd into it ; of whom he knew too much, to venture that  
 great charge and trust of the Church of *England* to his Care and Go-  
 vernment ; the dangerous Consequences whereof he was able to  
 foretell, without the Spirit of Prophecy. Nor was this conjecture  
 of his without very good grounds, *Williams* declaring in his said  
 Letter to the Marquis, That his Majesty had promised him upon the  
 relinquishing of the Seal, one of the best places in this Church. And  
 what place could be more agreeable to his affection than the Chair of  
*Canterbury* ? Nor was this unfortunate Prelate less befriended in this  
 desperate plunge by Sir *Edward Coke*, a man of most profound Learn-  
 ing in the Laws of this Land, who being ask'd the Question, Whe-  
 ther a Bishop might lawfully hunt in his own or in any other Park ?  
 (in which point lay the greatest pinch of the present difficulty) re-  
 turned this Answer thereunto, *viz.* That by the Law a Bishop at his  
 death was to leave his Pack of Dogs (by the French called *Marte de*  
*Chiens*, in some old Records) to be disposed of by the King at his Will  
 and-Pleasure. And if the King was to have the Dogs when the Bi-  
 shop died, there is no question to be made, but that the Bishop  
 might make use of them when he was alive.

By reason of this intercurrence, the new Elected Bishops could  
 not receive the Episcopal Character till *November* following ; on the  
 eleventh day of which Month, the Lord Keeper *Williams* was Con-  
 secrated Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the Chappel of King *Henry*, by vertue  
 of a Commission under the Broad Seal, directed to certain other  
 Bishops, according to the Statute of King *Henry* viij. And on the  
*Sunday* following, by vertue of a like Commission directed to the  
 Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, *Ely*, *Landaff*, and *Oxon*.  
 Doctor *Laud* Lord Elect of *St. Davids*, Doctor *Davenant* Lord Elect  
 of *Salisbury*, and Doctor *Cary* Lord Elect of *Exceter*, received Epi-  
 scopal Consecration in the Chappel of *London-House*. The next day  
 after he took his place amongst the Bishops in the House of *Peers*,  
 the Parliament having been re-assembled some few days before : But  
 there was little for them to do as the case then stood ; The Com-  
 mons were so far from gratifying the King with fresh Supplies, who  
 before had gratified them in the destruction of such Ministers as were  
 neer



neer unto him, that they entertained him with Petitions and Remonstrances touching the danger, threatened to our Religion, by the growth of Popery; in which they were so far transported beyond their bounds, as to propose unto the King, *the taking of the Sword into his Hands against the Spaniard, and the Marrying of his dear Son the Prince to a Lady of the Reformed Religion*: Of this the King had speedy notice; and in a Letter sent to Sir Thomas Richardson, then Speaker of the House of Commons, he lets them know how sensible he was of their incroachments, how bold they had made themselves with the King of Spain; forbidding them to deal hereafter in Affairs of State, or meddle with the Marriage of his Son the Prince; concluding, That if any such Petition or Remonstrance should be brought unto him, he would neither vouchsafe the Answering or the Reading of it. The Commons startled with this Letter, and thinking to have made a benefit of the Kings Necessities, cry out against it as a violation of their Ancient Priviledges; and on the nineteenth day of December then next ensuing, drew up the following Protestation, and caused it to be entred on Record in their Journal Books, viz.

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### The PROTESTATION of the COMMONS.

**T**He Commons now Assembled, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry Liberties, Franchises, and Priviledges of Parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this Protestation here following: That the Liberties, Franchises, Priviledges, and Jurisdictions of Parliaments, are the ancient and undoubted Birthright and Inheritance of the Subjects of England; and the maintenance and making of Laws, and redresses of Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects and matter of Debate in Parliament; and that in the handling or proceeding of those businesses, every Member of the House of Parliament hath and of right ought to have freedom of Speech, to Propound, Treat, Reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in Parliament have like freedom and liberty to Treat of those Matters in such Order as to their Judgments shall seem fittest: and that every Member of the said House hath like freedom from all Impeachments, Imprisonment, and Molestation (other than by Censure of the House it self) for or concerning any Speaking, Reasoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament business; and that if any of the said Members be complained of, or questioned for any thing done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shewed to the King by the Advice and Assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give credence to any private Information.

More was the King startled at the news of this Protestation (whereof he had Intelligence before it came unto the Vote) than the Commons were upon the Reading of his Majesties Letters. He saw his

N

Prerogative



PART I. Prerogative invaded, his Paternal Right disputed, a popular State  
*Anno Dom.* growing up in the midst of a Monarchy, and at the present a great  
 1621. Faction formed against him, which if not speedily suppressed might  
 prove unresistable. Way he found none to extricate himself out of  
 these troubles, but to proceed vigorously in the Treaty for the  
 Match with *Spain*, which he conceived to be the only expedient to  
 compose all Differences, and recover the Patrimony of his Children.  
 For should he break off with that King, and declare for a present  
 War against him, as had been desired, he was to cast himself en-  
 tirely on the Love of his People, of whose Affections and Designs  
 their present Actions gave just cause to be distrustful. He therefore  
 first gives Order on the nineteenth of *December* (being the very day  
 on which the Protestation was Voted at *westminster*) to Adjourn the  
 Parliament to the 8th. of *February*, under pretence that the Mem-  
 bers might retire into the Country, for keeping Hospitality, and en-  
 tertaining their Neighbours in the *Christmas* Holydays, according  
 to the laudable Custom of the *English Nation*: But having thus  
 dismissed them to their several Countries, without noise or trouble,  
 it was not his intent or purpose that they should come together  
 again at the time appointed; according to which Resolution he Di-  
 solves the Parliament, and by his Proclamation bearing date the  
 ninth of *January*, discharges the Members of both Houses from any  
 further attendance.

The Dissolving of this Parliament, and the Transactions in the  
 same, administred much variety of Discourse in all parts of the  
 Kingdom. It was observed by some, That his Majesty had broken  
 one of the strongest Ligaments of the Regal Power, by delivering up  
 his Servants and Ministers into the hands of his People in Parlia-  
 ment, which was a thing not used by any of his Predecessors; That  
 neither *wolsey's* exorbitant Power, or *Cromwel's* contempt of the  
 Nobility, under *Henry viii.* or *Leicesters* Tyranny and Oppressions  
 under Queen *Elizabeth*, were ever suffered to be canvased or con-  
 demned in Parliament; That the King got nothing by that unhappy  
 condescension, but the laying himself open to all disadvantages which  
 a Prince abandoning his Ministers, or abandoned by them, might  
 have just reason to expect; That when Princes begin to fall so much  
 beneath themselves, as to manage Pen-Combate with their Subjects,  
 they put themselves as it were upon equal ground, and stand on the  
 same Level with their Vassals, and by the loss of their Authority,  
 get nothing but the Reputation of an able Writer. And then the  
 Reason of these his yieldings being brought in Question, they were  
 by some imputed to a natural timidity or want of Courage, which  
 rendred him unable to hold out long, when he encountred those who  
 would put him to it: Others ascribed it to his wants, and his wants  
 unto his prodigality, which made his Exchequer always empty;  
 and Money must be had, whatever it cost him. But those who  
 thought they came most neer unto the mark, discoursed of him as a  
 man



man that loved not business, and loved no business less than that of Parliaments; That it was usual with him, when he called a Parliament, and had given them their Errand, as he thought, to retire to *Theobalds, Hampton-Court, or Windsor*, and sometimes further off, to *Royston, or New-Market*, as his pleasure carried him; That by this means the Commons, not having opportunity of Access to his Person, were forced upon a plausible necessity of making their Addresses to him by Messages, Remonstrances, and Petitions; That those Remonstrances and Petitions did beget their Answers, and their Answers did beget Replies which ended commonly in Exasperations on either side.

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But nothing was so much admired at, as the encreasing of the Priviledges of the House of Commons, as well in nature as in number. And thereupon it was observed, that the Commons had mistook themselves in the very ground on which they built their Protestation; That the known Priviledges of the Commons were only liberty of speech in Debate and Conference; Freedom from all Arrests for themselves and their Servants, and opportunity of access to his Majesties Person, as their occasions did require; That even those Priviledges could not be called the undoubted Birth-Right and Inheritance of the Subjects of *England*, because they were no otherwise exercised and enjoyed than from one Parliament to another, by the grace and goodness of their Kings; That were it otherwise, it must needs be a great impertinency in their *Speaker* (at the first opening of every Parliament) to put himself upon his knees, and humbly to beseech his Majesty, in behalf of the House of Commons, to indulge them the continuance of those Priviledges which were of right their own before; That they had been as much mistaken in making the House of Commons (by involving both Houses in the name of Parliament) to be of equall Power and Priviledge with the House of *Peers*, the contrary whereof being so well known; That the *Peers* and People being summoned to Parliament by several Writs, the *Peers* were called only *ad consulendum*, to counsell and advise the King, in matters of most concernment to the Church and State; And that the People were called only *ad consentiendum & faciendum*, to give consent, and yield obedience to such things as were ordained in the Great Council of the *Peers*; That even the *Peers* themselves had no general warrant to meddle in all Affairs of State, but in such only as his Majesty commends and propounds to them; And therefore that these words in the Writ, *Super arduis regni negotiis*, are not left at large, but limited and restrained by the word *quibusdam*, to such particulars, and such only, in which the King required their Counsels.

But nothing seemed so new or strange, as that no Member of the said House should be impeached, imprisoned, and molested, other than by Censure of the House it self, for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament, or



PART I. *Parliament business.* A Priviledge not heard of in Queen *Elizabeths*  
*Anno Dom.* time, when in the 35. of her Reign She imprisoned no less than five  
 1621. of the Members at a clap, not only without their leave, but against  
 their liking; And held them in so strict a durance, that the Com-  
 mons did not think it safe to move her Majesty to restore them to  
 their former liberty. And therefore that they were to shew under  
 what rust and rubbish of Antiquity this Priviledge had so long  
 been hidden, and how it came to be found out at last, when no bo-  
 dy heard of it, or looked after it. The like discoursed also of the  
 following Priviledge, which had been long buried in the same grave,  
 and never came till now to a resurrection, viz. That the King is to  
 take no private information of any complaint, concerning matters  
 said or done in that House, till it be shewn unto him by the House it  
 self; of which it was affirmed, that it was as contrary to the Presi-  
 dents and Practise of former times as the other was: That when the  
 Queen had laid an Imposition upon Currans, and that this Imposi-  
 tion had been complained of by some Merchants to the House of  
 Commons, she had present notice given her of it by some of her  
 Servants in that House, that shewing her dislike thereof to Sir *Robert*  
*Ciell*, principal *Secretary* of State, he signified the same unto the  
 House, telling them it was a *Noli me tangere*, a point not fit for them  
 to touch at; and that if they desisted not from entertaining that com-  
 plaint, he must acquaint her Majesty with it, as in duty bound.  
 Nor was there any better ground for that other branch, touching  
 their Liberty and Freedom in breaking of all matters which came  
 under their Cognizance in such method and order as to them  
 seemed fittest; but that they did intend to lay it as a foundation  
 for preferring their own business before the Kings in all times to  
 come.

I had not dwelt so long upon these Discourses, nor on the former  
 passages between his Majesty and the House of Commons, as being  
 Exotical to my business: but that they were the chief occurrences  
 of this first Parliament, of which our new Bishop was a Member.  
 And though the sitting was but short, not above a Month; yet it  
 afforded him a liberal prospect into the Humours and Affections, the  
 Counsels and Designs of the House of Commons, of which he was  
 not to be taught how to make such use, as should prove most to the  
 advantage of the Church and State. But that which chiefly did con-  
 cern him to take notice of, was the interposing and embracements of  
 that House in the cause of Religion; which if it were so much in  
 danger by the extraordinary encrease of *Popery*, as they gave it out,  
 it must be much to the Reproach both of himself and the rest of the  
 Bishops, that none of them had neither perspicuity enough to see it,  
 or Zeal enough to give warning of it. And therefore he must needs  
 conceive, that Religion was made use of only for a blind or Curtain  
 to screen some dark design from the publick view, which had not yet  
 attained to so ripe a confidence as to shew it self abroad in the open  
 light.



light. The *Mystery of iniquity* had long been working in this Church, not so much in the *Popish* as the *Puritan* Faction. Who seeing they had no more prevailed against it by their open batteries than the *Roman* Emperours had done on the Primitive Church by their persecutions, resolved upon more secret (and consequently more dangerous) practises to attain their ends. In order whereunto they had perpetually alarm'd this King (from his first coming to the Crown) with continual dangers from the *Papists*; for which the Gun-powder-treason gave them too much ground. Nor would they suffer any Session of Parliament pass from that time forward, in which the dangerous practises of *Priests, Jesuits, &c.* did not sound in his ears. And this they did, not so much because they saw any such visible increase of *Popery*, as was by them pretended from time to time: but that they thought it the best way to carry on their other projects, which they were in hand with. For well they knew, that when the thoughts both of King and People were totally taken up with the apprehension of the dangers which were feared from the *Papists*, the *Puritan* Party in the mean time might gather strength without being noted or observed. But because these interposings of the Commons in the cause of Religion, became to be more eagerly pursued in some following Parliaments, we shall refer the further consideration of them to another time.

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The Parliament being ended, we must follow our new Bishop to his Diocess, whom we will wait upon to *St. Davids* (a poor City God wot) situate on the Promontory in *Pembroke-shire*, by the Ancients called *Ortopita*, in a safe place, and far enough from the *Saxons*, whom the *Welsh* most feared: but incommodious enough for all the rest of the Clergy to repair unto. Nor did it prove so safe for the Bishop, and other Inhabitants of it, as had been presumed, in respect of sundry other Nations who have often spoyled and defaced it. For standing near the Sea it had been frequently visited and spoyled by the *Danes, Norwegians*, and other *Pirates*; in-somuch that the Bishops were inforced to remove their dwelling to *Caermarthen*, a fair Market Town, and beautified with a goodly Collegiate Church, not far from which, in a Village called *Aberguilly*, the Bishop hath his ordinary place of Residence. This brought the City of *St. Davids*, small enough before, to the condition of a Village, there being nothing almost remaining of it but the Church, the ruins of the Bishops Palace, and some Houses appertaining to the Canons of it. The Church, as now it stands, (if any of it be now left standing) was the work of Bishop *Peter* the forty eighth Bishop of this Diocess, and by him dedicated by the name of *St. Andrew* and *St. David*; though now *St. Andrew* be left out, and *St. David* bears the name, (as before it did) in reference to *St. David*, who first removed the Archiepiscopal See from *Caer-leon* thither. The place at that time by the *Welsh* called *Menew*, whence the Latines borrow their *Menevenses*, by which name these Bishops are entituled.

1622.



PART I. entituled. From this removal of the *See*, which hapned in 519. *Anno Dom.* the Bishops hereof were for some time the Metropolitans, and for a long time the supreme Ordinaries of the *welsh* or *Brittish*. For although Archbishop *Samson*, the twenty sixth from *St. David*, in the year 910. or thereabouts, had carried the *Archiepiscopal Pall* ( and therewithall the *Archiepiscopal* dignity ) to *Dole* in *Bretagne*, by reason of an extreme Pestilence, then raging amongst the *welsh*; yet his Successors, though they lost the name, reserved the power of an Archbishop. Nor did the residue of the *welsh* Bishops receive their Consecration from any other hand than his till the Reign of *Hen. I.* At what time *Bernard*, the forty sixth Bishop of this *See*, was forced to submit himself to the Church of *Canterbury*.

But our Bishops Journey into *Wales* was not so much to visit *S. Davids*, ( in which Church he had been before installed by Proxie ) as to bestow a visitation upon his Diocess, and therein to take order for the rectifying of such things as he found amiss. A Diocess containing the whole Counties of *Pembroke*, *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Radnor*, and *Brecknock*, with some small parts of *Monmouth*, *Hereford*, *Montgomery*, and *Glamorgan* Shires. For managing whereof the Bishop hath under him four Archdeacons, that is to say, of *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Brecknock*, and *St. Davids*; distributing amongst them all the Parishes which belong to this Diocess, amounting to no more ( in so great a quantity of ground ) than 308. of which 120. are accounted for Impropriations. But then we are to understand this number, of Parochial Churches, not taking into the Account such subordinate Chappels as had been built in several Parishes for the ease of the People, which might very much increase the reckoning. And yet he added one more to them of his own foundation; and such a one as for the elegancy of the building, and richness of the Furniture, exceeded all the rest together. Chappels he found none at his Episcopal house of *Aberguilly*, and one he was resolved to bestow upon it, proportionably to such a Family as was fit for a Bishop of *St. Davids* to have about him; which being finished, he provided it of Rich Furniture, and Costly Utensils, and whatsoever else was necessary or convenient for the Service of God; the very Plate designed for the celebrating of the holy Supper amounting to one hundred fifty five pounds eighteen shillings four pence. Inso- much that if *Felix* the *Proconsul* had been still alive, he might have cried out now, as he did in the time of *Julian* the *Apostate*, viz.

( g ) *Vide*  
*quam pratio-*  
*sis vasis ad-*  
*ministrant*  
*Maria Filio.*  
*Socrat. Hist.*  
*Eccl. lib. 3.*  
( h ) *Cart.*  
*Dome. p. 504*

( g ) Behold in what rich Vessels they administer to the Son of *Mary*. But this unhapy Age hath given us *Felix's* enough to reckon this amongst his crimes, and so they do his solemn Consecration of it, performed by himself in person, according to an order firmly drawn up by the most learned Bishop *Andrews*, then whom there could not be a greater enemy to the Errours, Superstitions, and Corruptions of the *See* of *Rome*. I know it was objected, ( h ) that neither *Gratian*, nor the *Roman Pontificall*, conceive such Consecrations necessaryr



necessary to a Private Chappel; but then they are to be understood of such Chappels only as are meant for prayers, and in propriety of speech are no more than *Oratories*; and not of such as are intended for Preaching, Ministring the Sacraments, and other acts of Divine Worship as this Chappel was. And this appears so plainly by the Authentick Instrument of the Dedication, that no man who hath seen the same can make question of it.

I have laid all these things together, from his Consecration in *November 1621.* till his return toward *London* on the fifteenth of *August 1622.* though the building and consecrating of this Chappel was the work of some following years, and that there intervened a business of another nature betwixt the end of the Parliament and the beginning of his Journey. The Treaty for a Match with *Spain* was conceived to be very forwards, and the Parliament had ended in disgust for declaring against it, which much encreased the Audaciousness of the *Papists*, and the discontents of the *Puritan* Faction. And though the Projects of these last were not yet ripe enough for a present discovery, yet so it hapned, that one *Knight*, a young Divine of *Broadgates* in *Oxon.* (now better known by the name of *Pembroke Colledge*) broke out a little before his time into such expressions as plain enough declared the purpose of all the rest. For preaching at *St. Peters* on *Palm Sunday* in the Afternoon (being the fourteenth day of *April*) on those words of the Apostle, *viz. Let every soul be subject, &c. Rom. 13.1.* he broacht this dangerous Doctrine: *viz. That the Inferiour Magistrate had a lawful power to order and correct the King if he did amiss.* For illustration of which Doctrine he used that speech of *Trajan*s unto the Captain of his Guard: *Accipe hunc gladium, quem pro me si bene imperavero distinges; sin minus contra me;* That is to say, Receive this Sword, which I would have thee use for my defence if I govern well; but if I rule the Empire ill, to be turned against me. For this being called in question by *Dr. Pierce*, one of the Canons of *Christ Church*, being then Vice-Chancellor, he was commanded to deliver a Copy of his Sermon, which he did accordingly; and Letters presently were dispatcht to the Bishop of *St. Davids*, as the only *Oxford* Bishop then about the King, to make his Majesty acquainted with it. It was his Majesties pleasure, that both the Preacher and the Sermon should be sent to the Court. Where being come, he was very strictly examined about the Doctrine he had Preached, and how he came to fall upon it: He laid the fault of all upon some late Divines of foreign Churches, by whom he had been so misguided; Especially on *Pareus* a Divine of *Heidelberg*, who in his Commentary on the Epistle to the *Romans* had positively delivered, all which he had vented in his Sermon, even to that very saying of the Emperour *Trajan*. On this acknowledgment, it pleased the King of his special goodness to remit the error of the Preacher, considering him as a young man, and easily seduced by so grave an Author; but then withall

LIB. II.

Anno Dom.

1622.

Et tam ad  
Sacramenta  
quam Sa-  
cramentalia,  
tum Cœne  
Dominica,  
tum etiam  
Baptismatis  
Sacri in ean-  
dem mini-  
strantur, &c.

he



PART I. he gave such order in the Point, That the said Book of *Pareus* should  
*Anno Dom.* be publickly burnt, not only in both the Universities, but also after  
 1622. the end of the Sermon at St. Paul's Cross London, on some Sunday  
 following; which Sentence was accordingly executed at Oxon. in  
 St. Maries Church-yard, on the sixth of June, in a frequent Assem-  
 bly of the Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, Heads of Houses,  
 Regents, Non-Regents, and many others, whom curiosity or desire  
 of satisfaction did allure unto it. The like done at St. Pauls Cross  
 also on Sunday the 23d. of June next following; Mountain then Bi-  
 shop of London, Preaching there upon that occasion. The like was  
 done at Cambridge also, but the time I know not.

But yet the business staid not here: The University of Oxon.  
 thought themselves concerned to acquit the whole Body from that  
 Censure, which the Error of one Member might have drawn upon  
 it; and thereupon it was thought fit, that the most seditious Max-  
 ims and Positions, which in that point had been delivered by *Pareus*,  
 should be extracted out of that Book; and being so extracted,  
 should be presented to the Vice-chancellor, and by him referred un-  
 to the Judgment of the University: Which being done, a Convo-  
 cation was assembled on the 25th. day of June, in which the said  
 Maxims and Positions were by an unanimous consent condemned as  
 false, seditious, impious, and destructive of all Civil Government.  
 Nor did the University think they had done enough in looking back  
 on Times past only, if they provided not also for the preventing of  
 the like mischiefs for the time to come; and thereupon it was decla-  
 red by the said University, First, That according to the Canon of Holy  
 Scripture it was not lawful for the Subject to resist his Sovereign by  
 force of Arms, or to make War against him, either *Offensive* or *Defen-*  
*sive*, whether it were for the cause of Religion, or upon any other Pre-  
 tence whatsoever. Secondly, That all Doctors, Masters of Arts,  
 Batchelors of Law, and Batchelors of Physick, living within the  
 verge of the University, should subscribe to those Censures and  
 Decrees: and, Thirdly, That whosoever did hereafter take any De-  
 gree in any Faculty whatsoever, should first acknowledge the truth  
 and justice of those Censures, by his Subscription to the same; and  
 should withal take his Corporal Oath (the form of which Oath was  
 then prescribed) That he did not only from his heart condemn the  
 said Doctrines of *Pareus*; but that he would neither preach, teach,  
 or maintain the same, or any of them for the future. And for the  
 better avoiding of the like inconveniencies which *Knight* had run  
 himself upon, by that preposterous course of Study which was then  
 generally used in that University, Order was given that his Majesties  
 Instructions of the 18th. of June 1616. should be published in all  
 the Chappels of Colledges, and some publick place in every Hall,  
 that all young Students in Divinity might take notice of them: And  
 this produced by little and little such an alteration, that the name of  
*Calvin* (which before had carried all before it) began to lessen by de-  
 grees;



grees; his Reasons more looked upon than his Affirmations, and the Doctrines of the Church of *England* more closely followed than they had been formerly.

Nor did his Majesty so much neglect his own safety, or the peace and happiness of his People, as not to take such order in it as might prevent the like false, factious, and seditious Preachings for the time to come. He found by this example, that divers young Students, by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, might and did broach unprofitable, unsound, seditious and dangerous Doctrines, to the scandal of this Church, and disquieting of the State and present Government; That the falling off of some to *Popery*, and of others to *Anabaptistry*, or to some other kind of separation from the Church, could not so rationally be imputed to any other thing than to the lightness, affectedness, and unprofitableness of that kind of Preaching, which had been of late years too much taken up in Court, University, City, and Country; That too many Preachers were noted to be soaring up in points of Divinity too deep for the capacities of the people; That others ignorantly meddled in Civil matters, as well in the private meetings of several Parishes and Corporations, as in the Publick of the Kingdom, for the venting of their own distaste, or smoothing up of those idle fancies, which in this blessed time of so long a Peace, doth boil in the brains of an unadvised People; That many of their Sermons were full of rude and undecent railings, not only against the Doctrines, but even against the persons of *Papists* and *Puritans*: And finally, that the People never being instructed in the Catechism, and fundamental Grounds of Religion; for all these airy novellisms which they received from such Preachers, were but like new Table-books, ready to be filled up, either with the Manuals and Catechisms of the *Popish* Priests, or the Papers and Pamphlets of *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and other *Puritans*. His Majesty thereupon taking the Premises into his Princely Consideration, which had been represented to him by sundry grave and reverend Prelates of this Church, thought it expedient to cause some certain Limitations and Cautions, concerning Preachers and Preaching, to be carefully digested and drawn up in Writing: Which done (so done as *Laud* appears to have a hand in the doing of it) and being very well approved by the King, he caused them to be directed to the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, by them to be communicated to the Bishops of their several Provinces, and by those Bishops to be put in execution in their several Diocesses. Which Directions bearing date of the fourth of *August*, 1622. being the 20th. year of his Majesties Reign, I have thought convenient to subjoin, and are these that follow, *viz.*

LIB. II.

Anno Dom.

1622.



- I. That no Preacher under the Degree and Calling of a Bishop, or Dean of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church (and they upon the Kings days only, and set Festivals) do take occasion by the Expounding of any

O

Text



## PART I.

Anno Dom.

1622.



Text of Scripture whatsoever, to fall into any set course or common place, otherwise than by opening the coherence and division of his Text, which shall not be comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or natural inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion set forth 1562. or in some one of the Homilies set forth by Authority in the Church of England, not only for a help of non-preaching, but withal as a pattern, as it were, for the Preaching Ministers; and for their further instruction for the performance thereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.

- II. That no Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, shall Preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter, upon Sundays and Holy-days in the Afternoons, in any Cathedral or Parish Church throughout this Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some Text taken out of the Creed, or Commandments, or the Lords Prayer, (Funeral Sermons only excepted) and that those Preachers be most encouraged and approved of, who spend their Afternoons Exercise in the Examination of Children in their Catechisms, which is the most ancient and laudable Custom of Teaching in the Church of England.
- III. That no Preacher of what Title soever, under the degree of a Bishop or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to Preach in any popular Auditory, the deep Points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of Gods Grace; but rather leave those Themes to be handled by Learned Men, and that modestly and moderately, by Use and Application, rather than by way of positive Doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Universities, than for simple Auditories.
- IV. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, shall presume from henceforth in any Auditory within this Kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out by way of positive Doctrine, in any Lecture or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, Authority, or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or therein meddle with matters of State, and reference between Princes and People, than as they are instructed in the Homily of Obedience, and in the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion, set forth (as before is mentioned) by Publick Authority: but rather confine themselves wholly to these two Heads of Faith and Good Life, which are all the subject of the ancient Sermons and Homilies.
- V. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, shall causelessly, and without any invitation from the Text, fall into any bitter Invectives, and undecent railing Speeches against the Papists or Puritans: but wisely and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England from the aspersions of either



either adversary, especially when the Auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other infection. LIB. II. Anno Dom.

- VI. Lastly, That the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remissness) be more wary and choice in Licencing of Preachers, and Verbal Grants made to any Chancellor, Officiall, or Commissary to pass Licence in this Kingdom: And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom (a new body severed from the ancient Clergy of England, as being neither Parson, Vicar, or Curate) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, only upon recommendation of the party from the Bishop of the Diocese under his hand and seal, with a Fiat from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and a confirmation under the Great Seal of England; and that such as transgress any of his directions be suspended by the Bishop of the Diocese, or in his default by the Lord Archbishop of that Province, Ab officio & beneficio, for a year and a day, untill his Majesty by the advice of the next Convocation prescribe for some further punishment.

1622.

No sooner were these Instructions published, but strange it was to hear the several descants and discourses which were made upon them; How much they were misreported amongst the People, and misinterpreted in themselves; those very men who saw no just reason to condemn the Action being howsoever sure to misconstrue the end. For though they were so discreetly ordered, that no good and godly man could otherwise than acknowledge that they tended very much to Edification; Yet such Interpretations were put upon them, as neither could consist with his Majesties meaning, nor the true sense of the Expressions therein used. By some it was given out, that those Instructions did tend to the restraint of Preaching, at the least as to some necessary and material points; by others, that they did abate the number of Sermons, by which the People were to be instructed in the Christian Faith; by all the Preachers of that Party, that they did but open a gap for Ignorance and Superstition to break in by degrees upon the People. Which coming to his Majesties Ears, it brought him under the necessity of making an Apology for himself, and his actions in it. And to this end having summed up the reasons which induced him to it, he required the Archbishop of Canterbury to communicate them to his Brother of York; by both to be imparted to their several Suffragans, the inferiour Clergy, and to all others whosoever, whom it might concern: which notwithstanding, it lay so heavy on the stomach of H. Burton (at that time a Waiter in the Court, and afterwards beneficed in Friday-street) that it would not down with him for many years. In so much that in his seditious Sermon, Entituled, *For God and King*, Anno 1636. he chargeth it for an Innovation in Religion; that the Bishops then about King James, (of which Laud was one) procured




PART I. red an order from him, to inhibit yong Ministers from preaching those  
*Anno Dom.* Doctrines ( those saving Doctrines as he calls them ) of Election  
 1622. and Predestination, and that none but Bishops and Deans should  
 handle those Points; which he is confident to have been done by  
 them for no other reason, *But thereby the more easily to make way for  
 the accomplishing of their plot,* for the introducing of *Popery*, so  
 long in hammering. So impossible was it for that King, ( and as im-  
 possible for his Son and Successor ) assisted by the gravest and most  
 moderate Counsellors, to fix on any thing conducible to the peace  
 and happiness of the Church, but what must be traduced, and made  
 odious in the sight of the People by the reports and artifices of those  
 troublesome Spirits.

Now as his Majesty and the Church were exercised on the one  
 side by the *Puritan* Faction, so were they no less troubled and dis-  
 quieted by the *Popish* Party on the other. The Priests and Jesuites,  
 upon the breaking up of the Parliament, and the proceedings of the  
 Treaty, grew to such an height of confidence that they openly be-  
 gan to practice on some persons of Honour for seducing them and  
 their dependants to the See of *Rome*. Amongst whom there was  
 none more aimed at than the Countess of *Buckingham*, whom if  
 they could gain unto their Party, they doubted not but by her  
 means to win the *Marquiss*, and by his power to obtain a tollerati-  
 on at the least of their Superstition. The Lady beginning to stagger  
 in her resolutions, and *Fisher* the Jesuite ( who had undertaken the  
 task ) continually pressing her by fresh arguments to declare her  
 self, it came at last to the Kings knowledge, who was not wanting to  
 discourse with her for her satisfaction. At that time Dr. *Francis White*,  
 Rector of *St. Peter in Cornhill*, was reader of the Divinity Lecture  
 in the Church of *St. Paul*, by which he had gained an high esteem  
 amongst his Auditors, not only for his honest Zeal against the Pa-  
 pists, in those ( as they were then thought ) Pendulous times: but  
 for a notable dexterity in the managing of all points of Controver-  
 sie. No man thought fitter than this Doctor to encounter *Fisher*.  
 And to that end, in the beginning of this year, he was desired by the  
 Marquiss to hold a Conference with the Jesuite, at which his Mo-  
 ther being present, might hear what answers would be given to  
 such Objections as had been made against this Church, and the Re-  
 ligion here by Law established. One Conference not being enough  
 to conclude the business, another followed not long after, to which  
 the King himself did vouchsafe his presence; so great was his desire  
 to free this Honourable Lady from the *Fishers* net. But in that se-  
 cond Conference ( consisting altogether of particular points ) there  
 had been nothing said touching an infallible, visible Church, which  
 was the chief and only point in which the Party doubting required  
 satisfaction. And that she might have satisfaction in that matter  
 also, it pleased his Majesty to add a third Conference to the former  
 on the twenty fourth of *May* next following, not to be managed by  
 the



the same parties, but by our Bishop on the one side, and the said *Fisher* on the other; the Lord Keeper *Williams* ( who put in a word or two sometimes ) and divers other persons of Honour being also present.

LIB. 11.  
Anno Domini  
1622.  


How well he sped in that encounter, the Printed Conference, which came out about two years after, and the justification of it published in the year 1637. do most clearly evidence, or shall be shewn hereafter in due time and place. Certain I am, that he gained so much by that days work on the *Marquiss of Buckingham*, that from that time forwards he was taken into his especiall favour; For he himself telleth us in his *Breviate on whitsunday, June the eighth*, That the *Marquiss was pleased to enter into a nearer respect to him, the particulars whereof were not for paper*; That on the fifteenth of that Month he had the honour to be made the *Marquiss's Confessor* ( which was to give him in effect ) the Key of his heart; that on the Morrow after, being *Trinity Sunday*, the *Marquiss* having thus prepared himself, received the Sacrament at *Greenwich*. Which if he had not forborn for a long time before, this *Memorandum* in the *Breviate* must have been impertinent; and finally, that on the eleventh of *January*, the *Marquiss* and he were at some private Consultation, in the inner Chamber at *York-House*, on which he prays God to bestow his blessing. Nor was the King less pleased with his performance at that time, than the *Marquiss* was. On the Report whereof, he gave him order to digest the substance of it into Form and Method, to make it ready for his hearing in convenient time; and was content to give him access no less than thrice in the *Christmas* holydays, that he might hearken to it with the more attention. That King had never the command of so strong a patience as to hold out against a second or third reading, if he had not found some high contentment in the first. In which Conjunction, it was no hard matter for him to obtain the renewing and enlarging of his *Commendam* by the addition of the Parsonage of *Creek* in *Northamptonshire*, into which he was instituted and inducted, in the end of *January*.

We are now drawing unto a new and strange adventure, greater than which was never undertaken and performed by a Prince of *England*. The Treaty for the Match with *Spain*, beginning in the year 1617. was afterwards more vigorously prosecuted by King *James*, upon a hope of bringing back the *Palatinate* with it; But while he fed himself with hopes, the *Spaniards* and *Bavarians*, had devoured the Country, leaving but three Towns ( *Heidelberg*, *Frankendale*, and *Manheime* ) to keep possession for the *Prince Elector*, in the name of the rest. Which the King finding at the last, and seeing that one delay begat another, without promising any end to his Expectations; it was by him resolved, without the privity and consent of his Council, that the Prince himself should go in Person into *Spain*, that he might either speed the business, or break  
of



PART I. off the Treaty : Nor wanted the Prince strong impulsives to induce  
*Anno Dom.* him to it. He was now past the two and twentieth year of his Age,  
 1622. and was so bent upon the Match, that he began to grow impatient  
 with his Fathers Ministers for not ripening it unto an issue; For it is  
 (1) *Hidden* evident by *Digbys* Letter unto *Calvert* (1,) dated *Octob. 28. 1623.*  
*works of* (this last then Secretary of State) not only that King *James* did in-  
*dark. P. 47.* finitely desire the Match, but that the Prince desired it as much as he  
 and by *Calverts* Letter unto *Digby*, on the fifth of this present *Janu-*  
*Id. P. 25.* *ary*, That he could have no rest for his young Master, for being called on  
*early and late to hasten the dispatch of all.* Some Messages and dis-  
 patches had been brought by *Porter* out of *Spain* about three daies  
 before, which winged his feet, and added Spurs to the design. The  
 Journey being thus agreed on, was in the very nature of it, to be  
 made a secret; and therefore not communicable to the Lords of the  
 Council for fear of staying him at home, or rendring him obnoxious  
 to the danger of an interception as he past through *France*; which  
 mischief if it had befallen him, he must either have submitted unto  
 such conditions, or suffered under such restraints as might seem in-  
 tollerable in themselves, but absolutely destructive of his present  
 purpose; which may the rather be believed by reason of the like  
 proceedings of that King with the present Prince Elector *Palatine*;  
 who posting disguised through *France*, in hope to get the Command  
 of Duke *Bernards* Army, was stayed in the middle of his Journey  
 by that Kings command, and kept so long under Restraint that he lost  
 the opportunity of effecting that which he desired.

It is not to be thought but that much danger did appear in the  
 undertaking, but Love, which facilitates impossibilities, overcomes  
 all dangers. On the eighteenth day of *February*, accompanied by  
 the Duke of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Endimion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cot-*  
*tington*, he took Ship at *Dover*, and landed safe at *Boloigne* a Port of  
*Picardy*. Advanced on his way as far as *Paris*, his Curiosity carri-  
 ed him to the Court, to see a Masque, at which he had a view of  
 that incomparable Princess, whom he after married. But he was  
 like to have paid dear for this curiosity; For no sooner had he left  
 the City, but the *French* King upon Advertisement of his being  
 there, dispatcht away many of his Servants in pursuance of him,  
 commanding them not only to stay his Journey, but to bring him  
 back unto the Court. But he rides fast who rides upon the wings  
 of Love and Fear, so that the Prince had past *Bayonne* (the last Town  
 of *France*) without being overtaken by them; and posting speedily  
 to *Madrid* he entred the Lord Ambassadors Lodging without being  
 known to any but his Confidants only. That Danger being thus  
 escaped, he cast himself upon another; For having put himself into  
 the Power of the King of *Spain*, it was at the curtesie of that King  
 whither he should ever return or not; it being a Maxime among  
 Princes, that if any one of them without leave sets foot on the  
 ground of another, he makes himself *ipso facto* to become his Prisoner.

Richard



*Richard* the First of *England* passing in disguise through some part of the dominions of the Arch-Duke of *Austria* was by him took prisoner, and put unto so high a Ransome, that the Arch-Duke is said to have bought the Earldom of *Styria*, or *Styrmarch*, with some part of the money, and to have walled *Vienna* with the rest. Nor wanted the *Spaniards* some Examples of a latter date, which might have justified his detention there, had they been so minded, and those too borrowed from our selves. *Philip* the first of *Spain* ( one of the Predecessors of the King then Reigning ) being cast by tempest on the Coast of *England*, was here detained by King *Henry* the Seventh till he had delivered up the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had put himself under his protection. In like manner *Mary* Queen of *Scots* being forced by her Rebellious Subjects to flee into this Realm, was presently seized on as a Prisoner, and so continued till her lamentable and calamitous death. And what could more agree with the rules of Justice, and the old known practise of *Retaliation*, then that the *English* should be punished by the rigour of their own severities.

Such were the Dangers which the Princes person was exposed to by this unparalell'd adventure, not otherwise to be commended ( in most mens opinions ) but by the happy success of his Return. And yet there were some fears of a greater danger than any could befall his Person by Sea or Land; that is to say, the danger of his being wrought on to alter his Religion, and to make shipwrack of his Faith; and this by some uncharitable persons is made the ground of the design, to the indelible reproach of those who were supposed to have had a hand in the contrivement of the Plot. Amongst those the *Marquis* stands accused by the Earl of *Bristol*, as appears by the first Article of the Charge which was exhibited against him in the Parliament of the year 1626. And our new Bishop stands reproached for another of them by the Author of the book entituled, *Hidden works of darkness*, &c. ( m ) But then it cannot be denied, but that his Majesty and the Prince must be the Principals in this Fact, this *Hidden work of darkness*, as that Author calls it; *Buckingham* and *St. Davids* being only accessaries, and subservient instruments. But who can think they durst have undertaken so foul a business, which could not be waiht off but by their blood, had not the King commanded, and the Prince consented? Now for the King, there is not any thing more certain than the great care he took that no danger should accrue to the Religion here by Law established by the Match with *Spain*. And this appears so clearly by the Instructions which he gave to *Digby* at the first opening of this Treaty, as if it had been written with a beam of the Sun: " The matter of Religion " ( saith he ) is to us of most principal consideration; for nothing " can be to us dearer than the honour and safety of the Religion we " profess: And therefore seeing that this Marriage and Alliance ( if " it shall take place ) is to be with a Lady of a different Religion " from us; it becometh us to be tender, as on the one part, to give " them

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( m ) *Hidden works*, p. 34.



## PART I.

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“them all satisfaction convenient; so on the other, to admit nothing that may blemish our Conscience, or detract from the Religion here established. And to this point he stood to the very last, not giving way to any alteration in this, or tolleration of that Religion; though he was pleased to grant some personal graces to the Recusants of this Kingdom, and to abate somewhat of the Rigour of those *Capitall* Laws which had been formerly enacted against Priests and Jesuites.

Next for the Prince, he had been brought up, for some years then last past, at the feet of this most learned and wise *Gamaliel*; by whom he was so fortified in the true Protestant Religion, established by the Laws of this Realm, that he feared not the encounter of the strongest Adversary; and of this the King was grown so confident, that when *Maw* and *Wren*, the Princes Chaplains, were to receive his Majesties Commands at their going to *Spain*, there to attend upon their Master, he advised them not to put themselves upon any unnecessary Disputations, but to be only on the defensive part, if they should be challenged. And when it was answered, That there could be no reason to engage in such Disputations where no Moderator could be had; The King replied, That *Charles* should moderate between them and the opposite party. At which when one of them seemed to smile upon the other, the King proceeded, and assured them, that *Charles* should manage a point in Controversie with the best studied Divine of them all; and that he had trained up *George* so far as to hold the Conclusion, though he had not yet made him able to prove the Premises. By which it seems that his Majesty conceived no such fear on the Princes part, as that he could be practised or disputed out of his Religion; and that he had no such fear of *Buckingham* neither, but that he would be able to stand his ground, notwithstanding any Arguments which were brought to move him. And he that is so far confirmed as to stand his ground, will never yield himself though he may be vanquished. It was not then to be believed, that men so principled and instructed, as not to be forced out of their Religion, should take such pains to be perverted, or seduced upon worldly policies, as well against their Science, as against their Conscience. Had they gone thither on that Errand, what could have hindred them from putting the design in execution; having in *Spain* fit opportunity to effect it, at home the Kings Authority to confirm and Countenance it, and the whole power of his Catholick Majesty (which was offered more than once or twice) to justifie and defend the misrule against all the world. That they brought back the same Religion which they carried with them, is a strong Argument to any man of Sense and Reason that they went not into *Spain* of purpose to betray it there.

Let us next look upon the proofs which are offered to us; for *Laud* being privy to this journey, whereof his being of Council to pervert the Prince, and draw him to the Church of *Rome*, there is



no proof offered : For first I find it charged , that he wrote a Letter unto *Buckingham* on the fifth day after his departure, and maintained a constant Correspondence with him when he was in *Spain* : And secondly, That he was privy to some Speeches which his Majesty had used to the Prince at his going hence. His Majesty in some of his printed Books had maintained that the *Pope* was *Antichrist* ; and now he feared that this might be alledged against him in the Court of *Rome*, to hinder the *Popes* Dispensation, and obstruct the Marriage : For the removal of which bar, he commands the Prince to signifie (if occasion were) to all whom it might concern, *That his Majesty had writ nothing in that Point* concludingly, *but by way of Argument.* That *Laud* was present at this Conference betwixt his Majesty and the Prince, hath no proof at all : He might be made acquainted with it on the *post-fact*, when the Prince returned ; and yet because he was made acquainted with this passage, though upon the *post-fact*, it must be hence concluded as a matter certain, *That he was one of the Cabinet Council, and privy to the Princes going into Spain* : and secondly, as a matter probable, *That he suggested this distinction unto King James, to please the Pope, and promote the Match.* As little strength there is in the second proof, touching his Writing to the Marquis on the fifth day after his departure : But then it was not till the fifth, before which time the Princes Journey into *Spain* was made the general Discourse of all Companies, the ordinary Subject of all Tongues and Pens ; communicated by word of mouth, by Letters, and by what means not ? Nor can those following Letters, which he received from *Buckingham* when he was in *Spain*, convince him of being privy to that Journey, when it was in project and design ; there being many others also, who both received and dispatched Letters frequently from that very same person, so far from being of the Council as to that particular, that they were not of the Court at all : So ordinary is the fate of such sorry Arguments, to conclude nothing at all, or that which is nothing to the purpose.

But what need more be said to confute this Calumny on which I have so long insisted, than the great Care which was immediately taken by the King and his Bishops, to maintain the Reputation of the Church of *England* in the Court of *Spain* ? No sooner had his Majesty notice that the Prince was come in safety to the Court of that King, but order presently was taken for Officers of all Qualities, and Servants of all sorts to be sent unto him, that so he might appear in Publick with the greater lustre. Nor was it the least part of his Royal Care, to accommodate him with two such Chaplains as should be able to defend the Doctrine of this Church against all Opponents. And that there might appear a face of the Church of *England* in the outward Forms of Worship also, his Majesty was pleased by the Advice of the Bishops then about him (of which *Laud* was one) to give the said Chaplains, *Maw* and *Wren*, these Instructions following, dated at *Newmarket, March 10.*

P

I. That

L I B. II.

Anno Dom.

1622.

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Cant. Dooms.

p. 276.

Hidd. Works;

c. 34. &

Brev. p. 31



## PART II

Anno Dom.

1622.

- I. That there be one convenient Room appointed for Prayer; the said Room to be employed during their abode to no other use.
- II. That it be decently adorned Chappel-wise, with an Altar, Fonts, Palls, Linnen Coverings, Demy-Carpet, four Surplices, Candlesticks, Tapers, Chalices, Pattens, a fine Towel for the Prince, other Towels for the Household, a Traverse of Waters for the Communion, a Bason and Flaggons, two Copes.
- III. That Prayers be duly kept twice a day: That all reverence be used by every one present, being uncovered, kneeling at due times, standing up at the Creeds and Gospel, bowing at the Name of JESUS.
- IV. That the Communion be celebrated in due form, with an Oblation of every Communicant, and admixing water with the wine: the Communion to be as often used as it shall please the Prince to set down; smooth wafers to be used for the Bread.
- V. That in the Sermons there be no Polemical Preachings to inveigh against them, or to confute them; but only to confirm the Doctrine and Tenets of the Church of England, by all positive Arguments, either in Fundamental or Moral Points; and especially to apply themselves in Moral Lessons to Preach Christ Jesus Crucified.
- VI. That they give no occasions (or rashly entertain any) of Conference or Dispute (for fear of dishonour to the Prince, if upon any offence taken, he should be required to send away any one of them): but if the Lord Ambassador or Mr. Secretary wish them to hear any that desire some information, then they may safely do it.
- VII. That they carry the Articles of our Religion in many Copies, the Books of Common Prayer in several Languages, store of English Service-Books, the Kings own Works in English and Latin.

Such were his Majesties Instructions to the said two Chaplains: and being such, they do *concludingly* demonstrate, That there was no design in the King or Prince, or in any of the Court or Court-Bishops, of what name soever, to alter the Religion here by Law established; or that the Prince was posted into *Spain* of purpose that he might be perverted or debauched from it.

But the best is, that he which gave the wound hath made the *Plaster*; and such a *Plaster* as may assuredly heal the Sore without troubling any other Chyrurgeon. It is affirmed by him who published the (p) *Breviate* of our Bishops Life, That he was not only privy to this Journey of the Prince and *Buckingham* into *Spain*, but that the Journey was purposely plotted to pervert him in his Religion, and reconcile him to *Rome*: And this he makes apparent by the following Prayer, found amongst others in the Bishops *Manual of Devotions*; than which there can be nothing more repugnant to the Propositions, for proof of which it is so luckily produced. Now the said Prayer is thus *verbatim*; viz.

(p) *Breviate*,  
p. 14.



LIB. II.

Anno Dom.

1623.

**O** Most merciful God and gracious Father, the Prince hath put himself to a great Adventure: I humbly beseech thee, make clear the way before him; give thine Angels charge over him; be with him thy self in Mercy, Power, and Protection, in every step of his Journey, in every moment of his Time, in every Consultation and Address for Action, till thou bring him back with Safety, Honour, and Contentment, to do thee service in this place. Bless his most trusty and faithful Servant the Lord Duke of Buckingham, that he may be diligent in Service, provident in Business, wise and happy in Counsel, for the honour of thy Name, the good of the Church, the preservation of the Prince, the contentment of the King, the satisfaction of the State: Preserve him, I humbly beseech thee, from all Envy that attends him; and bless him, that his eyes may see the Prince safely delivered to the King and State; and after it to live long in happiness, to do thee and them service, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

And with this Prayer (so plainly destructive of the purpose for which it was published) I shut up the Transactions of this present year.

We will begin the next with the dismissal of the Archbishop of *Spalato*, a man defamed by the *Italians* at his coming hither, and as much reproached by the *English* at his going hence: His name was *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato* in Fact, and Primate of *Dalmatia* in Title: Such anciently and of right those Archbishops were, till the Bishop of *Venice* being made a Patriarch by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, Anno 1450. assumed that Title to himself, together with a Superintendency over all the Churches of that Country, as subordinate to him. He had been long conversant with the Fathers and Ancient Councils; By this Light he discerned the Darknes of the Church of *Rome*, and the blind Title which the Popes had for their Supremacy. Inclining to the Protestant Religion, he began to fear that his own Country would prove too hot for him at the last; and therefore after he had sate in the See of *Spalato* about fourteen years, he quitted his Preferments there, and betook himself for Sanctuary to the Church of *England*, Anno 1616. Extremely honoured at his first coming by all sorts of people; entertained in both Universities with solemn Speeches; presented, complemented, feasted, by the great Lords about the Court, the Bishops, and some principal Persons about the City: Happy was he that could be honoured with his Company, and satisfied with beholding his comely presence, though they understood not his Discourses. Commended by King *James* at first for a constant Sojourner and Guest to Archbishop *Abbot*, in whose Chappel at *Lambeth* he assisted at the Consecration of some *English* Bishops. Made afterwards by the King the Master of the *Savoy*, and Dean of *Windsor*,



PART I. and by himself made Rector of *west-Illesby* in the County of *Berks* :  
*Anno Dom.* A Revenue not so great as to bring him under the suspicion of com-  
 1623. ing hither out of Covetousness, for the sake of filthy Lucre; nor

so contemptible, but that he might have lived plentifully and contentedly on it. During his stay here, he published his learned and elaborate Book entituled, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, never yet answered by the *Papists*, and perhaps unanswerable. He had given great trouble to the Pope by his defection from that Church, and no small countenance to the Doctrine of the Protestant Churches by his coming over unto ours. The foundring of so great a Pillar, seemed to prognosticate, that the Fabrick of that Church was not like to stand. And yet he gave greater blows to them by his Pen, than by the defection of his person; the wound so given, being conceived to be incurable.

In these respects, those of that Church bestirred themselves to disgrace his person, devising many other causes, by which he might be moved or forced to forsake those parts, wherein he durst no longer tarry: but finding little credit given to their libellous Pamphlets, they began to work upon him by more secret practises, insinuating, That he had neither that Respect nor those Advancements which might encourage him to stay; That the new Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth was his special Friend; That he might chuse his own Preferments, and make his own Conditions, if he would return. And on the other side they cunningly wrought him out of credit with King *James*, by the Arts of *Gundamore*, Embassadour at that time from the King of *Spain*; and lessened his esteem amongst the Clergy, by some other Artifices: So that the poor man, being in a manner lost on both sides, was forced to a necessity of swallowing that accursed bait, by which he was hooked over to his own destruction. For having solicited King *James* by several Letters (the last of them bearing date on the third of *February*) to licence his departure home, he was by the King disdainfully turned over to the *High-Commission*, or rather to a special Commission directed to Archbishop *Abbot*, the Lord Keeper *Lincoln*, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Winchester*, with certain of the Lords of the Privy Council. These Lords assembling at *Lambeth* on the 30th. of *March*, and having first heard all his Excuses and Defences, commanded him to depart the Realm within twenty days, or otherwise to expect such punishment as by the Laws of the Land might be laid upon him, for holding Intelligence by Letters, Messages, &c. with the Pope of *Rome*. To this Sentence he sorrowfully submitted, protesting openly, That he would never speak reproachfully of the Church of *England*, the Articles whereof he acknowledged to be sound and profitable, and none of them to be *Heretical*, as appears by a Book entituled, *SPALATO's Shiftings in Religion*, published (as it was conceived) by *Land's* especial Friend, the Lord Bishop of *Durham*. How well, or rather how ill he performed this promise, and what became of him



him after his return to *Rome* is not now my business. The man is banished out of *England*, and my History leads me next into *Spain*, Anno Dom. not *Italy*.

LIB. II.

1623.

The Church of *England* had a great stock at that time to be driven in *Spain*, and many of the *Romish* Factors were desirous to be trading in it. No sooner was the Princes Train of Lords and Gentlemen come to the City of *Madrid*. but the King of *Spain* assigned a day for his Reception. A Reception so Magnificent, so full of State, and Royal Pomp, that it redounded infinitely to the honour of the *Spanish* Court, and the satisfaction of the Prince. Never was King of *Spain* on the day of his inauguration received into that City with a more general concourse of all sorts of people, and greater signs of Joy and Gallantry; then the Prince was conducted through it to the Palace Royal. In which his Quarters being assigned him, there wanted no allurements on their parts to win him to a fair esteem of their Religion, and to put some high value also on their Court and Nation. Nor was the Prince wanting for his part in all fit compliances, by which he might both gain on them, and preserve himself; for by his Courtly Garb he won so much on the affections of the Lady *Infanta*, and by his Grace and circumspect behaviour got so much ground upon that King and his Council, that the Match went forward in good earnest. A dispensation for the Marriage was procured from *Gregory* the fifteenth then sitting in the See of *Rome*. The Articles of the Marriage with all the circumstances thereof were agreed upon, and solemnly sworn to by both Kings. Nothing remained to bring the whole business to a joyfull issue but the Consummation. But before that could be obtained, the Prince must try his fortunes in an harder Conflict than any he had learnt in the Schools of Love.

The change of his Religion was much hoped for by the Court of *Spain* at his first coming thither. To perfect which he was plied from time to time with many perswasive Arguments by many persons of great Honour about that King. And many of the most learned Priests and Jesuites made their Addresses to him, with such Rhetorical Orations, with such insinuating Artifices, and subtle Practises, as if they had a purpose rather to conquer him by kindness, than by disputation. Nor stop they there, but dedicated many Books unto him, to gain him fairly to their Party; invited him to behold their solemn Processions to captivate his outward senses; and carried him to the most Religious places, famous for their magnificent Fabricks, and pretended Miracles. In which conjuncture of designs, it is not to be thought but that the Pope bestirred himself in gaining to his Church a Prince of such parts and greatness. For first he writes unto the Bishop of *Conchen*, *Inquisitor* general of *Spain*, not to be wanting to the opportunity which God had put into his hands. The next day, being the twentieth of *April*, he addressed his lines unto the Prince, extolling the piety of his Predecessors, their Zeal unto the  
Catholick



PART I. Catholick Church, and to the head thereof the Pope, inviting him by all the blandishments of Art, to put himself upon the following  
*Anno Dom.* 1623. of their brave examples. Never had Prince a harder game to play than Prince *Charles* had now: He found himself under the Power of the King of *Spain*, and knew that the whole business did depend on the Popes dispensation, with whom if he complied not in some handsome way, his expectation might be frustrate, and all the fruits of that long Treaty would be suddenly blasted. He therefore writes unto the Pope in such general terms as seemed to give his Holiness some assurances of him: but being reduced unto particulars, signified nothing else but some civill complements; mixt with some promises of his endeavours to make up the breaches in the Church, and restore Christendom to an happy and desirable peace. Which notwithstanding was after reckoned amongst his crimes, by such as rather would not, then did not know the necessity which lay upon him, of keeping at that time a plausible correspondence with the Catholick party.

But these Temptations and Allurements, these Artifices and Insinuations, prevailed so little with the Prince, that he still kept his stand, and was found impregnable; carrying himself with such a prudent Moderation in these Encounters, that he came off alwaies without Envy, but not without Glory. And that it might appear on what grounds he stood, it was thought fit to let them see that he professed no other Religion than what was agreeable to the Rules of Antiquity, and not much abhorrent from the Forms then used in the Church of *Rome*. And to this end, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, the *English Liturgie* was translated into Spanish; so many Copies of the book then Printed being sent into *Spain*, as gave great satisfaction both to the Court and Clergy. The work performed by a converted *Dominican* (q) who was gratified for his pains therein by a good Prebend, and a Benefice, as he well deserved. And this I must needs say was very seasonably done; For till that time the *Spaniards* had been made believe by their Priests and Jesuites, that when the *English* had cast off the Pope, they had cast off all Religion also. That from thenceforth they became meer *Atheists*; and that the name of God was never used amongst them, but with a purpose to expose it to profanation. An Argument whereof may be the extreme squeamishness of the Constable of *Castile*, sent into *England* in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, to swear the peace between both Kings. Who understanding that the business was to be performed in the Chappel, where some *Anthems* were to be sung, desired, that whatsoever was sung, Gods name might not be used in it; and that being forborn he was content they should sing what they listed. And when the Earl of *Nottingham*, attended by many Gentlemen of worth and quality went into *Spain*, to take the like Oath of the Catholick King, it was reported by his followers at their coming back, how much it was commiserated by the Vulgar *Spaniards* that

*Spisw. Hist.*  
*of Scotl.*  
 f. 530.

(q) *Cal. p. 47*



that so many goodly persons should be trained up in no other Religion than to worship the Devil.

But let us leave the Prince, and return for *England*, where the King had as hard a game to play; For having left such a Pawn in *Spain* he was in a manner bound to his good behaviour, and of necessity to gratifie the *Popish* Party in this Kingdom with more than ordinary Favours. He knew no Marriage could be made without the *Popes* Dispensation, and that the *Popes* Dispensation could not be obtained without indulging many graces to his Catholick Subjects. To smooth his way therefore to the point desired, he addresseth several Letters to the *Pope* and Cardinals, in which he gives him the title of most holy Father; and imployes *Gage*, as his Agent in the Court of *Rome*, to attend the business. At home he dischargeth all such *Priests* and *Jesuites* as had been formerly imprisoned; inhibiting all Processes, and Superfeding all proceedings against Recusants; and in a word suspends the execution of such penal Laws as were made against them. The People hereupon began to cry out generally of a *Toleration*, and murmur in all places against the King, as if he were resolved to grant it. And that they might not seem to cry out for nothing, a Letter is dispersed abroad, under the name of Archbishop *Abbot*. In this Letter his Majesty is told, "That by granting any such Toleration he should set up the most damnable and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the whore of *Babylon*; That it would be both hateful to God, grievous to his good Subjects and contradictory to his former Writings, in which he had declared their Doctrines to be Superstitious, Idolatrous, and detestable; That no such toleration could be granted but by Parliament only, unless it were his purpose to shew his people that he would throw down the Laws at his pleasure; That by granting such a Toleration, there must needs follow a discontinuance of the true Profession of the Gospel, and what could follow thereupon, but Gods heavy wrath and indignation both on himself and all the Kingdom; That the Prince was not only the Son of his Flesh, but the Son of his People also, and therefore leaves him to consider what an error he had run into, by sending him into *Spain* without the privy of his Council, and consent of his Subjects; And finally, That though the Princes return might be safe and prosperous, yet they that drew him into that dangerous and desperate Action would not scape unpunished."

This was the substance of the Letter, whosoever was the Writer of it. For *Abbot* could not be so ill a Statesman (having been long a Privy Councillour) as not to know, that he who sitteth at the Helm must steer his course according unto wind and weather; And that there was a very great difference betwixt such personal indulgencies, as the King had granted in that case to his Popish Subjects, and any such Publick Exercise of their Superstitions, as the word

*Toleration*

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PART I. *Toleration* doth import; and howsoever, that it was a known Maxime  
*Anno Dom.* in the Arts of Government, that necessity over-rules the Law, and  
 1623. that Princes many times must act for the publick good, in the in-  
 fringing of some personal and particular rights which the Subjects  
 claim unto themselves. Nor could he be so ignorant of the Kings  
 affections as to believe, that the King did really intend any such tole-  
 ration, though possibly he might be content, on good reason of  
 State, that the people should be generally perswaded of it: For  
 well he knew that the King loved his Sovereignty too well to quit any  
 part thereof to the *Pope of Rome*, and consequently to part with  
 that Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters (as needs he must have done  
 by a Toleration) which he esteemed the fairest Flower in the Royal  
 Garland. In which respect, King *James* might seem to be made up  
 of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; as impatient of enduring an equal, as of ad-  
 mitting a Superiour in his own Dominions. Or had he been a grea-  
 ter stranger at the Court than can be imagined, yet could he not be  
 ignorant, that it was the Kings chief interest to preserve Religion in  
 the same state in which he found it; and could not fear but that he  
 would sufficiently provide for the safety of it. Upon which Pre-  
 mises, it may be rationally inferred, that *Abbot* was only the *reputed*  
 Author of this Bastard Letter, and not the natural Parent of it.

Nor was the Toleration more feared by the English Protestants,  
 than hoped for by the Papists here, and presumed by the *Pope* him-  
 self. In confidence whereof, he nominated certain Bishops to all the  
 Episcopal Sees of *England* to exercise all manner of Jurisdiction in  
 their severall and respective Diocesses, as his false and titular Bishops  
 did in the Church of *Ireland*. The intelligence whereof being given  
 to the Jesuites here in *England*, who feared nothing more than such  
 a thing, one of them, who formerly had free access to the Lord  
 Keeper *Williams*, acquaints him with this mighty secret; assuring  
 him, that he did it for no other reason, but because he knew what  
 a great exasperation it would give the King, and consequently how  
 much it would incense him against the Catholics. Away with  
 this Intelligence goes the Lord Keeper to the King, who took fire  
 thereat as well as he, and though it was somewhat late at night,  
 was commanded to go to the *Spanish* Embassadour, and to require him  
 to send unto the King his Master to take some course that those pro-  
 ceedings might be stopt in the Court of *Rome*; or otherwise that  
 the Treaty of the Match should advance no further. The Lord  
 Keeper finds the Embassadour ready to send away his Pacquet, who  
 upon hearing of the news commanded his Currier to stay till he  
 had represented the whole business in a Letter to the King his Ma-  
 ster. On the receiving of which Letter, the King imparts the same to  
 the Popes *Nuncio* in his Court. Who presently sends his dispatches  
 to the Pope, acquainting him with the great inconveniences and un-  
 avoidable dangers of this new design; which being stopt by this  
 device, and the Treaty of the Match ending in a rupture not long  
 after,



after, the same Jesuite came again to the Lord Keepers Lodging, and in a fair and facetious manner thanked him most humbly for the good office he had done for that Society, for breaking and bearing off which blow all the friends they had in *Rome* could find no buckler. Which Story as I heard from his Lordships own mouth (with no small contentment) so seemed he to be very well pleased with the handsomness of the trick which was put upon him.

LIB. II.

Anno Dom.

1623.



*Laud* was not sleeping all this while. It was not possible that a man of such an Active Spirit should be out of work, and he had work enough to do in being the Dukes Agent at the Court. The Marquiss was made Duke of *Buckingham*, at his being in *Spain*, to make him more considerable in the eye of that Court: and this addition to his honours was an addition also to that envy which was borne against him. Great Favourites have for the most part many enemies, such as are carefully intent upon all occasions which may be made use of to supplant them. Which point the Duke had so well studied; that though he knew himself to be a very great Master of the Kings affections: yet was he apprehensive of the disadvantages to which this long absence would expose him. It therefore concerned him nearly to make choice of some intelligent and trusty friend, whom he might confide in (and he was grown more confident of *Laud* than of any other) from whom he might receive advertisement of all occurrences, and such advice as might be most agreeable to the complexion of affairs. Nor did it happen otherwise than he expected, for long he had not been in *Spain*, when there were many fearings of him in the Court of *England*, many strange whisperings into the ears of the King concerning the abuse of his Royal Favours; the general discontentments which appeared in the people for the Princes Journey into *Spain*; the sad consequences which were feared to ensue upon it in reference to his Person, and the true Religion; that the blame of all was by the People laid on the Duke, and that it was safest for his Majesty to let it rest where they had laid it. But nothing could be thought more strange unto him, than that the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and the Lord Treasurer *Cranfield* should be of Counsel in the Plot, both of them being of his raising, and both (in the stile of Court) his Creatures. Of all which practises and proceedings *Laud* gives intelligence to the Duke, and receives back again Directions in his actings for him. (Pity it is that none of these reciprocal Letters have been found to make up the *Cabala*, and to enrich the treasures in the *Scrinia Sacra*) From hence proceeded the constancy of affection which the Duke carried to him for ever, after the Animosity between *Laud* and *Williams*; the fall of *Cranfield* first, and of *Williams* afterwards; *Laud* by his diligence and fidelity overtopping all.

The news of these practices in the Court, made the Duke think of leaving *Spain*, where he began to sink in his Estimation; and hastening his return to *England*, for fear of sinking lower here than he did



PART I. in *Spain*. Some clashings there had been betwixt him and the *Conde Anno Dom.* d' *Olivarez*, the Principal Favorite of that King; and some *Caresses* were made to him by the Queen of *Bohemia*, inviting him to be a God-father to one of her Children. In these disquiets and distractions he puts the Prince in mind of the other Game he had to play; namely, the Restitution of the Palatinate, which the *Spaniard* would not suffer to be brought under the Treaty of the Match; reserving it (as they pretended, and perhaps really intended) to be bestowed by the *Infanta* after the Marriage, the better to ingratiate her self with the *English* Nation. Which being a point of too great moment to depend upon no other assurance than a Court-Complement only, it was concluded by the Prince, That since he could not prevail in the one, he would not proceed to the Consummation of the other. But then it did concern him so to provide for his own safety, that no intimation might be made of the intended Rupture, till he had unwinded himself out of that *Labyrinth* into which he was cast: For which cause having desired of his Father, that some Ships might be sent to bring him home, he shewed himself a more passionate Lover than ever formerly, bestowed upon the Lady *Infanta* many rich Jewels of most inestimable value, and made a *Proxie* to the Catholick King, and Don *Charles* his Brother, in his name to Espouse the Lady. Which *Proxie* being made and executed in due form of Law, on the Fourth of *August* 1623. was put into the Hands of *Digby* (on the Fifteenth of *September* after made Earl of *Bristol*) by him to be delivered to the King of *Spain* within ten days after the coming of the Dispensation from the new *Pope Urban*, which was then every day expected. But no sooner had he took his leave, and was out of danger, but he dispatch'd a Post unto him, commanding him not to deliver up the *Proxie* until further Order: And having so done, he hoisted Sails for *England*.

Arriving at *Portsmouth* on *Sunday* the fifth of *October*, he rides Post the next day to *London*, and after Dinner on the same day to the Court at *Royston*; his welcom home being celebrated in all Places with Bells and Bonfires, and other accustomed Expressions of a Publick Joy. Being come unto the Court, they acquaint his Majesty with all that hapned, informing him that no assurance of regaining the *Palatinate* could be had in *Spain*, though the Match went forwards. His Majesty thereupon dispatches Letters to the Earl of *Bristol* on the eighth of *October*, requiring him not to deliver up the *Proxie*, and so not to proceed to the Espousals, till the *Christmas* Holy-days; and in the mean time to press that King to a positive Answer, touching the *Palatinate*. The expectation whereof not being answered by success, a Parliament is summoned to begin on the 17th. of *February* then next following, to the end that all things might be governed in this Great Affair by the publick Counsel of the Kingdom. Not long after the beginning whereof, the Duke declared before both Houses (more to the disadvantage of the *Spaniard* than



than there was just ground for) how unhandfomly they had dealt with the Prince when he was in *Spain*; how they had fed him with delays; what indignities they had put upon him; and finally, had sent him back, not only without the *Palatinate*, but without a Wife; leaving it to their prudent consideration what course to follow. It was thereupon Voted by both Houses, That his Majesty should be desired to break off all Treaties with the King of *Spain*, and to engage himself in a War against him for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, not otherwise to be obtained. And that they might come the better to the end they aimed at, they addressed themselves unto the Prince, whom they assured, That they would stand to him in that War, to the very last expence of their Lives and Fortunes; and he accordingly (being further set on by the Duke) became their instrument to perswade his Father to hearken to the Common Votes and Desires of his Subjects, which the King (press'd by their continual Importunities) did at the last (but with great unwillingness) assent to: Such was the conduct of this business on the part of the *English*.

Look we next what was done in *Spain*; and we shall find in Letters from the Earl of *Bristol*, “(r) That as soon as news was come “to *Spain*, that King *James* had sworn the Articles of the Treaty “(which was done on the 26th. of *July*) the Lady *Infanta* by all the “Court, with the Approbation of that King, and her own good- “liking, was called *La Princeffa d’Inglaterra*; That as such, she “gave her self the liberty of going publickly to such Comedies as “were presented in the Court, (which before was not allowable in “her :) (s) That as such also, not only he himself (as the Kings Em- “bassadour) was commanded to serve her; but the Duke, and all “the *English* were admitted to kiss her hands, as her Servants and “Vassals; That after the Princes departure, there was no thought “of any thing but of providing Presents for the King and him, the “setling of the Princesses Family, and making Preparations for the “Journey on the first of *March*; That the Princess also had begun “to draw the Letters which she intended to have written the day of “her *disposories* to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father “in Law; That besides such assurances as were given by the Count “of *Olivarez*, and other Ministers of that King, the Princess had “made the business of the *Palatinate* to be her own, and had there- “in most expressly moved the King her Brother, and written to the “Conde of *Olivarez* to that effect, and had set her heart upon the “making of her self grateful and welcome to the King and King- “dom, by overcoming the difficulties that appeared in it: In which “respect it was very truly said by *Digby*, in one of his Letters to “King *James*, That it would be held a point of great dishonour to “the *Infanta*, if the Powers called for by her Friends should be de- “tained on the Princes part; and that whosoever had deserved ill, “she certainly had deserved neither disrespect nor discomforts.

LIB. II.

Anno Dom.

1623.

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(r) Digby to

Calvert,

Jul. 25.

(s) to Calvert

Dec. 28.

to K. James;

Octob. 24.



PART I. Add hereunto, That the *Popes Dispensation* coming to the Court of *Anno Dom.* Spain in the beginning of *December*, that King caused Bonfires to be made in all the parts of his Realms, intending on that day (in satisfaction of the Oath which he had made to the Prince) to proceed to the *Esponsals* with all due solemnity. Which being the true state of this affair, as far as I am able to look into it, I shall refer it to the judgment of the equal Readers, whether this poor Lady were more *dishonoured* and *discomforted* by her own Brother and his Ministers, if they meant not really and effectually to satisfy all expectations touching either Treaty; or by the *English*, if they did.

1623.  
Hidd. Works,  
p. 61.

But it is now time to leave these Foreign Negotiations, and keep close at home, where we shall finde the *Priests* and *Jesuits* as busie in seducing the people, and the *Lay-Papists* as audacious in hearing and frequenting *Masses*, as if they had been fortified by a *Toleration*. But it pleased God to put some Water into their Wine, and abate the fervour of those heats, by letting them feel the strokes of his heavy hand, when they look'd not for it. Being assembled in a fair and capacious Room at *Hunsdon House* in the *Black-Friers*, to hear the Sermon of one *Drury* a Jesuit, their numbers were so great, and their weight so heavy, that the Floor sunk under them. Most lamentable were the cries of those which fell under that Ruine, 94 of them (of which the Preacher himself was one) being killed outright; most of the rest so miserably bruised and maimed, that the condition of the dead was esteemed far happier than that of the living: A matter of great astonishment to their Party here; and that it might not be so abroad, they thought it good to shift the Scene, and change the Actors, publishing to that end a Pamphlet, which they dispersed in divers parts of *France* and *Italy*, containing a Relation of Gods Judgments shewn on a sort of *Protestant Hereticks*, by the fall of an House in *St. Andrews Parish* in *Holborn*, in which they were assembled to hear a *Geneva Lecture*, *October 26. A. D. 1623.* So wickedly wise are those of that Generation, to cheat their own Souls, and abuse their Followers. And yet the Pamphleteer says well, That this disaster hapned on the 26th of *October*; for so it did according to the *Old Style* and Account of *England*: But it was on the fifth day of *November*, according to the *New Style* and Account of *Rome*. And this indeed may seem to have somewhat of Gods Judgment in it, That the intended blowing up of the Parliament, to the unavoidable destruction of the King, Prince, Prelates, Peers, and the chiefeſt Gentry of the Nation, on the fifth day of our *November*, should on the fifth day of their own be recompenced or retaliated by the sinking of a Room in which they met, to the present slaughter of so many, and the maiming of more.

But leaving them to their ill Fortunes, it was not long before *Buckingham* found the truth of such Informations as he had received touching those ill Offices which had been done to him in his absence, from



from some whom he esteemed his Friends. Hereupon followed an estranging of the Dukes Countenance from the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and of his from the Bishop of *St. Davids*, whom he looked upon as one that stood in the way betwixt him and the Duke: with which the Duke was not long after made acquainted. But these displeasures were not only shewn in offended Countenances, but brake out within little time into sharp Expostulations on either side. The Duke complained to *Laud*, December 15. That the Lord Keeper had so strangely forgotten himself to him, as he seemed to be dead in his affections; and began to entertain some thoughts of bringing him by a way which he would not like, to a remembrance of his duty: and on the eleventh of *January* the Lord Keeper meets with *Laud* in the *Withdrawing Chamber*, and fell into very hot words with him, of which the Duke hath an account also within three days after. But *Williams* seeing how unable he was to contend at once with Wit and Power, applied himself with so much diligence to regain the Favour of the Duke, that in the beginning of *February* a Reconciliation was made between them, the Duke accepting his submission, and learning from him, That his great Favours unto *Laud*, were the chief reasons which had moved him unto that forgetfulness. And that the benefit of this Reconciliation might extend to all who were concerned in the displeasures, *Williams* engageth to the Duke to be friends with *Laud*, and did accordingly bestow some Complements upon him; but such as had more ceremony than substance in them. From henceforth nothing but an appearance of fair weather between these Great Persons, though at last it brake out again more violently into open Storms. The Wound was only skinned, not healed; and festred the more dangerously, because the secret Rancour of it could not be discerned. In the mean time *Laud* was not wanting to himself in taking the benefit of this Truce: *Abbot* had still a spite against him, and was resolved to keep him down as long as he could; to which end he had caused him to be left out of the *High-Commission* (and *Williams* was not forward to put him in) though never a Bishop that lived about *London* was left out but himself, and many who lived not there put in: Of which Indignity he complained to the Duke, by his Letter bearing date *November 1. 1624.* and was remedied in it.

LIB. II.


Anno Dom.

1623.



During the heat of these Court-combats, the Parliament before-mentioned was assembled at *Westminster*, on the seventeenth of *February*; upon whose humble Petition and Advice his Majesty dissolved the Treaties, and engaged himself in a War with *Spain*: But this he had no sooner done, when they found into what perplexities they had plunged themselves by this Engagement; there being nothing more derogatory to the Honour and Prosperity of a King of *England*, than to be cast on the necessity of calling Parliaments, which rendreth them obnoxious to the power and pride of each popular spirit, and makes them less in Reputation both at home and abroad: For first they



PART I. they Petitioned him for a Fast, which he also granted. They had  
*Anno Dom.* desired the like in some former Parliaments, and Sessions of Parliam-  
 1623.  ents, as they had done also in Queen *Elizabeths* time; but could  
 never obtain the same from either. It was then told them, That there  
 were weekly Fasts appointed to be kept by the Laws of the Land,  
 which if they did observe, as they ought to do, there would be no  
 need of Solemn Fasts to begin their Parliaments. The blame of  
 which Answer, in the Parliament immediately foregoing this, was  
 by the *Puritan* Faction cast upon the Bishops (who at the same time  
 had opposed some Proposition tending to some *Restraints* on the  
*Lords day*, not imposed before) as men whose Pride hindred all such  
 Religious Humiliations, and whose Profaneness made them Enemies  
 to all Piety. But the King having now cast himself into the arms of  
 his People, had brought himself to a necessity of yielding to their  
 desire, and thereby left a fair President both for them to crave, and  
 his Successor to grant the like: So that from this time forward, till  
 the last of King *Charles*, we shall see no Parliament, nor Session of  
 Parliament, to begin without them; though that King checked some  
 times at the importunity.

So far his Majesty had gone along with them, in yielding unto their  
 desires; but he must go a little further. And therefore, secondly,  
 They thought it not enough that his Majesty had made a *Publick De-*  
*claration for the real and utter Dissolution of the said Treaties*; but it  
 must be declared also by Act of Parliament, That the said two *Trea-*  
*ties were by his Majesty Dissolved*: Which gave them some colour of  
 Pretence in the following Parliament to claim a share in managing  
 the War (which the Dissolving of these Treaties had occasioned) and  
 of being made acquainted with the Enterprize which was then in  
 hand. But for this time they were contented to have engaged the  
 King for the future War, toward the carrying on of which, and  
 "more particularly (as the Act expresseth) for the Defence of this  
 "Realm of *England*, the Securing of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the  
 "Assistance of his Majesties Neighbours the *States* of the *United*  
 "*Provinces*, and other his Majesties Friends and Allies, and for the  
 "setting forth of his Royal Navy; they granted to him three *Subsi-*  
*dies*, together with three *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be paid before the  
 tenth of *May* which should be in the year 1625. Which though it  
 be affirmed in the said Act to be the greatest Aid which ever was  
 granted in Parliament to be levied in so short a time; yet neither  
 was the time so short as it was pretended, there being almost fifteen  
 Months between the dissolving of the Treaties, and the last payment  
 of the Monies. Nor did the King get any thing by it, how great  
 soever the said Aid was supposed to be. For, thirdly, before the  
 King could obtain this Act, he was fain to gratifie them with some  
 others, amongst which that entituled, *An Act for the general quiet*  
*of the Subject against all pretext of Concealments whatsoever*, was  
 the most considerable. An Act of such a grand Concernment to the  
 Peace

Act of Parl.  
 A. 11 Jac.  
 21. c. 34.



Peace and Happiness of the Subject, and of such Disprofit to the King in his Gifts and Graces to his Servants, that it was affirmed by Justice *Dodderidge* at the *Oxon.* Assises next ensuing, That his Majesty had bought those *Fifteenths* and *Subsidies* at ten years purchase. Nor fourthly, did one penny of this Money, so dearly paid for, accrew unto his Majesties particular use, or was to come into his Cofters; it being ordered in the Act aforesaid, That the said Monies, and every part and parcel of them, should be paid to certain Commissioners therein nominated; and that the said Commissioners should issue and dispose the same, according as they should be warranted by *George Lord Carew*, *Foulk Lord Brooke*, and certain other Commissioners to the number of ten, nominated and appointed for a Council of War; by them to be expended in the Publick Service. And albeit the Grant of the said *Fifteenths*, *Tenths*, and *Subsidies*, might possibly be the *greatest Aid* which had been given in Parliament for *so short a time*; yet did this greatness consist rather in tale than weight, the *Subsidy*-Books being grown so low (for those of the *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* do never vary) that two entire *Subsidies* in the time of *Queen Elizabeth* came to more than all.

LIB. II.  
Anno Dom.  
1624.

More nobly dealt the Clergy with him in their *Convocation*, because it came into his own Cofters, and without Conditions. For taking into consideration (amongst other motives) the great Expences at which his Majesty was then, and was like to be hereafter, as well for the support of his Royal Estate, as for the necessary Defence of this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions, whereby was like to grow the safety of *Religion* both at home and abroad; they granted to him four entire *Subsidies*, after the rate of 4*s.* in every Pound; which was indeed the *greatest Aid* that was ever given by *Convocation* in *so short a time*; the *Subsidies* of the Clergy being fixed and certain, those of the Laity diminishing and decreasing daily. A Burden which must needs fall exceeding heavy on many poor Vicars in the Country, whose Benefices are for the most part of small yearly value, and yet rated very high in the Kings Books (according unto which they are to be Taxed); Insomuch as I knew several Vicaridges, not worth above 80*l. per Annum*, which were charged higher than the best Gentlemen in the Parish, whose yearly Revenues have amounted unto many Hundreds. *Laud* who had sometimes been Vicar of *Stamford* in *Northamptonshire* (as before is said) was very compassionate of the case of these poor men; for whose ease he devised a course in this present Session; which being digested into form, he communicated to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who very readily promised to prepare both the King and Prince for the passing of it. This done, he imparted it also to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and the Bishop of *Durham*, who look'd upon it as the best service which had been done for the Church many years before, and advised him to acquaint the Archbishop with it: But *Abbot* either disliking the Design for the Authors sake, or being an enemy to all Counsels which



PART I. which had any Author but himself, instead of favours returned him frowns ; asking him, What he had to do to make any suit for the Church ? And telling him withall, That never any Bishop attempted the like at any time, and that no body would have done it but himself ; That he had given the Church such a wound, in speaking to any Lord of the Layty about it, as he could never make whole again ; And finally, That if the Lord Duke did fully understand what he had done, he would never endure him to come near him again. St *David's* replies very mildly, That he thought he had done a very good office for the Church, and so did his betters too ; That if his Grace thought otherwise, he was sorry that he had offended : But hoped that he had done it out of a good mind, and for the support of many poor Vicars abroad in the Country, who must needs sink under the payment of so many Subsidies ; and therefore that his error might be pardonable, if it were an error. Thus soundly rattled he departs, and acquaints the Duke with the success, for fear some ill offices might be otherwise done him to the King and Prince. So miserable was the case of the poorer Clergy, in living under such an *High Priest*, who though he was subject to the same *infirmity*, was altogether *insensible* of those heavy pressures which were laid upon them : It being his Felicity, but their unhappiness, that he was never Parson, Vicar, nor Curate ; and therefore the less careful or compassionate of their hard condition.

(f) D. *Whites*  
Preface to  
his Reply,  
&c.

Before the rising of this Parliament ( which was on the twenty ninth of May ) came out a book of Dr. *Whites*, entituled, *A Reply to Jesuite Fishers Answer to certain Questions* propounded by his most Gracious Majesty King JAMES. (f) The occasion this : His Majesty being present at the second Conference betwixt *White* and *Fisher*, beforementioned, observed in his deep Judgment how cunning and subtle the Jesuite was, in eluding such Arguments as were brought against him, and of how little strength in particular questions he was when he came to the confirmation of his own Tenets. And thereupon it pleased him to have nine Questions of Controversie propounded to the Jesuite, that he might in writing manifest the Grounds and Arguments whereupon the *Popish* Faith in those Points were builded. Now the nine Points were these that follow : 1. *Praying to Images.* 2. *Prayings and Oblations to the blessed Virgin Mary.* 3. *Worshipping and Invocation of Saints and Angels.* 4. *The Lyturgie and private Prayers for the Ignorant in an unknown tongue.* 5. *Repetition of Pater-nosters, Aves, and Creeds, especially affixing a kind of merit to the number of them.* 6. *The Doctrine of Transubstantiation.* 7. *Communion under one kind, and the abetting of it by Concomitancy.* 8. *Works of Supererogation, especially with reference to the treasure of the Church.* 9. *The opinion of Deposing Kings, and giving away their Kingdoms by Papal power, whether directly or indirectly ?* To these nine Questions the Jesuite returned a close and well-wrought Answer, the unraveling whereof was by the King committed to this  
Dr. *White*



Dr. *white*, for his encouragement and reward made one of his Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, and Dean of *Carlile*. This book being finished at the Press about the beginning of *April*, and forthwith published to others, was very welcom to most moderate and learned men; the rather in regard that the third of those Conferences, which was that between *Land* and *Fisher*, was subjoyned to it.

L I B. II.

Anno Dom.

1624.

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Concerning which the Reader may please to call to mind, that this Conference had been digested and read over to the King in the Christmas Holidiaies as before is said. But why it staid so long before it was published, why published in the name of *R. B.* (Mr. *Richard Bayly*) afterwards President of *St. John* Colledgs and Dean of *Sarisbury*, being at that time one of his Chaplains, and not in his own; and finally, why it came not out not as a distinct book of it self, but as an *Appendix unto whites*, himself is better able to tell us than any other, and he tells it thus: (t) “The cause (saith he) “why the discourse upon this *Conference* staid so long before it could “endure to be pressed. It was neither my *Idleness*, nor my unwillingness to right both my self and the cause against the *Jesuite* “which occasioned this delay; For I had then most Honourable “*Witneses*, and have some yet living, that this discourse was finished long before I could perswade my self to let it come into publick view: And this was caused partly by reason there was about “the same time three *Conferences* held with *Fisher*, of which this “was the third; and could not therefore conveniently come abroad “into the world till the two former were ready to lead the way, “which till now they were not. And this is in part the reason also “why this *Tract* crept into the end of a larger work; For since “that *work* contained in a manner the substance of all that passed in “the two former *Conferences*; and that this *third* in divers points “concurrred with them, and depended on them, I could not think “it *Substantive* enough to stand alone. But besides this *affinity* between the *Conferences*, I was willing to have it pass, as silently as “it might, at the end of another work, and so perhaps little to be “looked after, because I could not hold it worthy (nor can I yet) “of that great duty and service which I owe to my dear mother the “Church of *England*. As for the Reasons why it was published in the name of *R. B.* Chaplain to the Bishop, rather than his own, it neither was his own desire, (though the *Breviate* telleth us that it was) nor for fear of being *ingaged* thereby against his friends the *Papists*, as is there affirmed. His Reasons, whatever they were, were proposed by others, and approved by Authority, by which it was thought fit that it should be set out in his Chaplains name, and not his own. To which he readily submitted. But of this Conference we shall speak further, when we come to the defence and engagements of it, Anno 1637.

(t) *Epist. de*  
*dicat. to the*  
*King, 1637.*

The seasonable publishing of these two Books did much conduce  
R to



PART I. to the advancement of his Majesties Service. The Commons at that  
*Anno Dom.* time had been hammering a sharp Remonstrance against the Papists,  
 1624. as if there were no enemies of the Religion here established to be  
 feared but they. In the Preface to which Petition, they took notice  
 of so many dangers threatned both to the Church and State by the  
 power and practises of the Papist, as if the King had took no care to  
 preserve the one, or suppress the other: Which Petition, being  
 brought to the House of Lords, was there so abbreviated, that the  
 Preamble was quite left out, and the many branches of it reduced  
 to two particulars: First, That all Laws and Statutes, formerly  
 made against Jesuites, Seminary Priests, and other Popish Recusants,  
 might from thenceforth be put into execution. Secondly, That he  
 would engage himself by his Royal Word, that upon no occasion of  
 Marriage or Treaty, or other request in that behalf, &c. he would  
 slaken the execution of the Laws against them. Which Petition  
 being presented to his Majesty by a Committee of both Houses on  
 the tenth of April; after some deliberation he returned this Answer  
 to it, viz. *That the Laws against Jesuites and Popish Recusants should  
 be put into due execution from thenceforth, &c.* And it appeared by  
 the coming out of these said two Books within few daies after, that  
 as his Majesty had granted them their desires, in causing the said  
 Laws against Priests and Jesuites to be duly executed; so he had ta-  
 ken special care, not only to preserve Religion in her Purity, by con-  
 futing the most material Doctrines of the Church of Rome: but to  
 preserve his people also from being seduced by the practises of the  
 Priests and Jesuites.

Which notwithstanding the Commons remaining still unsatisfied,  
 betook themselves to the framing of another Petition, in which it  
 was desired that all such persons as were either Papists, or suspected  
 to be Papists, or had not received the Communion within the space  
 of one whole year, or whose Wives, or any of their Servants were  
 Recusants, or suspected to be so, might be removed from all Com-  
 missions of charge and trust, from being Justices of the Peace, or  
 bearing any Office in the Common Wealthe. But this Petition was  
 not made ready for the Lords till the twentieth of May next follow-  
 ing, and being then reported to them by the Archbishop of *Canter-*  
*bury*, they did proceed no further in it. The Commons in the  
 mean time had been wholly busied in the Prosecution of the Lord  
 Treasurer *Cranfield*, whom at last they brought unto his Sentence.  
 A Gentleman he was by birth, but had his breeding in the City,  
 from whence by his own wit and industry he preferred himself into  
 the Court, where he was first made Master of the Wardrobe, after-  
 ward Master of the Wards, and finally advanced by the power and  
 favour of the Duke, (one of whose Kinswomen he had married) to  
 the office of Lord Treasurer, and the honour of being made the  
 first Earl of *Middlesex*. In this Office he had disoblighed the Prince,  
 when he was in *Spain*, by dissuading and diverting those Large Sup-  
 plies



plies which were required for the maintaining of his Port in a Foreign Kingdom. And he had disoblighd the Duke, by joyning in some secret practises to make him grow less and less in his Majesties Favour. They had both served the turn of the Commons, in drawing the King by their continual importunities to dissolve the Treatie. And the Commons must now serve their turn in prosecuting this man to his final destruction: Which they pursued so effectually, that in the end he was sentenced in the House of Lords to be deprived of the Office of Lord High Treasurer of *England*, to be fined fifty thousand Pounds, and remain a Prisoner in the Tower during his Majesties will and pleasure. It was moved also to degrade him from all Titles of honour, but in that the Bishops stood his Friends and dasht the motion.

L. I. P. 11.

Anno Dom.

1624.

So *Cranfield* fell, and *Williams* did not stand long after. *Laud* was now brought into an higher degree of credit with the Duke of *Buckingham* than he was before, by means whereof he came to be of great power and authority with him. Infomuch that when the Duke fell sick of an Ague in the beginning of *May*, he was extreme impatient in his Fits till *Laud* came to visit him; by whom he was so charmed and sweetned, that at first he endured his Fits with patience; and by that patience did so break their heats and violences, that at last they left him. From this time forwards he was not used only as a Confessor, but a Counsellor also imployed by him; in considering and advising whether the great endowments belonging to the Hospitals founded in the dissolved house of *Carthusian* Monks (commonly, but corruptly, called the *Charter-House*) might not be inverted to the maintenance of an Army for the present Wars, as well for his Majesties advantage, as the ease of the Subject. And to this Proposition (as it seems) he returned a Negative, for I find not that the business advanced any further. He liked not any inversions or alienations of that nature; lest being drawn into example, the Lands of Colledges or Cathedral Churches might in like manner be imployed unto secular uses. Besides, he could not choose but know, that a project had been set on foot about ten years before, for the Entituling of the King to all *Sutton's* Lands; which probably might have succeeded, if *Coke*, then being Lord Chief Justice, and one of the Trustees for erecting the Hospital, had not stood stoutly to his trust. By which though he got the Kings displeasure, yet amongst others he preserved the reputation of an honest man. And *Laud* might very well conclude, that he who durst oppose the King when he was in his favour, would be found more intractable at this time when he was in disgrace; which rendred him the less sollicitous to appear in a business not otherwise approved of by him: But in another point, which was more to his liking, and lay within the spheare of his activity, he gave him as much satisfaction as he had desired. This was the giving him the heads of *Doctrinal Puritanism*, that is to say, the Heads of such Doctrines as were main-



PART I. tained by those of the *Puritan* Faction, though not maintained by  
*Anno Dom.* them as *Puritans*, but as *Calvinists* only. The Duke had a desire to  
 1624. know them, and he served him in it. I must needs say, the name  
 of *Doctrinal Puritanism* is not very ancient, but whether first taken  
*Fuller. Ch.* up by the Archbishop of *Spalato* at his being here, I am not able to  
*H. it. lib. 10.* say; Nor am I of opinion, that *Puritan* and *Calvinian* are terms  
 convertible. For though all *Puritans* are *Calvinians*, both in doctrine  
 and practise, yet all *Calvinians* are not to be counted as *Puritans*  
 also; whose practises many of them abhor, and whose inconfor-  
 mities they detest, though by the error of their Education, or ill  
 direction in the Course of their Studies, they may, and do agree with  
 them in some points of Doctrine. But I must take the word as it  
 stands in the *Breviate*, and so let it go.

*Mount. Pref.*  
*to the Gag.*  
*ger.*

These *Doctrinal* heads, being ten in number, related to the indi-  
 spensible morality of the Lords-day-Sabbath, the indiscrimination  
 of Bishops and Presbyters, the Power of Sovereign Princes in Eccle-  
 siastical matters, the Doctrine of Confession and Sacerdotal Abso-  
 lution, and the five Points so much disputed, about Predestination  
 and the Concomitants thereof. Which last Points having been hot-  
 ly agitated, for twenty years last past, in the *Belgick* Churches, did  
 now begin to exercise the Church of *England* upon this occasion.  
 The Priests and Jesuites having been very busie of late in gaining  
 Profelites, and sowing their erroneous Doctrines, had got a haunt  
 in a Village of the County of *Essex*, called *Stanford-Revers*. The  
 Rector of that Church was *Richard Montague*, Batchelor of Divinity,  
*Prebend of Windsor*, and one of the Fellows of *Eaton Colledge*; a  
 man exceedingly well versed in all the Learning of *Greeks* and *Ro-*  
*mans*, and as well studied in the Fathers, Councils, and all other  
 ancient *Monuments* of the Christian Church. Desirous to free his  
 Parish from this haunt, he left some Propositions at the house of one  
 of his Neighbours, which had been frequently visited with these  
*Night-Spirits*, with this Declaration thereunto, that if any of those  
 which ranged that walk could convince him in any of the same, he  
 would immediately subscribe and be a *Papist*. After long expecta-  
 tion, instead of answering to his queries, one of them leaves a short  
 Pamphlet for him, entituled, *A new Gag for the Old Gospel*, in which  
 it was pretended, that the Doctrine of the *Protestants* should be con-  
 futed out of the very words of their own English Bibles. This  
 book he was required to answer, and found it no such knotty piece,  
 but that it might be cleft in sunder, without Beetle or Wedges. But  
 in perusing of that book, he found, that besides some few Doctrines  
 which properly and truly did belong to the Church of *England*,  
 there were crouded into it all Points of *Calvinism*, such *Heterodoxies*,  
 and out-landish Fancies, as the Church of *England* never owned.  
 And therefore in his Answer to that *Papish Gagger* he severed or  
 discriminated the opinions of particular men, from the Authorized  
 Doctrines of this Church; leaving the one to be maintained by their  
 private



private *Fautors*, and only defending and maintaining the other. And certainly had he not been a man of a mighty Spirit, and one that easily could condemn the cry and clamours which were raised against him for so doing, he could not but have sunk remedilessly under the burden of disgrace, and the fears of Ruine which that performance drew upon him.

This Book came out about the latter end of *December*, and coming out made such a general amazement amongst those of the *Calvinian* Party, that they began to fear the sad consequents of it. The opening of this secret was of such importance, that if the Author and his Book were not speedily crushed, they must no longer shroud their private opinions under the name of the received Doctrine of the Church of *England*; excluded from that Sanctuary, they could find no place of strength and safety, in which they should not be exposed to assaults and dangers. And that the Author and the Book might be crushed together, it was thought fit that *Rates* and *Ward*, two of the Lecturers or Preachers in *Ipswich* should gather out of his Book some especial Points, tending to *Papery* and *Arminianism* (as they conceived) to be presented to the Censure of the following Parliament. Having got a Copy of the *Information* intended to be made against him, he flies for refuge to King *James*, now grown more moderate, and (since the death of *Mountague* the late Bishop of *Winton*) into a better liking of those opinions, which he had laboured to condemn at the Synod of *Dort*. His Majesty knew the man, and his great abilities, and was well pleased with his performance against the *History of Tithes*; where he had beaten the (then thought) matchless *Selden* at his own weapon, and shewed himself the greater Philologer of the two: Upon which ground he looked upon him as the fittest man to encounter *Baronius*, against whom the right learned *Casaubon* had some preparatory velitations before his death, but made no further progress in it. *Mountague*, flying to King *James*, as before is said, had presently his discharge or *quietus est*, as to his Majesties good opinion both of him and (e) the book it self. And more than so, his Majesty took notice that the *Information* was divuiged, and the Clamor violent, and therefore gave him leave to make an Appeal from the said *Defamers* unto his own most Sacred Cognizance in publick, and to represent his just defence against their slanders and false surmises unto the world. And that the queaziness of the times might the better brook it, he gave express order unto Dr. *White*, then Dean of *Carlile*, (cried up, when Lecturer of *St. Pauls*, for the stoutest Champion of this Church against those of *Rome*) for the authorizing and publishing thereof, which was done accordingly. This Book he entituled by the name of *APPELLO CÆSAREM*, or a just *APPEAL* from two unjust *INFORMERS*: But the King dying before it was finished at the Press, it was presented to King *Charles*, in the first entrance of his Reign, and there we shall be sure to hear further of it.

L I B. II.

Anno. Domini

1624.

(e) Epist. de  
dicat. to Ap-  
pello Casar.



## PART I.

Anno Dom.

1624.



In the mean time it may not be unnecessary to enquire what the said *Informers* (*Yates* and *Ward*) might and did mean by *Popery* and *Arminianism*, with which two crimes they charged the Answer to the *Gagger*. And first we find upon due search, That by *Popery* they understood all such Points of Doctrine, as being determined by this Church, hold some correspondence and agreement with the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*; or being not determined by this Church, are left at liberty for every man to please himself in his own opinion, how near soever he may come to such compliance. Of the first sort they reckoned for points of *Popery*; *The Doctrine of the Perpetual Visibility of the Church of Christ*; *The Local Descent of Christ into Hell*, *The Lawfulness of Images*, *Signing with the Sign of the Cross*, *Confession and Sacerdotal Absolution*, *The Real Presence*, *The Reward of Good Works*, *The Sacrament of Orders*; quarrelling even with very words, *Sacrifice*, *Altar*, and the like: All which upon a perfect Examination, will be found to be the genuine Doctrines, and to speak nothing but the Language of the Church of *England*, as we have punctually discovered in our *Introduction*. Amongst the last I reckon the Disputes concerning *Evangelical Counsels*, *Antichrist*, and *Limbus Patrum*, of which the Church of *England* hath determined nothing; and therefore the *Appellant* was left at liberty to follow his own Judgment, and to chuse what guides he pleased to direct his Judgment in those particular Debates. Yet such was the temper of those Times, that whosoever held any of the Points aforesaid, or any other controverted with the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the sense of *Calvin*, must presently be accused of *Popery*. He that adhered unto the Tendries of the Ancient Fathers, in such particulars as the Church was pleased to leave undetermined; or bound himself in matters publicly resolved on; to vindicate this Church to her genuine Tenents, was presently made Subject to all those Clamors and Reproaches, which the Tongues and Pens of that Predominating Faction could either raise upon him, or asperse him with. *Laud* had found good experience of it when he lived in *Oxon*. and so had *Houison* and *Corbet* too, as before was noted. But none of them were able to break through those difficulties, till *Mountague* took the Work in hand; who being well back'd, and having the Ice somewhat broke before him, waded with confidence and courage through the midst of those Waters, which otherwise might have overwhelmed the most tried Adventurer.

In the next place it will be no hard work to finde what they meant by *Arminianism*; under which name they comprehend the *Melan-ethonian* Doctrine of *Predestination*, *The Universal Redemption of Mankind by the Death of Christ*, *The cooperation of the will of Man with the Grace of God*; and, *The Possibility of falling from Grace received*: All which appear by plain and evident proofs in our said *Introduction*, to have been the true original and native Doctrines of this Church



Church at her first *Reformation*. But *Calvinism* had so over-  
spread the face of this Church, by *Humphries* long sitting in the  
*Chair* at *Oxon.* and the discountenancing of *Peter Baro* at *Cam-*  
*bridge*, that the natural Doctrines and Determinations of it were  
either so forgotten, that they were not known, or else so overpowred,  
that none durst undertake to own them. And so it stood till the  
breaking out of the *Predestinarian* Quarrels in the *Belgick* Churches,  
between *Arminius* and his Followers on the one side, and the *Rigid*  
*Calvinians* on the other. The Books which had been written on both  
sides, being purposely dispersed abroad, to encourage and encrease  
their several Parties, cross'd over the Seas into *England* also; where  
being diligently studied, either out of curiosity, or desire of Know-  
ledge, they awaked many out of that dead sleep in which they were,  
to look with better eyes into the true and native Doctrines of this  
Church, than before they did. Amongst the first which publicly  
appeared that way at *Oxon.* after the coming out of the said Books,  
were *Laud* and *Houson*, whom *Abbot* then Doctor of the *Chair*, and  
*Vice-chancellor* also, exposed to as much disgrace as by his Place and  
Power he could lay upon them. Amongst the first at *Cambridge*  
were *Tompson*, a *Dutchman* by original (if I be not mistaken in the  
man) and *Richardson* the Master of *Trinity* Colledge. The first of  
these had writ a Book touching *Falling away from Grace*, entituled,  
*De Intercisione Gratiae, & Justificationis*; to which *Abbot* of *Oxon.*  
above-mentioned returned an Answer. The other being a corpulent  
man, was publicly reproach'd in *S. Maries* Pulpit in his own Univer-  
sity, by the name of a *Fat-bellied Arminian*. By that name they were  
called in *Holland*, which adhered not unto *Calvin's* Doctrine, though  
many had formerly maintained these Opinions in those Church-  
es, before *van Harmine* came to the Chair of *Leyden*. And by that  
name they must be called in *England* also, though the same Doctrines  
had been here publicly Authorised and Taught before he was born.  
So that the entitling of these Doctrines to the name of *Arminius*,  
seems to be like the nominating of the great *Western Continent* by the  
name of *America*; of which first *Christopher Columbus*, and after-  
wards the two *Cabots*, Father and Son, had made many great and no-  
table Discoveries, before *Americus Vesputius* ever saw those Shores.  
Howsoever these Doctrines must be called by the name of *Arminia-*  
*nism*, and by that name *Mountague* stands accused by the two *Infor-*  
*mers*, though he protests in his *Appeal*, That he had never seen any  
of the Writings of *Arminius*; and that he did no otherwise main-  
tain those Doctrines, than as they were commended to him by the  
Church of *England*, and justified by the unanimous Consent of the  
Ancient Fathers. But of this man, and the pursuance of these  
Quarrels, we shall hear more shortly.

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These matters being thus laid together, let us look back on some  
former Passages which preceded *Mountagues* Disputes. The Com-  
mons had obtained their ends, in dissolving all Treaties with the  
King



PART I. King of *Spain*; but lost their hopes of Marrying the Prince to a Lady  
*Anno Dom.* of their own Religion. His Majesty would not look beneath a  
 1624. Crown, to finde a Marriage for his Son; and no Crown could af-

ford him a better Wife for his Son, than a Daughter of *France*.  
 The Prince had seen the Lady at the Court in *Paris*, and the King as  
 much desired to see her in the Court of *England*. Upon this ground  
 the Earl of *Holland* is dispatch'd privately into *France*, to see how  
 the Queen-Mother and her Ministers, who then Governed the Af-  
 fairs of that King, would approve the Match; to which at first they  
 seemed so cheartfully inclined, that they did not seem to stand upon  
 any Conditions: But no sooner had they found, that the Breach be-  
 tween his Majesty and the King of *Spain* was grown irreparable, and  
 that both sides prepared for War, but they knew how to make their  
 best advantage of it. They thought themselves to be every way as  
 considerable as the *Spaniards* were; and would abate nothing of those  
 Terms which had been obtained by the *Spaniards*, in reference either  
 to the Princess her self, or in favour of the *Engliss* Catholicks: And  
 to these Terms, when they saw no better could be gotten, his Maje-  
 sty and the Prince consented. But such a Spirit of Infatuation was  
 at that time upon the People, that they who on the 23d. of *Febru-*  
*ary* before had celebrated the Dissolving of the Treaties with *Spain*  
 with Bells and Bonfires, on the 21st. of *November* following did ce-  
 lebrate with like Solemnities and Expressions the like Match with  
 (a) *Hidden* *France*. And in this Match (a) *Land* is accused to have a  
*Works, p. 73.* hand, or at the least to have shew'd his good affections to promote  
 it. An heavy Crime, and proved by as infallible proofs; that is  
 to say, his writing to and receiving Letters from the Duke, at such  
 time as the Duke was sent to the Court of *France*, to attend the  
 (b) *Ib. p. 69.* new Queen into *England*. And what else (b) could this Match and  
 those Letters aim at, but to carry on the same design to bring in *Po-*  
*pery*, and by that means to stand their ground, and retain all those  
 Priviledges and Immunities, which the Popish Party had procured  
 by the former Treaties? To such absurdities are men sway'd, when  
 Prejudice and Prepossessions over-rule the Balance.

1625. We must begin the next year with the Death of King *James*, and  
 therefore think it not amiss to take a brief view of the Condition of  
 the Church and State, at the time of his departing from us. He had  
 spent all his life in Peace, but died in the beginning of a War: A  
 War which had been drawn upon him by dissolving the Treaties, to  
 which he was as it were constrained, by the continual importunity  
 of the Prince and the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Duke knew well,  
 that he could not do a more popular act, than to gratifie the Com-  
 mons in that business; and had easily possess'd the Prince with this  
 opinion, That as his future Greatness must be built on the Love of  
 his People, so nothing could oblige them more, than to be instrumen-  
 tal in dissolving the present Treaties. But herein they consulted ra-  
 ther their own private Passions, than the publick Interest of the  
 Crown;



Crown; and they shall both pay dear enough for it in a very short space: For there is nothing more unsafe for a King of *England*, than to cast himself upon the necessity of calling Parliaments, and depending on the Purse of the Subject; by means whereof he makes himself obnoxious to the humour of any prevailing Member in the House of Commons, and becomes less in Reputation both at home and abroad. The Church he left beleaguer'd by two great Enemies; assaulted openly by the *Papist* on the one side, undermined by the *Puritans* on the other. Of the audaciousness of the *Papists* we have spoke already, abated somewhat by the Fall at *Black-friers*, more by the dissolving the two Treaties about four Months after. For though they made some use of the *French* by this new Alliance, yet they resolved to fasten no dependance upon that Crown; insomuch that many of those, who greedily embraced such Favours as were obtained for them by the Treaties with the King of *Spain*, would not accept the same when they were procured by the Match with *France*; for which being asked the Reason, they returned this Answer, That they would not change an old Friend for a new, of the continuance of whose Favours they could have no certainty; and who by suffering *Hereticks* in his own Dominions, declared himself no fit Protector for the *Catholick Cause*.

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More secret were the *Puritans*; but nothing the less dangerous, because more secret. Finding they could effect nothing in Queen *Elizabeths* time, either by their publick clamours, or their open practises, they cunningly wrought themselves into a *State-Faction*, and play'd their Game under the colour of Advancing the Civil Liberties of the Subject, and the preservation of Religion here by Law established: To which end they continually allarm'd this King with fears and dangers from the *Papists* (as before was said) that all mens eyes being turned that way, they might carry on their own designs without discovery. In which they imitated the old stratagem of some politick Captains, who having made great noise, and prepared all things ready for an Assault on the one side of a Town besieged, and thereby drawn all the strength of the Town to make good that side, suddenly caused it to be fallen upon in another place, which they found destitute and unprovided of all defence. But having served their Apprenticeships in the Reign of this King, we shall finde them strong enough in the first Parliament of his Son and Successor, to set up for themselves. Hitherto they had worked under the ground like Moles or Vvants, without being discovered; but then they began to cast up the Earth before them: and having prepared a Bill for making way to their *Lords-day-Sabbath*, under colour of suppressing unlawful Pastimes and Assemblies, they pressed that King to it, and obtained it; some further addition to which Act they procured in his third Parliament also. Yet still they kept on foot their pretended Zeal against the *Papists*, and seemed exceeding sensible of the Dangers which were threatned by them; not so much



PART I. to advance their own Party, then grown strong enough (as they had  
*Anno Dom.* done formerly); but to make it serve them as a Property to put by  
 1625. the Business of the King in the Grant of *Subsidies*, whensoever he re-  
 quired it of them,

In this condition of Affairs King *James* departs this Life at *Theobalds*, on *Sunday* the 27th. of *March*; his Disease no other than an *Ague*; which though it fell on him in the *Spring*, yet it crossed the Proverb, and proved not Medicinal, but Mortal. His Character hath been given by many others, and therefore I may well spare mine, looking upon him only in his zeal to the Church, and his affections unto Learning. His zeal to Unity and Uniformity in the Church, appeared in *England* by the Conference at *Hampton Court*, *Anno* 1603. by his directions sent to the University of *Oxon*, 1616. by those to the Archbishops and their several *Suffragans*, 1622. In *Scotland*, by his Restitution of *Episcopacy*, *Anno* 1610. by the Articles of *Perth*, 1618. and by the Grounds laid for the Publick *Liturgy* and *Canons*, at the Assembly in *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. Had he been well followed by his Bishops, and other Publick Ministers in his several Kingdoms, he would have left the Church established on so sure a Foundation, that neither secret Practises could have undermined it, nor open Batteries have distressed it. His great affections unto Learning do appear as visibly, by the encouragement which he gave unto it both in his Person and Example. In the beginning of his Reign, *Anno* 1603. he graciously received the *Vice-chancellor* of *Oxon*: together with the Doctors, Proctors, and Heads of Houses, at his *Mannor* of *Woodstock*: And within two years after, *Anno* 1605. he accepted a Solemn Entertainment from them, performed in all manner of *Scholastick Exercises*, Divinity, Law, Physick, and Philosophy; in all of which he shewed himself of such great Abilities, that he might have governed in those *Chairs*, as well as all or any of his three Professors. Being informed how small and insufficient their old Salary was, he added to his Professor for Divinity, and his Successors in that place, the next Prebend of *Christ-church*, as soon as any should be void, and the Rectory of *Evelme* in the County of *Oxon*. to the Doctor of the Chair for Law, the Corps of a good Prebend in the Church of *Salisbury*; and to the Professors place for Physick, the Government of an Hospital in *Evelme* aforesaid, being within ten miles of the University.

Incouraged by which Examples, two Mathematick Lectures were founded by Sir *Henry Savile* Provost of *Eaton*, and Warden of *Merton* Colledge; An *History Lecture* by *William Cambden*, one of the Kings at Arms, by the name of *Clarencieux*; A Lecture in *Natural Philosophy*, by Sir *William Sidley* Knight and Baronet; In *Moral Philosophy*, by Doctor *Thomas White* one of the *Residentiaries* of *St. Pauls*, and Prebend of *Christ-Church*; All of them of a liberal and large Endowment. After all which an *Anatomy Lecture* was set up by *Richard Tomlins* of the City of *Westminster*, as necessary as any of the rest,



rest, though not so plentifully Endowed. The poor man casting in his *Mite* (almost all he had) amongst those Rich *Offerings*. But the powerful Influences of his Learning and Government produce a further operation than the Instituting of a few particular *Lectures*; even to the Building and Endowing of some, and Beautifying of many other Colledges in that University; Witness that fair and Uniform Colledge, built by *Nicholas Wadham* and *Dorothy* his Wife, Anno 1612. The turning of *Broadgates Hall* into *Pembroke Colledge*, built and endowed at the Charges of *Thomas Tisdale* of *Glymton* in the Court of *Oxon*. appropriated in a manner to the Free-Grammar-School of *Abingdon*, Anno 1624. Witness the raising of the old Schools to a goodly and magnificent Structure, the adding of a new Quadrangle unto *Merton Colledge* by the prudent care of *Sir Henry Savil*; the reducing of *Exeter*, and the making up of *Jesus Colledge* into form Quadrangular, by adding of a neat Chappel and a fair Hall to each; of which the Chappel of *Jesus Colledge* (being built together with the Hall, at such time as *Sir Eubule Thelwall* was Principal of it) was Consecrated by the Right Reverend Doctor *Houison* then Bishop of *Oxon*, May 28. 1621. The other built at the sole Charges of Doctor *Hackwell* Arch-Deacon of *Surrey*, received Consecration from the same hands, October 5. 1624. And finally, Witness a large and capacious piece of Ground, inclosed with a beautiful Quadrangular Wall, for a *Physick-Garden*, the first Stone whereof was laid in a Solemn Assembly of the whole University on St. *James* his day, July 25. 1622. Not to say any thing of the great cost bestowed in beautifying the Quires of *Christ-Church* and *Magdalens*, the setting up of a fair new Organ in the Chappel of St. *John's Colledge*, by the procurement of our *Laud*, the then President of it, Anno 1618. The like fair Organ made and set up in *Christ-Church*, and the old one given to St. *Maries* for the publick use of the University, about six years after. Such and so many Benefactions in one University, and that too in so short a space, as none of the former Times can parallel, so let it be the wonder and amazement of all Ages following.

But the King dies, though his Munificence survive him. It was then *Midlent-Sunday*, and the Court-Sermon at *Whitehall* (according to the ancient Custom) in the after-noon: At what time the sad News passing through *London*, began to be rumored in the Court, as *Laud* was going into the Pulpit to preach before the Lords of the Council, the Officers of the Houshold, and the rest of that great Concourse of all sorts of People which usually repaired thither at those Solemn Sermons. Before he was come to the middle of it, the certainty of the Kings death (more generally known amongst them) the confusion which he saw in the faces of all the Company, his own griefs, and the dolorous complaints made by the Duke of *Buckingham*, occasioned him to leave the Pulpit, and to bestow his pains and comforts where there was more need. He did

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PART I. not think (as I believe few wise men do) that the carrying on of one  
*Anno Dom.* particular Sermon was such a necessary part of *Gods business*, as is  
 1625. not to be intermitted upon any occasion, nor was this ever charged  
 upon him amongst his crimes. The sense of this great loss being  
 somewhat abated, he was requested by the Duke to draw up some  
 Remembrances, of the Life, Reign, and Government of the King  
 Deceased, which he accordingly performed and presented to him:  
 But they are but Remembrances or Memorials only, like the first  
 lines of a design or Picture, which being polished and perfected by  
 a skilful Workman, might have presented us with the true and live-  
 ly Pourtraiture of that gracious Prince. But who will undertake to  
 finish what *Laud* began? I must therefore leave the deceased King  
 to those Memorials, and those *Memorials* to be found in his *Brevi-*  
*ate*, p. 5. But there was another Pourtraiture provided for that King  
 before his Funeral. His Body being brought from *Theobalds* unto  
*Sommerset-house*, where a Royal and Magnificent Hearse was erected  
 for him, visited and resorted to by infinite multitudes of people,  
 for some Weeks together. From *Sommerset-house* his Body was  
 carried in great State, on *Saturday* the seventh of *May*, to *St. Peters*  
*Church* in *Westminster*, where it was solemnly interred. The Fun-  
 eral Sermon preached by the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and printed not  
 long after by the name of *Great Britains Solomon*; which afterwards  
 administred the occasion of some discourse, which otherwise might  
 have been spared.

Thus is *James* dead and buried, but the King survives, his only Son  
 Prince *Charles* being immediately proclaimed King of *Great Britain*,  
*France*, and *Ireland*, first at the Court Gates, by Sir *Edward Zouch*  
 Knight Marshal, most solemnly the next day at *London*, and after-  
 wards by degrees in all the Cities and Market Towns of the King-  
 dom. At his first entrance on the Crown he found himself engaged in a  
 war with the K. of *Spain*, the mightiest Monarch of the *west*, for which  
 he was to raise great Forces both by Sea and Land. He was also at  
 the Point of Marriage with the Daughter of *France*, and some pro-  
 portionable preparations must be made for that. Nor was King  
*James* to be interred without a solemn and magnificent Funeral, an-  
 swerable in the full height to so great a Prince. All which must  
 needs exact great Sums of money, and money was not to be had  
 without the help of a Parliament, which he therefore gave order to  
 be called in the usual manner. But in the midst of these many and  
 great preparations he forgets not the great business of the Church.  
 He had observed the multitudinousness of his Fathers Chaplains,  
 and the disorder of their waitings, which puts him on a Resolution  
 of reducing them to a lesser number, and limiting them to a more  
 certain time of attendance than before they were. He knew well al-  
 so what an influence the Court had alwaies on the Country; by con-  
 sequence how much it did concern him in his future Government  
 that his Officers and Servants should be rightly principled, accord-  
 ing



ing to the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship established in the Church of *England*. And therefore that he might be served with *Orthodox* and Regular men, *Laud* is commanded to prepare a Catalogue of the most eminent Divines, and to distinguish them by the two Letters of *O* and *P*. according to their several persuasions and affections. And that being done, he is directed by the Duke and the Kings appointment to have recourse to the most learned Bishop *Andrews*, to know of him what he thought fitting to be done in the Cause of Religion; Especially in reference to the five Articles condemned not long since in the *Synod* at *Dort*, and to report his answer with convenient speed. A Convocation was of course to accompany the ensuing Parliament. And it was fit not only that the Prelates should resolve before-hand what Points they meant to treat on when they were assembled, but that his Majesty also might have time to consider of them.

These seasonable cares being thus passed over, he hastens both his own marriage, and his Fathers Funeral: The first he solemnized by Proxie in the Church of *Nostre Dame* in *Paris*, on Sunday the first of *May* according to the Style of *England*. The news whereof being brought to the Court, on the *wednesday* following was celebrated in the Streets of *London*, the Liberties and out-parts of it, with more than ordinary Expressions of Joy and Gladness. The Proxie made to *Claud. de Lorain*, Duke of *Chevereux*, one of the younger Sons of the Duke of *Guise*; from which House his Majesty derived himself by his great Grand-Mother *Mary* of *Lorain*, Wife of *James* the Fifth. The Funeral he attended in his own Person, as the principal Mourner: Which though it were contrary to the Custome of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather to express his Piety in attending the dead Body of his Father to the Funeral Pile, than to stand upon any such old niceties and points of State. This was the third Funeral which he had attended as the principal Mourner, which gave some occasion to presage that he would prove a man of sorrows, and that his end would carry some proportion to those mournful beginnings. The Intervall before the coming of his Queen he spent in looking to his *Navy*, and drawing his Land Forces together for that Summers service: But hearing that his Queen was advancing toward him he went to *Canterbury*, and rested there on *Trinity* Sunday the twelfth of *June*. That night he heard the news of her safe arrival at the Port of *Dover*, whom he welcomed the next morning into *England* with the most chearful signs of a true affection. From thence he brought her unto *Canterbury*, and from thence by easie Stages to *Gravesend*, where entring in their Royal Barge, attended by infinite companies of all sorts of People, and entertained by a continual peal of Ordnance all the way they passed, he brought her safely and contentedly unto his Palace at *westminster*. The Lords and Ladies of the Court having presented to her the acknowledgement of their humble duties, such Bishops as were about the Town

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Brevi.

p.6.



PART I. (as most of them were, in regard of the Parliament and Convocation) were admitted to the kiss of her hand, whom she most graciously received.

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For on the *Saturday* before, being *June* the eighteenth, the Parliament had took beginning. Which tell out not unseasonably, that the *French* Lords might see with what Royal Magnificence he was attended by the Prelates, Peers, and other Officers of State (besides his own Domestick Servants) to the Parliament House. At their first meeting he put them in mind of the War, in which they had engaged his Father, and of the promise they had made to stand to him in it with their lives and fortunes; That both his Land and Sea Forces were now in readiness to set forwards; And, That there wanted nothing but a present supply of money to quicken and expedite the affaire; That the eyes of all Christendom were fixt upon him; And that if he should miscarry in his first attempt, it would blemish all the honour of his future actions; And therefore, That they should endeavour to deliver him out of that War in which they had incumbred (he hoped it would never be said that they had betrayed) him. In answer whereunto, the Commons past a Bill of two Subsidies only, so short of that excessive charge which the maintenance of so great a Fleet and Army required at their hands, that being distributed amongst the Officers, Souldiers, and Mariners, it would scarce have served for *Advance-money* to send them going. Which notwithstanding, he very graciously accepted of, taking it as an earnest of their good affections, in reference to the greater Sums which were to follow. In order whereunto he audited his account unto them, as well for such moneys as had remained undisbursed of the former aides, as for the defraying of such further Charges as his present Fleet, consisting of 120 Sail, and a considerable Land Army, must needs lay upon him. The particulars of which account stood thus: *viz.* 32000 pounds for securing of *Ireland*; 47000 pounds for strengthening the Forts; 37000 pounds for the repair of the Navy; 99000 pounds upon the four English Regiments in the States Country; 62000 pounds laid out for Count *Mansfield*; Totall 287000 pounds. Besides which he sent in a demand of 200000 pounds and upwards upon the Navy; 48000 pounds upon the Ordnance; 45000 pounds in Charges of the Land men; 20000 pounds a month to Count *Mansfield*; and 46000 pounds to bring down the King of *Denmarke*; the totall of which latter Sum amounts to 339000 pounds. Both Sums make no less than 626000 pounds, to which the Grant of two Subsidies holds but small proportion.

But the Commons had other game to follow. Their *Grievances* must first be heard: A List whereof they had presented to King *JAMES* toward the end of the former Parliament; of which the greatest part were still unredressed. To these his Majesty vouchsafed a very gracious, and for the most part a full and satisfactory Answer.



Answer. Amongst which *Grievances*, a sober and discreet man would not think to find, that the building of all houses in *London*, *Anno Dom.* and the parts adjoyning, in one uniform way, with a face of brick toward the streets should be passed for one, then which there could not be a greater ornament to that City, or a greater honour to his Majesties Government. And to that his Majesty returned this Answer: That there had much good come by such a reformation of Building in his Fathers time, and therefore that he was resolved to go on with the work. Which Resolution so much tending to the glory of the *English* Nation, and no objection being ready for his other Answers, the matter of *Grievances* could no longer be insisted on; especially in such a time when the concernments of the State, his Majesties honour, and all the motives which induced them to ingage him in this present War, ought in all reason to precede their *Grievances*, had they been greater than they were. But then they had some Religious *Grievances*, which required a more speedy redress than any which concerned them in their Civil Interests. The Lords day was pretended to be much profaned by unlawful pastimes, and People frequently resorted out of their own Parishes to feast in Revels. Of this a remedy is desired by Act of Parliament. Had any such Bill been offered in King *James* his time, it would have found a sorry welcome; but this King being under a necessity of compliance with them, resolved to grant them their desires in that Particular, to the end that they might grant his also in the aide required, when that obstruction was removed. The *Sabbatarians* took the benefit of this opportunity for the obtaining of this grant (the first that ever they obtained by all their struglings) which of what consequence it was we shall see hereafter.

But then the Doctrine of the Church was more in danger than ever. In former Parliaments they were afraid of the Papists only: But now there was as much danger to be feared from *Arminianism* as before from *Popery*. An Information had been made by *Rates* and *Ward*, as before is said, against some passages in *Mountagues* Answer to the *Romish Gagger*; and he had aggravated his offence by justifying all his *Popish*, and *Arminian* Tenents in a book newly published, called *Appello Casarem*. It could not be denied, but that this book was Licenced by Dr. *White*, then Dean of *Carlile*, by whom it was affirmed to be agreeable to the Publick Faith, Doctrine, and Discipline established in the Church of *England*. But *White* they said was now turned *black*, and what is the Established Doctrine of the Church of *England* compared with *Calvins* Doctrine in his *Institutions*? What Trifles are the Articles of Religion, agreed on by the Bishops and Clergy, in two several *Synods* held in *London*, compared with the determinations of the *Synod of Dort*, which *Mountague* (that bold man) had despised and vilified? This was a matter which became the care of the House of Commons, and *Mountague* is cited to appear before them on the seventh of *July*. Being brought



PART I. brought unto the Bar, the Speaker declared to him the pleasure of  
*Anno Dom.* the House, which was, that they would refer his Censure to the  
 1625. next meeting; and that in the interim he should stand committed  
 to the Serjeants Ward; and entred baile for his appearance to the  
 value of two thousand pound. His Majesty had present notice of  
 this occurrence; And being very sensible of this new incroachment,  
 he thereupon caused intimation to be made unto them, that he was  
 not pleased with their proceedings against *Mountague*, being one of  
 his Chaplains; adding withall that he conceived his Servants to be  
 as capable of protection from all imprisonments and arrests, as any  
 of the Servants of the *Knights* and *Burgesses*. It was not long before  
*Land* found an opportunity to give *Mountague* notice of his Maje-  
 sties great care of him, and affection to him. Which must needs be  
 a Sovereign Cordial to the man, notwithstanding that the Com-  
 mons were so stiff in their Rigors toward him that his bail-bond of  
 2000 pound did remain uncanceled.

*Breviate*  
 p. 6.

Notice hereof being given to *Land*, he considered of the sad ef-  
 fects and consequents which might follow on it, communicating  
 those his fears to some other Bishops: By whom it was thought fit  
 that *Mountagues* case, and not his only, but the case of the Church  
 it self, should be commended to the care and power of the Duke of  
 of *Buckingham*. According unto which Advice and Resolution,  
 three of them framed and signed the ensuing Letter. But before this  
 Letter was delivered, *Mountague* had taken so much care of himself,  
 as to prepare his way by a Letter of his own, bearing date *July 29*.  
 In which Letter he first laid open the state of his case, desiring that  
 by his Majesties Power he might be absolutely freed from those who  
 had neither any Authority over his person, as being one of his Ma-  
 jesties Servants; nor over his Book, as being commanded by his  
 Father, and authorized by himself. Which being said, he makes  
 this resolute declaration, "That if he could not really and through-  
 ly answer whatsoever was or could be imputed to him in any of  
 his Books, he would no further desire favour and protection of his  
 Majesty, or his Grace, but willingly would be left unto the power  
 of his Enemies. Which Letter being sent before to prepare the  
 way, this of the said three Bishops followed within four daies  
 after.

May it please your Grace,

*Cal. p. 156.*

WE are bold to be Suitors to you in the behalf of the Church of  
 England, and a poor Member of it, *Mr. Mountague*, at this  
 time not a little distressed. We are not strangers to his person, but it is  
 the Cause which we are bound to be tender of. The Cause we conceive  
 (under correction of better Judgment) concerns the Church of Eng-  
 land nearly; for that Church, when it was reformed from the supersti-  
 tious opinions broached or maintained by the Church of Rome, refused  
 the



the apparent and dangerous Errors, and would not be too busie with every particular School-Point. The cause why she held this moderation was, because she could not be able to preserve any unity among Christians, if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars disputed in Schools. Now may it please your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late Book of Mr. Mountague, are some of them such as are expressly the resolved Doctrine of the Church of England, and those he is bound to maintain. Some of them are such as are fit only for Schools, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, so they keep themselves peaceable, and distract not the Church. And therefore to make any Man subscribe to School-opinions may justly seem hard in the Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the Council of Trent. And to affright them from those opinions in which they have (as they are bound) subscribed to the Church, as it is worse in it self, so may it be the Mother of greater danger.

May it please your Grace farther to consider, That when the Clergie submitted themselves in the time of Henry the Eighth, the submission was so made, that if any difference Doctrinal or other fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be Judges of it in the National Synod or Convocation; the King first giving leave under his Broad Seal to handle the Points in difference: But the Church never submitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can she though she would. And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, and then to move his most Gracious Majesty (if you shall think fit) what dangerous consequences may follow upon it; For first if any other Judge be allowed in matter of Doctrine we shall depart from the Ordinance of Christ, and the continual Course and Practice of the Church. Secondly, If the Church be once brought down beneath her self, we cannot but fear what may be the next stroke at it. Thirdly, It will some way touch the honour of his Majesties dear Father, and our most Dread Sovereign of glorious and ever blessed memory, King James, who saw and approved all the opinions of this Book: And he in his rare wisdom and Judgment would never have allowed them if they had crossed with truth and the Church of England. Fourthly, we must be bold to say, that we cannot conceive what use there can be of Civil Government in the Commonwealth, or of Preaching or External Ministry in the Church, if such fatall opinions, as some which are opposite and contrary to these delivered by Mr. Mountague are, shall be publikely taught and maintained. Fifthly, we are certain that all or most of the contrary opinions were treated of at Lambeth, and ready to be published, but then Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, upon notice given, how little they agreed with the Practice of Piety, and obedience to all Government, caused them to be suppressed; and so they have continued ever since, till of late some of them have received countenance at the Synod of Dort. Now this was a Synod of that Nation, and can be of no Authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by publick Authority. And our hope is, That the Church of England will be well advised, and more than once over, before she admit a foreign Synod,



PART I. especially of such a Church as condemneth her Discipline and manner of Anno Dom. Government, to say no more.

1625.

And further we are bold to commend to your graces wisdom this one particular. His Majesty (as we have been informed) hath already taken this business into his own care, and most worthily referred it in a right course to Church consideration. And we well hoped that without further trouble to the State, or breach of unity in the Church, it might so have been well and orderly composed, as we still pray it may. These things considered, we have little to say for Mr. Mountagues person: only thus much we know, He is a very good Scholar, and a right honest man: A man every way able to do God, his Majesty, and the Church of England great service. We fear he may receive discouragement, and (which is far worse) we have some cause to doubt this may breed a great backwardness in able men to write in defence of the Church of England, against either home or foreign Adversaries, if they shall see him sink in Fortunes Reputation, or health, upon occasion of his Book. And this we most humbly submit to your Graces Judgment, and care of the Churches peace and welfare; So commending your Grace to the Protection of Almighty God,

August 2. 1625.

We shall ever rest at Your Graces Service,

Jo. Roffens. Jo. Oxon. Guil. Meneven.

After this no more news of *Montague* in the present Parliament, Adjourned by his Majesty on the eleventh of July (by reason of the Plague) to *Oxon*, there to be reassembled on the first of August. Which time being come, his Majesty puts them again in mind of his pressing occasions, acquaints them with the necessity of setting out the Fleet, then ready for Service; That the eyes of his Confederates were fixt upon him; and that they would separate and dissolve if it did not speedily set forwards. But then the dangers which they feared from the growth of Popery, stood as much in his way, as *Mountague* and the *Grievances* had done before. For the securing them from all such fears, an humble Petition and Remonstrance must be first prepared, which they framed much after the same manner with that which had been offered to King *James*, in the year 1621. In this they shewed the King the dangers which were threatned to the Church and State, by the more than ordinary increase of Popery; and offered him such Remedies, as they conceived most likely, to prevent the mischiefs. And unto this Petition they procured the Peers also to joyn with them. But the King easily removed this obstruction, by giving them such a full and satisfactory answer, on the seventh of August, that they could not chuse, before their Rising,



Rising, which followed within five days after, but Vote their humble Thanks to be returned unto his Majesty, for giving such a Gracious Answer to their said Petition. This they had reason to expect from his Majesties Piety; but then they had another Game which must be followed, before the Kings Business could be heard. In the two former Parliaments they had flesh'd themselves, by removing *Bacon* from the *Seal*, and *Cranfeild* from the *Treasury*: And somewhat must be done this Parliament also, for fear of hazarding such a Priviledge by a *discontinuance*. *Williams* came first into their eye, whom they looked on as a man not only improper for the Place, but also as not having carried himself in it with such integrity as he should have done; and him the Lawyers had most mind to, that they might get that Office once again into their possession. This *Williams* fearing, so applied himself to some leading Members, that he diverted them from himself to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as a more noble Prey, and fitter for such mighty Hunters than a silly Priest. Nor was this Overture proposed to such as were either deaf or tongue-tied; for this great Game was no sooner started, but they followed it with such an Out-cry, that the noise thereof came presently to his Majesties ears; who finding by these delays and artifices, that there was no hope of gaining the Supplies desired, on the 12th. of the same *August* dissolved the Parliament. He may now see the error he had run into by his breach with *Spain*, which put him into a necessity of making War, and that necessity compell'd him to cast himself in a manner on the Alms of his People, and to stand wholly in like manner at their Devotion.

The Parliament being thus dissolved, his Majesty progresseth towards the *west*, to set forward his Navy, and *Land* betakes himself unto his Diocess, this being the year of his *Triennial Visitation*. He took along with him in this Journey such Plate and Furniture as he had provided for his new Chappel at *Aberguilly*, which he Consecrated on *Sunday August 28*. Here he continued, by reason that the Sicknes was hot in *London*, and not cooled in *Oxon*. till he was fain to make his way back again through Ice and Snow, as he writes in his Letters to the Duke from *Windsor*, *December 13*. At his return he found no small alteration in the Court. The Lord Keeper *Williams* stood upon no good terms with the Duke in the life of King *James*; but he declined more and more in Favour after his decease. The Duke had notice of his practising against him in the last Parliament, and was resolved to do his errand so effectually to the King his Master, that he should hold the Seal no longer; and he prevailed therein so far, that Sir *John Suckling*, Controller of His Majesties Household, was sent to him (being then at a House of the Lord *Sandys*'s in the Parish of *Bray* near *Windsor*) to require him to deliver up the Seal to his Majesties use; which being very unwillingly done, the Custody of the Great Seal, on *Sunday* the second of *October*, was committed to Sir *Thomas Coventry* his Majesties Attorney General,



PART I. whom *Heath* succeeded in that place. But my Lord was not gone, though the Keeper was : He still remained Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Anno Dom.* 1625. and Dean of *Westminster*, holding still both his other Dignities and Preferments before recited : So that he might have lived as plentifully as the greatest, and as contentedly as the best, had he not thought that the fall was greater from the top of the Stairs unto the second or third Step, than from the second or third to the lowest of all. But as he fell, so *Laud* ascended : *Neil* his good Friend, then Bishop of *Durham*, had fallen sick in the beginning of the Spring, at whose request he was appointed to wait upon his Majesty as Clerk of the Closet ; in which Service though he continued not long, yet he made such use of it, that from that time forwards he grew as much into the Kings Favour, as before he had been in the Dukes ; becoming as it were his Majesties Secretary for all Church Concernments.

His Majesty having set forward his Navy (which setting out so late, could not be like to make any good Return) was not unmindful of the Promise he had made in Parliament, in answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons, concerning the great dangers threatned to the Church and State by the *Growth of Popery* ; to which end he caused a Commission to be issued under the Great Seal, for executing the Laws against Recusants, which he commanded to be published in all the Courts of Justice at *Reading* (to which Town the Term was then removed) that all his Judges and other Ministers of Justice might take notice of it, *as also that all his Loving Subjects might be certified of his Princely Care and Charge for the Advancement of true Religion, and Suppression of Popery and Superstition* : Which done, he directed his (a) Letters of the 15th. of *December*, to his two Archbishops, signifying how far he had proceeded, and requiring them in pursuance of it, " That no good means be neglected on " their part for discovering, finding out, and apprehending of Jesu- " its and Seminary Priests, and other Seducers of his People to the " *Romish* Religion ; or for repressing *Popish* Recusants, and Delin- " quents of that sort, against whom they were to proceed by Ex- " communication, and other Censures of the Church, not omit- " ting any other Lawful means to bring them forth to publick Ju- " stice. But then withal his Majesty takes notice of another Enemy, which threatned as much danger to the Church as the *Papists* did : And thereupon he further requireth the said two Archbishops, " That a vigilant care be taken with the rest of the Clergy, " for the repressing of those who being ill affected to the true Religi- " on here established, they keep more close and secret their ill and " dangerous affections that way, and as well by their example, as " by secret and under-hand sleights and means, do much encourage " and encrease the growth of *Popery* and *Superstition* in sundry parts " of this Kingdom. And therefore he did not only require, that " none of them might have any manner of Covert, Protection, " Countenance,

(a) *Bib. Regia*  
p. 12.



“ Countenance, or connivence from them, or any of the rest, as  
 “ they tendred his Royal Commandment in that behalf: but that all  
 “ possible diligence be used, as well to unmask the false shadows  
 “ and pretences of those who may possibly be won to Conformity;  
 “ letting all men know, That he could not think well of any that ha-  
 “ ving Place and Authority in the Church, do permit such persons  
 “ to pass with impunity; much less if they give them any counte-  
 “ nance, to the emboldening them or their adherents.

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Anno Dom.

1625.

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On the receiving of these Letters, *Abbot* transmits the Copies of them to his several *Suffragans*, and to our Bishop of *St. Davids* amongst the rest, requiring him to conform therein to his Majesties Pleasure, and to see the same executed in all parts of his Diocese. On the receipt whereof, the Bishop commands his *Chancellor*, *Arch-Deacons*, and other Ecclesiastical Officers within his Diocese of *St. Davids*. “ That all possible care be taken of such as are any way  
 “ backward in Points of Religion, and more especially of known  
 “ and professed Recusants, that they may be carefully presented,  
 “ and Proceedings had against them to Excommunication, accord-  
 “ ing to form and order of Law; and that there be a true List and  
 “ Catalogue of all such as have been presented and proceeded  
 “ against, sent to him yearly after *Easter*, by him to be presented to  
 “ the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as had been required. No Com-  
 mand given unto his Chancellor, and other Officers, to look into the Practises and Proceedings of the *Puritan* Faction; for which I am able to give no reason, but that he had received no such Direction and Command from Archbishop *Abbot*, whose Letter pointed him no further (it is no hard matter to say why) than to the searching out, presenting, and Excommunicating the *Popish* Recusants. And in what he commanded, he was obeyed by his Chancellor, returning to him in *June* following the names of such Recusants as lived within the Counties of *Caermarthen* and *Pembroke*, the chief parts of his Diocese.

Ibid. p. 15.

The Kings Coronation now draws on, for which Solemnity he had appointed the Feast of the *Purification* of the Blessed Virgin, better known by the name of *Candlemas day*. The Coronations of King *Edward vi.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, had been performed according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Roman Pontificals*; That at the Coronation of King *James* had been drawn in haste, and wanted many things which might have been considered of in a time of leasure. His Majesty therefore issueth a Commission to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and certain other Bishops, whereof *Laud* was one, to consider of the Form and Order of the Coronation, and to accommodate the same more punctually to the present Rules and Orders of the Church of *England*. On the fourth of *January* the Commissioners first met to consult about it; and having compared the Form observed in the Coronation of King *James*, with the publick *Rituals*, it was agreed upon amongst them to make some Alterations



PART I. init, and Additions to it. The Alteration in it was, that the Un-  
*Anno Dom.* ction was to be performed *in forma Crucis*, after the manner of a  
 1625. Cross, which was accordingly done by *Abbot* when he officiated as  
 Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the Coronation. The Additions in the  
 Form consisted chiefly in, one Prayer or Request to him in the behalf  
 of the Clergy, and the clause of another Prayer for him to Almighty  
 God; the last of which was thought to have ascribed too much  
 Power to the King, the first to themselves, especially by the advan-  
 cing of the Bishops and Clergy above the *Laity*. The Prayer or Re-  
 quest which was made to him, followed after the *Unction*, and was  
 this, viz.

*Cant Doom,*  
 69.

*Stand, and hold fast from henceforth the Place to which you have  
 been Heir by the Succession of your Forefathers, being now delivered  
 to you by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and  
 all the Bishops, and Servants of God: And as you see the Clergy to  
 come neerer to the Altar than others, so remember that in place con-  
 venient you give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God  
 and Man may establish you in the Kingly Throne, to be the Mediator  
 between the Clergy and the Laity, that you may Reign for ever with  
 Jesus Christ the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who with the  
 Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.*

The Clause of that Prayer which was made for him, had been in-  
 termitted since the time of King *Henry vi.* and was this that fol-  
 loweth; viz.

*Hist. K. Ch.*  
 20.

*Let him obtain favour for the People, like Aaron in the Taberna-  
 cle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the Temple: Give him Pe-  
 ters Key of Discipline, and Pauls Doctrine.*

Which Clause had been omitted in times of *Popery*, as intimating  
 more Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be given to our Kings, than the  
*Popes* allowed of; and for the same reason was now quarrell'd at by  
 the *Puritan* Faction.

It was objected commonly in the time of his fall, That in digesting  
 the form of the Coronation, he altered the Coronation Oath, ma-  
 king it more advantageous to the King, and less beneficial to the  
 People than it had been formerly; from which calumny his Maje-  
 sty cleared both himself and the Bishop, when they were both in-  
 volved by common Speech in the guilt thereof. For the clearer ma-  
 nifestation of which truth, I will first set down the Oath it self, as it  
 was taken by the King; and then the Kings Defence for his taking of  
 it. Now the Oath is this.



The Form of the CORONATION-OATH.

SIR (says the Archbishop) will you grant, keep, and by your Oath confirm to your People of ENGLAND the Laws and Customs to them granted by the Kings of ENGLAND, your Lawful and Religious Predecessors; and namely, the Laws, Customs, and Franchises granted to the Clergy, by the Glorious King St. Edward your Predecessor, according to the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the Ancient Customs of this Land? Husbands  
Collect. p.  
190.

The King Answers, I grant and promise to keep them.

Archbishop. Sir, will you keep Peace and Godly Agreement entirely (according to your Power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergie, and the People?

Rex. I will keep it.

Archbishop. Sir, will you (to your Power) cause Justice, Law, and Discretion in Mercy and Truth, to be executed in all your Judgments?

Rex. I will,

Archbishop. Sir, will you grant to hold and grant to keep the Laws and rightful Customs which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have? and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?

Rex. I grant and promise so to do.

Then one of the Bishops reads this Admonition to the King before the People with a loud voice. Our Lord and King, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and the Churches committed to our charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Justice; and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Bishops and the Churches under their Government.

The King answereth, with a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you and the Churches committed to your charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Justice; and that I will be your Protector and Defender to my power by the Assistance of God, as every good King ought in his Kingdom, in right to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their Government.

The King ariseth, and is lead to the Communion Table, where he makes a solemn Oath in sight of all the People, to observe the Premises, and laying his Hand upon the Book, saith, The things which I have before promised, I shall perform and keep, So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

Such was the Coronation-Oath accustomably taken by the Kings of England: Which notwithstanding, it was objected by the Lords and Commons in the time of the Long Parliament, not to have been the



## PART I.

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Exact Col-  
lect. of Edw.  
Husb. 290.

the same which ought to have been taken by him. And for proof thereof an antiquated Oath was found, and published in a Remonstrance of theirs, bearing date the twentieth of May 1642. To which his Majesty made this Answer, That the Oath which he took at his Coronation was warranted, and enjoined by the Customs of his Predecessors; and that the Ceremony of their and his taking of it they might find in the Records of the Exchequer. And this it is, &c.

Now in performing the Solemnities of the Coronation, the *Abbot* anciently; and for more than one hundred years last past, the Deans of *Westminster* had a special place. To them belonged the Custody of the old *Regalia*, that is to say, the Crown, Sword, Scepter, Spurs, &c. of King *Edward* surnamed the *Confessor*, kept by them in a secret place of *Westminster* Abbey, not easily accessible to any, but such as know the mystery of it: never brought forth but at the Coronation of a King, or his going to Parliament. *Williams* the late Lord Keeper was at this time *Dean*. But being under the Kings displeasure, was commanded to forbear his attendance at the Coronation, and to depute one of the Prebends in his place. This put him into some dispute within himself. He had no mind to nominate *Laud*, being then one of the Prebendaries of that Church, because he lookt upon him as his Corrivall and Supplanter in the Dukes good Grace; and to have named <sup>any</sup> other of a lower order, there being a Bishop in the number, would have subjected him to some discourse and misconstruction; He therefore very wisely sent unto his Majesty the names, degrees, and dignities of all the Prebends, leaving it unto him alone to make the Election; who thereupon without any Hesitancy or deliberation deputed *Laud* unto the Service. *Laud*, being thus nominated and deputed, prepared all things ready for that great Solemnity. And finding the *Old Crucifix* among the *Regalia*, he caused it to be placed on the Altar, as in former times. The Coronation being ended, his Majesty going in his Robes to *Westminster* Hall, did there deliver them to *Laud* (representing in that Pomp the Dean of *Westminster*) together with the Crown, Scepter, and the Sword called *Cortena*, to be laid up with the rest of the *Regalia* in their old repository; which he receiving from the King, returned into the Abbey Church, offered solemnly on the Altar in his Majesties name (as by his place he was to do) and so laid them up.

Two things there were remarkable in this Coronation, which seemed to have something in them of Presage. *Senhouse*, who had been once his Chaplain, when Prince of *Wales*, and was now Bishop of *Carlisle*, had the honour to preach upon the day of that great Solemnity. An eloquent man he was reputed, and one that could very well express a passion: but he had chosen such a Text, as was more proper for a Funeral than a Coronation; his Text being this, *viz.* *I will give thee a Crown of life*, *Apoc. 2. 10.* and was rather thought



to put the new King in mind of his Death than his duty in Govern-  
ment; and to have been his Funeral Sermon when he was alive, as  
if he were to have none when he was to be buried. It was observed  
also, that his Majesty on that day was cloathed in *white*, contrary  
to the Custom of his Predecessors, who were on that day clad in  
*Purple*. And this he did not out of any necessity, for want of *Pur-  
ple Velvet*, enough to make a Suite, (for he had many yards of it  
in his outward Garment) but at his own choice only, to de-  
clare that Virgin Purity with which he came to be espoused unto  
his Kingdom. *white* (as we know) is the colour of the Saints,  
who are represented to us in *white Robes* by St. *John* in the *Revelation*;  
and *Purple* is the Imperial and Regal colour, so proper heretofore  
unto Kings and Emperours, that many of the *Constantinopolitan* Em-  
perours were called *Porphyrogenites*, because at their first coming into  
the world they were wrapt in *Purple*. And this some looked on also  
as an ill Presage, that the King laying aside his *Purple*, the Robe of  
Majesty, should cloath himself in *white*, the Robe of *innocence*; as  
if thereby it were fore-signified, that he should devest himself of that  
Regal Majesty which might and would have kept him safe from af-  
front and scorn, to rely wholly on the innocence of a vertuous life,  
which did expose him finally to calamitous ruine.

No sooner were the Pumps of the Coronation ended, but the Se-  
cond Parliament began; at the opening whereof, on *Munday* the  
sixth of *February*, our Bishop of St. *David's* preacht before his Maje-  
sty, the Lords, &c. in the Abbey Church. He was appointed to  
have preached in the beginning of the former Parliament, on *Satur-  
day* the eighteenth of *June*; but that turn being otherwise supplied,  
he preached the same Sermon the next day before his Majesty at  
*Whitehall*, his Text then, *Psal. 75. 2, 3. When I shall receive the Con-  
gregation, I will judge according unto right, &c.* But now he chose  
for the Theme or Subject of his discourse the 3, 4, 5 verses of  
the 112 *Psalms*, viz. *Jerusalem is like a City that is at unity in it self, &c.*  
In which, considering *Jerusalem* as a Type of the Church and State,  
he first beholds it as a type of the State, or Civil Government.  
Where he considered "That *Ordo Politicus*, the wise ordering of the  
"people in *Concord* and *Unity* was simply the strongest Wall of a  
"State: But break *Unity* once, and farewell all strength. And therefore  
"disjoynted Factions in a State when they work upon Division, are  
"Publica ira divina incendia, the publick kindlings of Gods Anger; Ser. 3. p. 102  
"and they burn down all before them. And God seldom suffers  
"these to fire a State till himself be heated first with the sins of the  
"State: But then he will divide them in *Jacob*, and scatter them in  
"Israel, *Gen. 49*. Nay scatter *Jacob* and *Israel* it self for them.  
Which said in general, he descended to a more particular applica-  
tion, putting his Auditory in mind of those words of *Tacitus*;  
"That nothing gave the *Romans* (powerful enemies though they  
"were) more advantage against the ancient *Britains* than this, *Quod*  
"Factiones

LIB. II.

Anno Domini

1625.



Ser. 3. p. 102

Pag. 104.



PART I. " *Factionibus & studiis trahebantur* ; That they were broken into Fa-  
 Anno Domini. " ctions, and would not so much as take counsel and advice toge-  
 1625. " ther : And they smarted for it. But I pray what is the difference  
 " for men not to meet in counsel, and to fall to pieces when they  
 " meet ? If the first were our Fore-fathers error, God of his mer-  
 " cy grant this second be not ours. And for the Church, that is as  
 P. 107. " the City too, just so, *Doctrine* and *Discipline* are the Walls and the  
 " Towers of it : But be the one never so true, and the other never  
 " so perfect, they come both short of Preservation, if that body be  
 " not at *unity* in it self. The Church, take it Catholick, cannot stand  
 " well, if it be not compacted together into an holy *unity* with  
 " Faith and Charity. And as the whole Church is in regard of the  
 " affairs of Christendom, so is each particular Church in the  
 " Nation and Kingdom in which it sojourns. If it be not at *unity*  
 " in it self, it doth but invite Malice, which is ready to do hurt  
 " without any invitation : and it ever lies with an open side to the  
 " devil and all his batteries. So both Church and State, then hap-  
 " py, and never till then, when they are at unity within themselves,  
 " and one with another. Well, both State and Church owe  
 " much to *Unity* ; and therefore very little to them that break the  
 " peace of either. *Father forgive them they know not what they do.*  
 " But if *unity* be so necessary, how may it be preserved in both ?  
 " How ? I will tell you. Would you keep the State in *Unity* ? In  
 " any case take heed of breaking the peace of the Church. The  
 P. 109. " peace of the State depends much upon it ; For divide Christ in  
 " the minds of men, or divide the minds of men about their hopes  
 " of Salvation in Christ, and tell me what *unity* there will be. Let this  
 " suffice so far as the Church is an ingredient into the unity of the  
 " State. But what other things are concurring to the unity of it, the  
 " State it self knows better than I can teach.

This was good *Doctrine* out of doubt. The Preacher had done his part in it, but the hearers did not ; the Parliament not making such use of it as they should have done. At such time as the former Parliament was adjourned to *Oxon*, the Divinity School was prepared for the House of Commons, and a Chair made for the Speaker in or near the place, in which his Majesties Professor for Divinity did usually read his publick Lectures, and moderate in all publick Disputations. And this first put them into conceit, that the determining of all Points and Controversies in Religion did belong to them. As *Vibius Rufus* in the Story, having married *Tullies* Widow, and bought *Cæsars* Chair, conceived that he was then in a way to gain the Eloquence of the one, and the power of the other. For after that we find no Parliament without a Committee for Religion, and no Committee for Religion but what did think it self sufficiently instructed to manage the greatest Controversies of Divinity which were brought before them : And so it was particularly with the present Parliament. The Commons had scarce settled themselves in their



own House, but *Mountague* must be called to a new account for the *LIB. II:*  
*Popery* and *Arminianism* affirmed to have been maintained by him in *Anno Dom.*  
his books. In which Books if he had defended any thing contrary *1625:*  
to the established Doctrine of the Church of *England*, the Convo-  
cation, of the two, was the fitter Judge. And certainly it might  
have hapned ill unto him, the King not being willing to engage too  
far in those Emergences, ( as the case then stood ) if the Commons  
had not been diverted in pursuit of the Duke of *Buckingham*; which  
being a more noble game, they laid this aside, having done nothing  
in it but raised a great desire in several Members of both Houses to  
give themselves some satisfaction in those doubtful Points. To  
which end a Conference was procured by the Earl of *Warwick*, to  
be held at *York House*, between *Buckeridge* Bishop of *Rochester*, and  
*White* Dean of *Carlisle*, on the one side: *Morton* then of *Lichfield*,  
and *Preston* then of *Lincolns-Inn* ( of whom more hereafter ) on the  
other; The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, many  
other Lords, and many other persons of inferiour quality being  
present at it. To this Conference, which was holden on the eleventh  
of this *February*, another was added the next week on the seven-  
teenth. In which *Mountague* acted his own part in the place of  
*Buckeridge*, the Concourse being as great; both for the quality and  
number of the persons, as had been at the former. And the success  
was equal also. The Friends and Fautors of each side giving the  
victory to those ( as commonly it happens in such cases ) whose cause  
they favoured.

After this we hear no more of *Mountague*, but the passing of some  
Votes against him in the *April* following; which heats being over,  
he was kept cold till the following Parliament: And then he shall  
be called for. In the mean time the King perceiving that the Com-  
mons had took no notice of his own occasions, gave order to Sir  
*Richard Weston* ( then *Chancellour* of his *Exchequer* ) to mind them of  
it; by whom he represented to them the return of the last years  
Fleet, and the want of Money to satisfy the Mariners and Souldiers  
for their Arrears; That he had prepared a new Fleet of forty Sail  
ready to set forth, which could not stir without a present supply of  
money; And that without the like supply, not only his Armies,  
which were quartered upon the Coasts, would disband or mutiny,  
but that the Forces sent for *Ireland* would be apt to rebell; and  
therefore he desired to know, without more adoe, what present  
supply he must depend upon from them, that accordingly he might  
shape his course. These Propositions being made, *Clem. Coke* a  
younger Son of Sir *Edward Coke* ( who had successively been Chief  
Justice of either Bench ) obstructs the Answer by this rash and un-  
handsome expression, *That it was better to dye by a Forreign Enemy,*  
*than to be destroyed at home.* Which general words were by one  
*Turner*, a Doctor of Physick, and then a Member of that House,  
restrained and applied more particularly to the Duke of *Buckingham*.



PART I. The Commons well remembred at what Point they were cut off in *Anno Dom.* the former Parliament, and carefully watcht all advantages to resume it in this. They had begun a great clamour against him on the first of *1625.* *March*, for staying a *French Ship*, called the *St. Peter of Newhaven*; and *Turner* now incites them to a higher distemper, by six Queries raised about him, that is to say, "First, Whether the King had not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas since the Duke became Admiral?" Secondly, Whether his not going as Admirall in this last Fleet was not the cause of the ill success? Thirdly, Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense liberality? Fourthly, Whether he hath not ingrossed all Offices, and preferred his Kindred to unfit places? Fifthly, Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature? Sixthly, Whether the *Recusants* have not dependance on his Mother and Father in Law?

*1626.* For this days work *Coke* was severely reprehended by his Father, who could not be perswaded to look upon him for a long while after: But *Turner*, having none whom he stood in fear of, escaped not only without a private reprehension, but without any publick Censure. His Majesty thereupon complained by *Weston* to the House of Commons, who were so far from censuring the offence, that they seemed rather willing to protect the Offenders. And yet this was not all the affront they had done him neither. For seeming well satisfied with his Majesties gracious Answer to their Petition against Recusants, which they received from him at *Oxon* in the former Parliament, they now resolved to see what execution had been done upon it. And to that end they appoint a Committee for Religion; and that Committee substitutes a Sub-Committee; which Sub-Committee were impowered to search the Signet Office concerning such indulgencies as had been granted to the Papists since the end of that Parliament, and to examine the Letters of the Secretaries of State, leaving his Majesty nothing free from their discovery as to that particular: A point which never was presumed on in preceding times. And which seemed worst of all in the present conjuncture, they had voted him three Subsidies, and three fifteens, but voted them with such a clog that they should not pass into a Bill till their *Grievances* were both heard and answered. Which *Grievances* what they were both in weight and number, as it was not known unto themselves; so did his Majesty look upon it, not only as a thing dilatory in it self, but as a baffle put on him and his proceedings.

These indignities coming thus upon the neck of one another, he caused the Lords and Commons to come before him at *White Hall*, *March 29. 1626.* where first he signified unto them, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, how sensible he was of those affronts which were put upon him; touching upon every one of them in particular, and aggravating each of them in their several kinds, letting them also know, *That as he loved his people, so he regarded his honour; and that*



that if he were sensible of his Subjects Grievances, of his own he was sensible much more. The Keeper also had Command to tell them, in his Majesties Name, *That the Duke had acted nothing of Publick Employment, without his Majesties Special Warrant; That he had discharged his Trust with abundant both Care and Fidelity; That since his Return from Spain he had been sedulous in promoting the Service and Contentment of the Commons House; And therefore, That it was his expresse Command, That they desist from such Unparliamentary Proceedings, and resign the Reformation of what was amiss to his Majesties Care, wisdom, and Justice.* Which Speech being ended, his Majesty saith as followeth: *I must withal put you in mind of Times past; you may remember my Father, moved by your Counsel, and won by your Perswasions, brake the Treaties: In these Perswasions I was your Instrument towards him; and I was glad to be instrumental in any thing which might please the whole Body of this Realm: Nor was there any in greater favour with you, than this man whom you so traduce. And now when you find me so sure intangled in war, as I have no honourable and safe Retreat, you make my Necessity your Priviledge, and set what rate you please upon your Supplies: A Practise not very obliging unto Kings.* Mr. Coke told you, *It was better to die by a Foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home. Indeed I think it more honourable for a King to be invaded and almost destroyed by a Foreign Enemy, than to be despised at home.*

LIB. II.

Anno Dom.

1626.



But all this did not edifie with the House of Commons. So little were they moved with the Eloquence of the one, and the smart Expressions of the other, that both their own Members remained uncensured, and the Prosecution of the Duke was followed with more violence then before it was. But for all this his Majesty and the Duke might thank themselves. His Majesty had power in his own hands to have righted himself, according to the practice of Queen Elizabeth, and others of his Majesties Royal Predecessors in the times foregoing. But by complaining in this manner to the House of Commons, he chose rather to follow the Example of King James, who in like manner had complained of one Piggot, for some seditious words by him spoken in the House of Commons, Anno 1607. and with like success. He that divests himself of a natural and original Power to right the injuries which are done him, in hope to find redress from others (especially from such as are parcel guilty of the Wrong) may put up all his gettings in a Seamstres Thimble, and yet never fill it. All that which both Kings effected by it, was but the weakning of their own Power, and the increasing of the others, who had now put themselves upon this Resolution, not to suffer any one of their Members to be questioned, till themselves had considered of his Crimes. By which means they kept themselves close together, and emboldened one another to stand it out against the King to the very last. And of this *Maxime*, as they made use in this present Parliament, in the Case of Coke, Turner, Diggs, and



PART I. and *Eliot* (which 2 last had been imprisoned by the Kings Command) so was it more violently and pertinaciously insisted on in the Case of the Five Members, impeach'd of High Treason by the Kings Attorney Anno Dom. 1626.



January 14. 1641. the miserable effects whereof we finde too sensibly. And as for their prosecuting of the Duke, the Commons might very well pretend, that they had and should do nothing in it, for which as well his Majesty as the Duke himself, had not given encouragement. They had both joined together against *Cranfeild* the late Lord Treasurer, and to revenge themselves on him, had turned him over to the power and malice of his Enemies in the House of Commons. The Commons had served their turns on *Cranfeild*, and will now serve their own turns on the Duke himself, let the King do the best he could to preserve him from them. So unsafe a thing it is for Princes to deliver any of their Servants into the hands of their People, and putting a Power out of themselves, which they cannot call back again when it most concerns them.

At the same time the Earl of *Bristol*, being charged with Treason by the Duke, exhibited against him certain Articles in the House of Peers, in which he accused him of the like Crime, in reference to his Actings in the *Spanish* business. This made good sport amongst the Commons for a time; but at last fearing either the Weakness of *Bristol's* Charge, or the insufficiency of his Proofs, they resolved to follow their own way; and to that end a large Impeachment was drawn up against him, and presented to the Lords on the eighth of May, managed by six of the ablest Lawyers in the House, that is to say, *Glanville*, *Herbert*, *Selden*, *Pym*, *Wansford*, and *Sherland*; the Prologue made by Sir *Dudly Diggs*, and the Epilogue by Sir *John Eliot*. The principal Branches of this Impeachment related to his engrossing of Offices, his buying the Places of Lord Admiral, and Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*; His not guarding the Seas; His stay of a Ship called the *St. Peter* of *Newhaven*, and of the *East-India* Fleet; Lending his Majesties Ship called the *Vantgard* to the *French* King, which the *French* King employed against *Rochel*; His selling of Honours and Offices; procuring Honours for his Kindred; His diminishing the Revenues of the Crown; and his applying Physick to King *James* in the time of his Sicknes. To every one of these there was returned in Writing a particular Answer by the Duke himself: "And then addressing his Discourse unto the Peers, he humbly referred it to their Judgment, how full of danger and prejudice it was, to give too ready an ear, and too easie a belief unto a Report or Testimony without Oath, which are not of weight enough to condemn any. With like humility he acknowledged, how easie a thing it was for him in his younger years, and unexperienced, to fall into thousands of Errors, in these ten years wherein he had the honour to serve so great and so open-hearted a Sovereign Master. But still he hoped the fear of God, his sincerity in the true Religion established in the Church of *England* (though



“ (though accompanied with many weakneses and imperfections, L I B. I I.  
 “ which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily to confess) his care- Anno Dom.  
 “ fulness not willingly to offend so good and gracious a Master, and 1626.  
 “ his love and duty to his Country, had restrained and preserved him  
 “ from running into any hainous misdemeanours and crimes. Which  
 “ said, and having craved the benefit of two several Pardons, the one  
 “ granted in the last Parliament of King *James*, the other at the Coro-  
 “ nation of King *Charles*, he added, “ That he could not chuse but  
 “ hope so much in their Lordships Justice and Honour, that they  
 “ would acquit him of and from those Misdemeanours, Offences,  
 “ Misprisions, and Crimes wherewith he had been charged; and for  
 “ his own part, he both hoped and would daily pray, That for the  
 “ future he might so watch over all his Actions, both publick and  
 “ private, as not to give cause of just offence to any person.

Of these Proceedings his Majesty was exceeding sensible:  
 He saw himself wounded through the Dukes sides; That his  
 Fathers Favours and his own were the greatest Crimes of which  
 the Duke had been impeached; and, That their Regal Authori-  
 ty, in bestowing Offices and Honours on whom they pleased, was  
 not only questioned, but controlled. With which disturbances be-  
 ing very much perplex'd and troubled, he receives a Letter written  
 to him from an unknown Person, in which he first met with a Recital  
 of the several Interests and Affections which were united in this Pro-  
 secution against the Duke; and after that this Application to him-  
 self, and his own Concernments, viz. “ These men (saith the Wri- Calal.  
 “ ter of the Letter) either cannot or will not remember, That never  
 “ any noble man in favour with his Sovereign, was questioned in  
 “ Parliament, except by the King himself in case of Treason, or un-  
 “ less it were in the nonage and tumultuary times of *Richard* the Se-  
 “ cond, *Henry* vi. or *Edward* vi. which hapned to the destruction  
 “ both of King and Kingdom. And that not to exceed our own and  
 “ Fathers Memory, in King *Henry* viii. his time, *Wolseys* exorbitant  
 “ Power and Pride, and *Cromwells* contempt of the Nobility and the  
 “ Laws, were not yet permitted to be discussed in Parliament,  
 “ though they were most odious and grievous to all the Kingdom:  
 “ And that *Leicesters* undeserved Favour and Faults, *Hattons* insuffi-  
 “ ciency, and *Raleighs* Insolencies, far exceeded what yet hath  
 “ been objected against the Duke; yet no Lawyer durst abet, nor  
 “ any man else begin any Invectives against them in Parliament. And  
 then he adds (some other Passages intervening) “ That it behoves his  
 “ Majesty to uphold the Duke against them, who if he be but dis-  
 “ courted, it will be the Corner stone on which the demolishing of  
 “ his Monarchy will be builded: For if they prevail with this,  
 “ they have hatched a thousand other Demands to pull the Feathers  
 “ of the Royalty; they will appoint him Counsellors, Servants,  
 “ Alliances, Limits of his Expences, Accounts of his Revenue;  
 “ chiefly, if they can (as they mainly desire) they will now dazle  
 “ him



PART I. "him in the beginning of his Reign. How true a Prophet this man  
*Anno Dom.* proved, the event hath shewed, and the King saw it well enough;  
 1626. and therefore since he could not divert them from that pursuit, on  
 the 15th of *June* he dissolved the Parliament.

*Breviate*  
 p. 7.

Pa. 8.

*Hist. King*  
*Charles, p. 50*

I have been the more punctual and particular in relating these Proceedings of the Commons against the Duke, by reason of that Influence which *Laud* either had, or is reported to have had, in managing his Cause against them. For first it is affirmed by the Publisher of this Bishops *Breviate*, That the Copy of the Kings Speech made in behalf of the Duke, *March 29.* was of *Lauds* enditing; and, That the Original Copy thereof under his own hand was given in evidence against him at the time of Trial. Secondly, That he likewise penned the Kings Speech to the House of Peers, touching the Duke, and the Commitment of the Earl of *Arundel*, *May the 11th.* In which he spake concerning the preservation of the Honour of Noblemen, against the vile and detestable Calumnies of those of the Lower House, by whom the Duke had been accused, as before was said. Most grievous Crimes indeed, if they had been true; for a Subject to assist his Prince, and a Servant to be aiding to his Master, in penning a short Speech or two, when either the pressure of Affairs, or perplexities of minde might require it of him. But for the truth of this there is no proof offered, but that the Copies of both Speeches (the *Original Copies*, as he calls them) were found in the Archbishops Study, as probably they might have been in the Studies of many other men, if they had been searched; For who can rationally suppose, That his Majesty, who was the Master of such a pure and elegant Style, as he declared himself to be in his Discourse with *Henderson* at *Newcastle*, and his *Divine Essays* made in Prison, when he could have no other helps but what he found in himself, should stand in need of the Expressions of another man in matters of so great concernment? Or if it be to be supposed, it makes exceedingly to the honour and commendation of this our Bishop, as well in point of Secrecy as unfeigned Fidelity, that his Majesty should pick out him from all other men, to be his Pen-man or Chief Secretary in such weighty businesses. Then again, it is affirmed, That he not only corrected and amended the Dukes Answer to the Impeachment which was made against him by the Commons, but that he also penned that Speech which the Duke subjoined unto his Answer. A Crime of the same nature, and proved by the same *Medicines* as the others was; and such as rather might have served for a strong assurance both of his honest Fidelity to his Friend and Patron, and the even temper of his own mind in the managing of it. For if we may believe the Author of the first History of the Life and Reign of King *Charles*, as I think we may, this Answer of the Duke was so in-laid with Modesty and Humility, that it became a new Grievance to his Adversaries, and was like to have a powerful influence toward the conversion of many, who expected a Defence of another and more disdainful Spirit. Thus



Thus have we brought two Parliaments unto an end; but we hear nothing of the *Convocations* which were summoned with them. Nothing indeed of the first Convocation, but the passing of a Grant for three Subsidies, toward the Advancement of his Majesties Service. In the second we find something more, though no Subsidies are granted in it. On the fifth *Sunday* in *Lent*, *Goodman* then Bishop of *Glocester* preach'd before his Majesty, and press'd so hard upon the Point of the *Real Presence*, that he was supposed to trench too neer the borders of *Popery*, which raised a great clamour both in Court and Country: The matter of which Sermon was agitated *pro* and *con* in the *Convocation*, *March 29.* without determining any thing on either side. But his Majestie out of a desire to satisfie both himself and his Houses of Parliament, touching that particular, referred the consideration of it to *Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Laud* Bishop of *St. Davids*; who meeting and considering of it, on the twelfth of *April*, returned this Answer to the King; *That some things in that Sermon had been spoke less warily, but nothing falsly; That nothing had been innovated by him in the Doctrine of the Church of England: But howsoever, That they thought very fit that Goodman should be appointed to Preach again before his Majesty, for the better explaining of his meaning, and shewing how and in what Particulars he had been mistaken by his Auditors:* Which he accordingly performed. But nothing was of such concernment to a Convocation, as the cause of *Mountague*, vexed and molested by the Commons in both the Parliaments, for supposed *Popery* and *Arminianism*, matters meerly *Doctrinal*: And possibly it may be admired, that they should do nothing in a matter of their own *peculiar*, having his Majesty to Friend; for it appears in the Letter of the three Bishops before-mentioned, to the Duke of *Buckingham*, *That his Majesty had taken that business into his own care, and had most worthily referred it in a right course to Church-consideration.* And it appears also by the *Breviate*, pag. 8. That on *Sunday, April 22.* of this present year, his Majesty had commanded all the Bishops to come before him, and reprehended such as came (being fourteen in number) for being silent in Causes which concerned the Church, and had not made known unto him what might be profitable or unprofitable for it, the Cause whereof he was so ready to promote. But then we are to call to mind, that *Laud* not long since had been sent by the Duke of *Buckingham* to consult with *Andrews*, and learn of him what he thought fitting to be done in the Cause of the Church, and more especially in the Five Articles, so hotly agitated between the *Remonstrants* and *Contra-Remonstrants* in the *Belgick* Provinces. And it appears by the event, That *Andrews* did not hold it fit for any thing to be done in that particular, as the case then stood; the truth in those Opinions not being so generally entertained amongst the Clergy, nor the Archbishop and the greater part of the Prelates so inclinable to them, as to venture the determining of those Points to a *Convocation*.

L I B. I I.

Anno Dom.

1626.

Ch. Hist. lib.

2.

Breviate.

X

But



## PART I.

Anno Dom.

1626.



Bib. Regia,  
sect. 3. p. 1.

But that which was not thought fit in that present Conjuncture for a *Convocation*, his Majesty was pleased to take order in by his *Royal Edict*. Many Books had been written against *Mountague* by *Carleton* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Sutcliffe* Dean of *Exeter*, *Tates* and *Rouse*; by which the differences were rather increased than diminished. Which coming to his Majesties notice, it pleased him by the Advice of his Bishops, to signify by his Proclamation of *June 14*. "Not only to his own People, but to all the World, his utter dislike of all those, who to shew the subtilty of their Wits, or to please their own Humours, or vent their own Passions, do or shall adventure to stir or move any new Opinions, not only contrary but differing from the sound and *Orthodoxal* Grounds of the true Religion, sincerely Professed and happily Established in the Church of *England*; and also to declare his full and constant Resolution, That neither in matter of Doctrine nor Discipline of the Church, nor in the Government of the State, he will admit of the least *Innovation*; but by Gods assistance will so guide the Scepter of these his Kingdoms and Dominions (by the Divine Providence put into his hand) as shall be for the comfort and assurance of his sober, Religious, and well-affected Subjects, and for the repressing and severe punishing of such as out of any sinister respects, or disaffection to his Person or Government, shall dare either in Church or State to distract or disquiet the Peace thereof. His Majesty thereupon commands all his Subjects (the Clergy most especially) both in *England* and *Ireland*, That from thenceforth they should carry themselves so wisely, warily, and conscionably, that neither by Writing, Preaching, Printing, Conferences, or otherwise, they raise any doubts, or publish or maintain any new Inventions or Opinions concerning Religion, than such as are clearly grounded and warranted by the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* heretofore published, and happily established by Authority: Straightly charging all Archbishops and Bishops in their several Diocesses, as also all Counsellors of State, Judges, and Ministers of Justice, speedily to reclaim and repress all such Spirits as shall adventure hereafter to break this Rule of Sobriety, and due Obedience to his Majesty, his Laws, and this Religious Duty to the Church of God, or in the least degree attempt to violate this bond of Peace; adding withal this intimation of his Royal Pleasure, That whosoever from thenceforth should take the boldness wilfully to neglect this his Majesties gracious Admonition, and either for the satisfying of their unquiet and restless Spirits, or for expressing of their rash and undutiful Insolencies, should wilfully break that Circle of Order, which without apparent danger both to Church and State may not be broken, his Majesty will proceed against them with that severity as upon due consideration had of their Offences and Contempts, they and every one of them should deserve, &c.

Such



Such was the tenor of his Majesties Proclamation of June 14. And the effect thereof was this. The House of Commons in pursuance of their Quarrel against Mountague's Books, had referred the consideration of it to their Committee for Religion, from whom Pym brought a Report on the eighteenth of April, concerning some Arminian and Popish Tenents comprized in them. It was thereupon Voted in that House, 1. *That he had disturbed the Peace of the Church, by publishing Doctrines contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, and the Book of Homilies.* 2. *That there are divers Passages in his Book (especially against those he calleth Puritans) apt to move Sedition betwixt the King and his Subjects, and between Subject and Subject,* 3. *That the whole frame and scope of his Books is to discourage the well affected in Religion, from the true Religion established in the Church, and to incline them, and as much as in him lay, to reconcile them to P-O-P-E-R-Y.* This gave great animation to the opposite Party, who thought it a high point of Wisdom to assault the man whom they perceived to have been smitten with this terrible Thunder-bolt, and not to lose the opportunity of a Parliament-time (when the Press is open to all comers) for publishing their Books against him. Some of them we have named already; besides which there appeared so many in the List against him, viz. Goad, Featly, Ward, Wotton, Prynne, and Burton, that the Encounter seemed to be betwixt a whole Army and a single Person. (a) Laud and some of those Bishops on the other side, encouraged by his Majesties Proclamation, endeavoured to suppress those Books, which seemed to have been published in defiance of it; some of them being called in, some stopped at the Press; some Printers questioned for Printing, as the Authors were for writing such prohibited Pamphlets. Burton and Prynne amongst the rest were called into the High-Commission, and at the point to have been censured, when a Prohibition comes from Westminster-Hall to stay the Proceedings in that Court, contrary to his Majesties Will and Pleasure, expressed so clearly and distinctly in the said Proclamation: Which Prohibition they rendered to the Court in so rude a manner; that Laud was like to have laid them by the heels for their labour. From henceforth we must look for nothing from both these hot-spurs but desire of revenge, a violent opposition against all Persons whatsoever, who did not look the same way with them, and whatsoever else an ill-governed Zeal could excite them too.

LIB. II.  
Anno Dom.  
1626.

(a) Parque  
novum for-  
tuna videt  
concurrere  
bellum, atque  
virum. Lu-  
can.

And now being fallen upon these men, it may not be amiss to say something of them in this place, considering how much they exercised the patience of the Church and State in the Times succeeding. Burton had been a Servant in the Closet to his Sacred Majesty when he was Prince of Wales; and being once in the Ascendent, presumed that he should culminate before his time. He took it very ill that he was not sent as one of the Chaplains into Spain when the Prince was there; but worse, that Laud then Bishop of St. Davids, should exe-



PART I. cute the Office of *Clerk of the Closet* at such time as Bishop *Neil* was  
*Anno Dom.* sick, and he be looked on no otherwise than as an underling still.

1626.

Vexed with that Indignity, as he then conceived it, he puts a scandalous Paper into the hands of the King, for which, and for some other Insolencies and factious carriage, he was commanded by him to depart the Court; into which being never able to set foot again, he breathed nothing but rage and malice against his Majesty, the Bishops, and all that were in place above him, and so continued till the last; it being the custom of all those whom the Court casts out, to labour by all means they can to out-cast the Court. *Prynne* lived sometimes a Commoner of *Oriall Colledge*, and afterwards entred himself a Student in *Lincolns-Inn*, where he became a great follower of *Preston*, then the Lecturer there: Some parts of Learning he brought with him, which afterwards he improved by continual Study; and being found to be of an enterprising nature, hot-spirited, and eager in pursuit of any thing which was put into him, he was looked upon by *Preston* as the fittest person to venture upon such Exploits, which a more sober and considerate man durst not have appeared in. Being once put into the road, it was not possible to get him out of it again by threats or punishments; till growing weary of himself, when he had no Enemy in a manner to encounter with, he began to look up at the last, and settled on more moderate and quiet courses, becoming in the end a happy Instrument of Peace both to Church and State. And now I am fallen on *Preston* also, I shall add something of him too, as being a man which made much noise in the World about this time. A man he was (beyond all question) of a shrewd Wit and deep Comprehensions; an excellent Master in the Art of Insinuation, and one who for a long time sate at the Helm, and steared the Course of his Party, as one well observeth. Toward the latter end of the Reign of King *James* he was brought into the Court by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in hope to gain a Party by him: There he was gazed on for a time, like a new *Court-Meteor*; and having flashed and blazed a little, went out again, and was forgotten, in case he did not leave, as most *Meteors* do, an ill smell behind him. Much was he cried up by his Followers in the University, City, and all places else, as if he might have chosen his own *Mitre*, and had been as likely a man as any to have been trusted with the Great Seal in the place of *Williams*: But he was not principled for the Court, nor the Court for him; For long he had not been in that School of Policy, but he found other men as wise and cunning as himself, and that he could not govern there with such an absolute *Omni-regency*, as he had done in the Families of private Gentlemen in most parts of the Kingdom. Nor was it long before the Duke began to have some suspicion of him, as one not to be trusted in his Majesties Service, when it seemed any way to cross with the *Puritan* Interest, which he drove on with so much openness in the Court, as was not proper for a man of so famed a cunning. But that which

lost



lost him at the last, was a Letter by him written to a great Peer of the Realm, in which he spake disadvantageously enough, if not reproachfully of the Court; and signified withal how little hope there was of doing any good in that place, for the advancement of the Cause. Which Letter, or a Copy of it, being unluckily dropp'd out of his Pocket, was taken up, and forthwith carried to the Duke: The shame and grief of which mischance, gave him so much trouble, that he withdrew by little and little, and at last betook himself wholly to his old affectation of a Popular Greatness. By reason of his Lectures in *Cambridge* and *Lincolns-Inn*, he was grown powerful in the University, and had gained a strong Party in the City, but died about the time that *Laud* succeeded *Mountain* in the See of *London*. And it was well for him that he died so opportunely; *Laud* was resolved that there should be no more but one Bishop of that City, and would have found some way or other to remove him out of *Lincolns-Inn*, to the end he might have no pretence of raising or encreasing any Faction there, to disturbe the Publick. But before *Laud* shall come from *St. Davids* to *London*, he must take *Bath* and *Wells* in his way, to which we are now ready to wait upon him.

LIB. II.

Anno Dom.

1626.

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THE

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# THE L I F E

O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

## WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

L I B. III.

*Extending from his being made Bishop of Bath and Wells  
till his coming to the See of Canterbury.*



T hapned during the Sitting of the late Par-  
liament, that Doctor *Arthur Lake* Bishop of  
*Bath and Wells*, a man of great Learning and  
exemplary Piety, departed this Life ; into  
whose Place his Majesty on the twentieth of  
*June* nominates our Bishop of *St. Davids* :  
In pursuance of which Nomination, his Ma-  
jesty on the 26th. of *July* Signed the Writ  
of *Conge d'eslire* to the *Dean and Chapter*,

*Anno Domini*  
1626.

warranting them thereby to proceed to a new Election ; and there-  
with sent his Letters Missive (according to the usual Custom) in  
behalf of *Land*. On *wednesday, August* the 16th. they Elect him Bi-  
shop of that See ; and on *September* 18. their Election is confirmed  
in due form of Law ; his Majesty on the morrow after, restoring the  
Temporalities of that Bishoprick from the time of his Predecessors  
death. And now he is actually possessed not only of the Jurisdicti-  
on, but of the Rents, Profits, and Emergencies belonging to a Bi-  
shop of *Bath and Wells* ; a double Title, but relating to a single Di-  
ocess, and that Diocess confined to the County of *Somerset*. The  
Bishops



PART I. Bishops seat originally at *wells*, where it still continues, and in respect  
*Anno Dom.* whereof this Church is called in some Writers, *Fontanensis Ecclesia*.  
 1626. The stile of *Bath* came in but upon the by. The Church of *wells*  
 first built by *Ina* King of the *West Saxons*, *Anno* 704. and by him  
 dedicated to St. *Andrew*, after endowed by *Kenulfe* another King of  
 the same people, *Anno* 766. and finally made a Bishops See in the  
 time of *Edward* the elder, *Anno* 905. The first that bore that title be-  
 ing *Adelmus*, before Abbot of *Glastenbury*. The present Church, in  
 place where that of *Ina* had stood before, was built most part of it  
 by Bishop *Robert*, the eighteenth Bishop of this See, but finished  
 and perfected by Bishop *Joceline* surnamed *d' wellis*. *Johannes d'*  
*Villula*, the sixteenth Bishop, having bought the Town of *Bath* of  
 King *Henry* the First for five hundred Marks, transferred his Seat  
 unto that City 1088. Hence grew a jar betwixt the Monks of *Bath*  
 and the Canons of *wells* about the Election of the Bishop. At last  
 the difference was thus composed by that Bishop *Robert*, whom be-  
 fore I spake of, that from thenceforward the Bishop should be de-  
 nominated from both places, and the precedency in the Style should  
 be given to *Bath*; that on the vacancy of the See, a certain number  
 of Delegates from both Churches should elect their *Prelate*, who  
 being elected should be installed in them both; both of them to be  
 reckoned as the Bishops Chapter, and all his Grants and Patents  
 confirmed in both. And so it stood untill the Reign of King *Henry*  
*VIII.* at what time the Monastery of *Bath* being dissolved, there pas-  
 sed an Act of Parliament for the *Dean and Chapter* of *wells* to make  
 one sole *Chapter* to the Bishop, 35 *Hen. 8. C. 15.*

To welcome him to this new honour his Majesty commanded  
 him to draw up certain *Instructions* to be communicated to the Arch-  
 bishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of this Realm upon  
 this occasion. The late Parliament being dissolved without acting  
 any thing in order to his Majesties Service, he was necessitated by  
 the urgency of his affairs to try his Fortune on the subject in the way  
 of *Loane*, which seemed to have some Regality in it; For whereas  
 the Parliament had passed a Bill of three Subsidies and three fifteens,  
 and that the said Parliament was dissolved before the Bill passed into  
 an Act, his Majesty was advised that he had good grounds to re-  
 quire those Subsidies of the Subjects which the House of Commons  
 in their names had assented to, and yet not to require them by the  
 name of Subsidies, but only in the way of *Loan*, till the next Parlia-  
 ment should enable him to make payment of it, or confirm his le-  
 vying of those moneys by a subsequent Act. The Sum required to  
 be raised was 173411 pound, which was conceived to equal the  
 three Subsidies, which had been voted for him in the House of Com-  
 mons, though it never passed into an Act: or otherwise to make up  
 that Sum which the present necessity of setting out his Fleet requi-  
 red. He had before pawned the Plate and Jewels of the Crown, and  
 sold as much Land to the City of *London*, (which would neither  
 lend



lend<sup>d</sup>gratis, nor take those Lands in way of *Mortgage* ) as brought in 120000 pound upon easie purchases. All which he was ready to expend, or had before expended on the publick safety. But that not being able to make such necessary provisions as were required, both to secure himself at home, and succour his Confederates and Allies abroad, he was forced to fall upon this course. To which end he issues out his Letters of *Commission*, bearing date the thirteenth of *October*, directed to certain Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen in their severall Counties. In which they were required to acquaint the People, that his dear Uncle the King of *Denmark* was brought into great distress; That without present Succour the *Sound* would be lost, his Garrison in *Stoade* broken by the Emperours Forces, (which then straightly besieged it;) the *Eastland* Trade (which maintains our Shipping) and the Staple of *Hamborough* (which vents our Cloth) would both be gotten from him; As also that the two great Kings of *Spain* and *France*, together with the Pope, were joyned to rout out our Religion; That their Admirals, the Duke of *Guise*, and *Don Frederick d' Toledo*, were at that present before *Rochel*, endeavouring to block it up; And that they have store of Land-men ready on the Coast of *Britain*, with them and other Forces to invade us. Upon which grounds they were required by all plausible and powerful means to perswade the People to pay the Taxes severally imposed upon them; with many other directions tending to advance the Service.

LIB. III.

Anno Dom.

1626.

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It was observed of Queen *Elizabeth*, that when she had any business to bring about amongst the people, she used to tune the *Pulpits*, as her saying was; that is to say, to have some Preachers in and about *London*, and other great Auditories in the Kingdom, ready at command to cry up her design, as well in their publick Sermons as their private Conferences: Which course was now thought fit to be followed in preparing the people toward a dutifull compliance to these his Majesties desires. And to that end *Laud* received a Command from his Majesty by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to reduce certain instructions into Form, partly *Political*, partly *Ecclesiastical*, in the Cause of the King of *Denmark*, not long before beaten, and now much distressed by Count *Tilly*, to be published in all Parishes within the Realm. To this he chearfully conformed, and brought the said Instructions to the Duke within two daies after, being the sixteenth of *September*. And having read them over first to the Duke, and after to the King himself, he received from both a very favourable acceptance. On the next day they were communicated to the Lords of the Council, who approved them also. By whose advice he sent them to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, requiring him by his Letters, bearing date *September 29*. to see them published and dispersed in the severall Diocesses of his Province. The like Letters he also writ to the Archbishop of *York*; And they accordingly gave order to their severall and respective *Suffragans*, "To see them made  
Y  
" known

Breviate.



## PART I.

Anno Dom.

1626.



“ known to the worthy Preachers and Ministers in their Dioceſſes, and  
 “ ſo far as their Lordſhips might in their own perſons, to put theſe  
 “ things in execution, and to call upon the Clergy which was un-  
 “ der them, in their Preachings and private Conferences to ſtir up  
 “ all ſorts of people to expreſs their Zeal to God, their Duty to the  
 “ King, and their Love unto their Country, and one to another; that  
 “ all good and Chriſtian-like courſe might be taken for the preſerva-  
 “ tion of true Religion both in this Land, and through all Chri-  
 “ ſtendom. Now the tenour of the ſaid *Inſtructions* was as fol-  
 loweth:

Moſt Reverend Father in God, right truſty and right well-beloved  
 Counſellour, We greet you well.

**W**E have obſerved that the Church and the State are ſo nearly  
 united and knit together, that though they may ſeem two bodies,  
 yet indeed in ſome relation they may be accounted but as one, inas-  
 much as they both are made up of the ſame men, which are differenced only in  
 relation to Spiritual or Civil ends. This nearneſs makes the Church call  
 in the help of the State, to ſuccour and ſupport her, whenſoever ſhe is  
 preſſed beyond her ſtrength: And the ſame nearneſs makes the State  
 call in for the ſervice of the Church, both to teach that duty which her  
 Members know not, and to exhort them to, and encourage them in that  
 duty which they know. It is not long ſince we ordered the State to ſerve  
 the Church, and by a timely Proclamation ſettled the peace of it: And  
 now the State looks for the like aſſiſtance from the Church, that ſhe and  
 all her Miniſters may ſerve God and us, by preaching peace and unity at  
 home, that it may be the better able to reſiſt Forraign Force uniting and  
 multiplying againſt it. And to the end that they to whom we have com-  
 mitted the Government of the Church under us, may be the better able  
 to diſpoſe of the preſent occasions, we have, with the Advice of our  
 Council, thought fit to ſend unto you theſe *Inſtructions* following, to be  
 ſent by you to the Biſhops of your Province, and ſuch others whom it  
 may concern, and by them and all their Officers directed to all the Mini-  
 ſters throughout the ſeveral Dioceſſes, that according to theſe punctually  
 they may inſtruct and exhort the people to ſerve God and us, and labour  
 by their Prayers to divert the dangers which hang over us. The dan-  
 ger in which we are at this time is great. It is encreaſed by the late  
 blow given our good Uncle the King of Denmark, who is the chief Per-  
 ſon in theſe parts that oppoſed the ſpreading Forces of Spain. If he  
 cannot ſubſiſt, there is little or nothing left to hinder the Houſe of Au-  
 ſtria from being Lord and Maſter of Germany: And that is a large  
 and mighty Territory, and ſuch as ſhould it be gotten, would make an  
 open way for Spain to do what they pleaſed in all the Weſt part of Chri-  
 ſtendom. For beſides the great ſtrength which Germany once poſſeſſed  
 would bring to them, which are two ſtrong already, you are to conſider  
 firſt how it enables them by Land, in that it will joyn all or the moſt part  
 of



of the Spaniards now distracted Territories, and be a means for him LIB. III.  
safely and speedily to draw down Forces against any other Kingdom that Anno Dom.  
shall stand in his way. Nor can it be thought the Low Countries can hold 1626.  
out longer against him if he once become Lord of the upper parts. And  
secondly, You are to weigh how it will advantage him by Sea, and make  
him strong against us in our particular, which is of easie apprehension to  
all men. And besides, if he once get Germany he will be able, though  
he had no Gold from India, to supply the necessity of those wars;  
and to hinder all Trade and Traffick of the greatest Staple Commodi-  
ties of this Kingdom, Cloth and Wool, and so make them of little or no  
value.

You are to know therefore that to prevent this, is the present care of  
the King and State, and there is no probable way left but by sending  
Forces and other Supplies to the said King of Denmark our dear Uncle,  
to enable him to keep the Field, that our Enemies be not Masters of all  
on the sudden. You are further to take notice how both we and the whole  
State stand bound in Honour and Conscience to supply the present necessity  
of the King of Denmark. For this quarrel is more nearly ours, the re-  
covery of the Ancient Inheritance of our dear Sister and her Children.  
The King of Denmark stands not so near in blood unto her as we do:  
Yet for her and our sakes that brave and valiant King hath adventured  
into the field, and in that ingagement hath not only hazarded his Person,  
but, as things go now, it may turn to some danger to his own Kingdom,  
and Posterity, should he not receive aide and succour from us without de-  
lay: which should it happen (as God forbid) will be one of the greatest  
dishonours that ever this Kingdom was stained withall. Nor is danger  
and dishonour all the mischief that is like to follow this disaster; For if it  
be not presently relieved, the Cause of Religion is not only likely to suffer  
by it in some one part (as it hath already in a fearful manner in the Pa-  
latinate) but in all places where it hath gotten any footing. So that if  
we supply not presently our Allies and Confederates in this case, it is  
like to prove the extirpation of true Religion, and the re-planting of  
Romish Superstition in all the neighbouring parts of Christendom. And  
the coldness of this State shall suffer in all places as the betrayer of that  
Religion elsewhere, which it professeth and honoureth at home, which will  
be an imputation never to be washed off. And God forbid this State should  
suffer under it.

Neither may you forget rightly to inform the People committed to your  
charge, that this war which now grows full of danger was not entred  
upon rashly and without advice, but you are to acquaint them, that all  
former Treaties by a peaceable way were in the latter end of our dear  
Father of ever blessed memory dissolved as fruitless, and unfit to be  
longer held on foot; And this by the Counsel of both Houses of Parlia-  
ment then sitting: so those two great and honourable Bodies of Peers and  
People represented in Parliament led on this Counsel and course to a war  
with Spain. To effect this, they desired our aide and assistance, and used  
us to work our said dear Father to entertain this course. This upon their  
persuasi-



PART I. *Perswasions, and Promises of all Assistance and Supply, we readily undertook and effected, and cannot now be left in that Business, but with Anno Dom. the Sin and Shame of all men. Sin, because Aid and Supply for the Defence of the Kingdom, and the like Affairs of State, especially such as are advised and assumed by Parliamentary Council, are due to the King from his People, by all Law both of God and Men: And shame, if they forsake the King, while he pursues their own Council, just and honourable, and which could not under God but have been as successful, if it had been followed and supplied in time, as we desired and laboured for. One thing there is which proves a great hinderance of this State, and not continued among the People, without great offence against God, detriment both to Church and State, and our great disservice in this and all other Business. It is breach of Unity, which is grown too great and common amongst all sorts of men. The danger of this goes far; for in all States it hath made way for Enemies to enter. We have by all means endeavoured Union, and require of you to Preach it, and Charity the Mother of it, frequently in the ears of the People. We know their Loyal hearts, and therefore wonder the more what should cause distracted Affections. If you call upon them (which is your duty) we doubt not but that God will bless them with that Love to himself, to his Church, and their own Preservation, which alone will be able to bind up the scatterings of divided Affections into Strength. To this end you are to lay before them what Miseries Home-divisions have brought upon this and many other Kingdoms, and to exhort all men to embrace it in time. The Danger it self, besides all other Christian and Prudent Motives, is of force enough (where it is duly considered) to make men joyn in all amity against a common Enemy, a great and growing Enemy: And to do it in time, before any secret and cunning working of his may use one part in a division to weaken the other.*

*And in the last place (but first and last and all times to be insisted on) you are to call upon God your selves, and to incite the People to joyn with you in humble and hearty Prayers unto God, That he would be pleased now, after long affliction of his dear People and Children, to look in mercy both upon them and us, and in particular for the Safety of the King of Denmark, and that Army which is left him, That God would bless and prosper him against his and our Enemies. Thus you are to strengthen the hearts and hopes of our Loyal Subjects and People, in and upon God. And whereas the greatest confidence men have in God, ariseth not only from his Promises, but from their experience likewise of his Goodness, you must not fail often to recal to the memory of the People, with thankfulness, the late great Experience we have had of his Goodness towards us: For the three great and usual Judgments, which he darts down upon disobedient and unthankful People, are Pestilence, Famine, and the Sword. The Pestilence did never rage more in this Kingdom than of late; and God was graciously pleased in mercy to hear the Prayers which were made unto him, and the ceasing of the Judgement was little less than a Miracle. The Famine threatned us this present*



present year ; and it must have followed, had God rained down his Anger a little longer upon the Fruits of the Earth : But upon our Prayers he staied that Judgment, and sent us a blessed Season, and a most plentiful Harvest. The Sword is the thing which we are now to look to ; and you must call the People to their Prayers again, against that Enemy, That God will be pleased to send the like deliverance from this Judgment also ; That in the same Mercy he will vouchsafe to strengthen the hands of his People ; That he will sharpen their Sword, but dull and turn the edge of that which is in our Enemies hands ; that so while some Fight, others may Pray for the Blessing. And you are to be careful that you fail not to direct and hearten our Loving People in this and all other necessary Services, both of God, his Church, and Us : That we may have the comfort of our Peoples Service ; the State, Safety ; the Church, Religion ; and the People, the enjoying of all such Blessings as follow these. And we end with doubling this Care upon you, and all under you in their several Places.

LIB. III.  
Anno Dom.  
1626.

Given at our Palace at Westminster in the Second year of our Reign, September 21. 1626.

Such were the Instructions issued by his Majesties Command, in the present exigent : The dexterous performance of which Service, as it raised *Laud* higher in his Majesties good Opinion of him, than before he was ; so was it recompenced with a Place of greater nearness to him, than before he had. For on that very day which gives date to the said Instructions, the most Learned and Reverend Bishop Andrews, Bishop of Winton. and Dean of his Majesties Chappel-Royal, departed this Life at his Episcopal House in Southwark ; whose Funerals were solemnized in St. Saviours Church on the eleventh day of November following, Buckeridge then Bishop of Rochester, bestowing his last duty on him in a Funeral Sermon. A man he was of such extraordinary Abilities, that I shall rather chuse to express his Character by the Pen of others, than my own. Thus then says one of our late Historians : " This year we lost the stupendiously profound Prelate Doctor Andrews Bishop of Winchester, an excellent Disputant, in the Oriental Tongues surpassing knowing ; so studiously devoted to the Doctrine of the Ancient Fathers, as his extant Works breath nothing but their Faith ; nor can we now read the Fathers, more than we should have done in his very Aspect, Gesture, and Actions ; so venerable in his Presence, so grave in his Motions, so pious in his Conversation, so primitive in all. Another goes a little further, and tells us of him, " That the World wanted Learning to know how Learned he was ; so skilled in all (especially Oriental Languages) that some conceive he might (if then living) almost have served as an Interpreter-General at the Confusion of Tongues. In his life time he only published two Books in Latin, viz. His Apologie against Cardinal Bellarmine, and that

Hist. of K.  
Ch. by H.L.  
p. 62.

Ch. Hist. B.  
II. p. 126.



PART I. that which he called *Tortura Torti*, in behalf of King James; and a small Tract entituled, *Determinatio Theologica, de jure-jurando exigendo, quarto*, Printed at London, 1593. And in *English* nothing but a small Volume of Sermons, which he acknowledged for his own. The Book of *Catechetical Doctrine*, published in his life by others, but without his privity and consent, he always professedly disavowed, as containing only some imperfect Collections, which had been taken from his mouth by some ignorant hand, when he was Reader of the *Catechism Lecture* in *Pembroke Hall*. But after his decease, ninety six of his Sermons were collected with great care and industry, published in Print, and Dedicated to his Sacred Majesty by *Laud* then Bishop of *London*, and *Buckeridge* at that time Bishop of *Ely*, 1628. For *Felton* of *Ely* dying the year before, *Buckeridge* had been translated thither by the Power and Favour of that his dear Friend and *quondam* Pupil, *Curle* Dean of *Litchfield*, and one of the *Residentiaries* of *Salisbury*, succeeding after his Translation in the See of *Rocheſter*. By the same hands some other Pieces of his, both in *English* and *Latin*, were very carefully drawn together, and published with the like Dedication to his Sacred Majesty, *Anno* 1629. He that desires to hear more of him, let him first consult the Funeral Sermon before mentioned, extant at the end of the great Volume of his Sermons; and afterwards peruse his Epitaph in the Church of *St. Maries Over-rhe*, transcribed in *Stows Survey of London* of the last Edition. After his death the See of *Winton* was kept vacant till the latter end of the year next following; the profits of it being in the mean time taken up for his Majesties use, and answered into the Exchequer, according to an ancient Custom (but more old than commendable) used frequently by the Kings of *England*, since the time of *William* surnamed *Rufus*, from whom it is said to have took beginning.

But the *Deanry* of the Chappel had not been void above nine days, when *Laud* was nominated to it, and was actually admitted into that Office on the sixth day of *October* following, by *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery* Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Household, before whom he took the usual and appointed Oath. He had before observed a Custom (as ill though not so old as the other) used in the Court since the first entrance of King James. The Custom was, That at what part soever of the Publick Prayers the King came into his Closet (which looked into the Chappel) to hear the Sermon, the Divine Service was cut off, and the Anthem sung, that the Preacher might go into the Pulpit. This the new Dean disliked, as he had good reason, and thereupon humbly moved his Majesty, that he would be present at the *Liturgie*, as well as the Sermon every Lords day; and that at whatsoever part of Prayers he came, the Priest who Ministred should proceed to the end of the Service: To which his Majesty most readily and religiously condescended, and gave him thanks for that his seasonable and pious Motion. As for the *Deanry* of the Chappel, it was of long standing in the Court, but had been discontinued



discontinued from the death of Dr. *George Carew* Dean of *Windsor*, LIB. III.  
 (the Father of *George Lord Carew* of *Clopton*, and Earl of *Totness*) Anno Dom.  
*Anno* 1572. till King *James* his coming to this Crown, at what time 1626.  
*Bancroft*, then Bishop of *London*, conceiving into what dangers the  
 Church was like to run, by the multitude of *Scots* about him, thought  
 it expedient that some Clergy-men of Note and Eminence should  
 be attendant always in and about the Court. And thereupon it was  
 advised, that to the Bishop *Almoner* and the Clerk of the Closet  
 a Dean of the Chappell should be added, to look unto the diligent  
 and due performance of Gods Publick Service, and order matters  
 of the Quire. According to which resolution, Dr. *James Moun-*  
*tague* was recommended to the King for the first Dean of the Chap-  
 pel in his time; succeeded in that place by *Andrews*, and he now by  
*Laud*.

But to proceed, Whilest matters went on thus smoothly about the 1627.  
 Court, they met with many Rubbs in the Country, some of the  
 Preachers did their parts according as they were required by the  
 said *Instructions*, amongst whom *Sibthorp*, Vicar of *Brackly* in *North-*  
*ampton-shire*, advanced the Service, in a Sermon preached by him at  
 the Assizes for that County. The scope of which Sermon was to justify  
 the Lawfulness of the general Loane, and of the Kings imposing Taxes  
 by his own Regal Power, without consent in Parliament, and to prove,  
 that the people in point of Conscience and Religion ought chearfully to  
 submit to such Loans and Taxes without any opposition. The Licencing  
 of which Sermon (when it was offered to the Press) being refused  
 by Archbishop *Abbot*, and some exceptions made against it, the  
 perusing of it was referred to *Laud*, April 24. 1627, by whom, after  
 some qualifications and corrections, it was approved, and after  
 published by the Author, under the name of *Apostolical Obedience*.  
 About the same time *Manwaring*, Doctor in Divinity, one of his  
 Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, and Vicar of the Parish Church Cant. Doom,  
 of *St. Giles* in the Fields, published two Sermons of his preaching p. 245.  
 on the same occasion, the one before the King, the other in the hear-  
 ing of his own Parishioners. These Sermons he entituled by the  
 name of *Religion and Allegiance*, both of them tending to the justi-  
 fication of the lawfulness of the Kings imposing Loans and Taxes on his Pag. 83.  
 people without consent in Parliament; and that the imposition of such  
 Loans and Taxes did so far bind the Consciences of the Subjects of this  
 Kingdom, that they could not refuse the payment of them without peril  
 of eternal damnation. But neither the Doctrine of these Prea-  
 chers, or of any other to that purpose, nor the distress of the  
 King of *Denmark*, nor the miserable estate of *Rochel*, did so far pre-  
 vail amongst the people; but that the Commissioners for the Loane  
 found greater opposition in it than they did expect. Many who had  
 been Members in the two former Parliaments opposed it with their  
 utmost power, and drew a great part of the Subjects, in all Coun-  
 tries some, to the like refusal. For which refusal some Lords, and  
 many



PART I. many of the choice Gentry of the Kingdom, and others of inferiour  
*Anno Dom.* fort were committed unto several Prisons, where they remained till  
 1627. the approach of the following Parliament. Infomuch that the Court  
 was put upon the necessity of some further Project. The *Papists* would  
 have raised a Provision for the setting forth both of Ships and Men, for  
 the defence of the Narrow Seas, and working on the Kings wants, flattered  
 themselves with the hope of a Toleration for it. But old Sir *John*  
*Savill* of *Yorkshire*, who had been lately taken into his Majesties Council,  
 had found out a plot worth two of that; conceiving, that a Commission  
 to proceed against Recusants for their thirds, due to his Majesty by Law,  
 would bring in double the Sum which they had offered. To this the King  
 readily condescended, granting him and some others a Commission for that  
 purpose for the Parts beyond *Trent*; as unto certain Lords and Gentlemen  
 for all other Counties in the Kingdom. By which means, and some moneys  
 raised upon the *Loane*, there was such a present stock advanced, that  
 with some other helps which his Majesty had, he was enabled to set forth a  
 powerfull Fleet, and a considerable Land Army for the relief of the  
*Rochellers*, whose quarrel he had undertaken upon this occasion.

Hist. King  
 Charles, p. 63

The Queen at her first coming into *England* had brought with her  
 a compleat Family of *French* to attend her here, according to the  
 Capitulations, between the Commissioners of both Kings, before the  
 Marriage. But the *French* Priests, and some of the rest of her  
 Domesticks were grown so insolent, and had put so many affronts  
 upon his Majesty, that he was forced to send them home within few  
 daies after he had dissolved the foregoing Parliament. In which he  
 had done no more than what the *French* King had done before him,  
 in sending back all the *Spanish* Courtiers which his Queen brought  
 with her. But the *French* King not looking on his own Example,  
 and knowing on what ill terms the King stood both at home and  
 abroad, first seized on all the Merchants Ships, which lay on the  
 River of *Burdeaux*, and then brake out into open war. So that the  
 King was necessitated to make use of those Forces against the *French*  
 which were designed to have been used against the *Spaniard*, and to  
 comply with the desires of the *Rochellers*, who humbly sued for his  
 protection and defence. But the Fleet, not going out till after *Michaelmas*,  
 found greater opposition at Sea than they feared from the Land;  
 being encountred with strong Tempests, and thereby necessitated  
 to return without doing any thing, but only shewing the Kings good  
 will and readiness toward their assistance. But the next Fleet,  
 and the Land-Army before mentioned, being in a readiness, the  
 Duke of *Buckingham* appeared Commander general for that Service,  
 who hoped thereby to make himself of some consideration in the  
 eyes of the People. On the twenty seventh of *June* he hoisted  
 Sables for the Isle of *Rhe*, which lay before the Port of *Rochel*, and  
 embarred their trade; the taking whereof was the matter aimed at:  
 And he had strength enough both for Sea and Land to have done the  
 work,



work, if he had not followed it more like a Courtier than a Soldier : For having neglected those advantages which the victory at his Landing gave him, he first suffered himself to be complemented out of the taking of their chief Fort, when it was almost at his mercy; and after stood unseasonably upon point of Honour, in facing those Forces which were sent from the *French* King to raise the Siege, when he might have made a safe retreat unto his Ships without loss or danger. So that well beaten by the *French*, and with great loss of Reputation among the English, he came back with the remainder of his broken Forces in *November* following, as dearly welcom to the King as if he had returned with success and triumphs.

During the preparations for this unfortunate attempt, on *Sunday* the twenty ninth of *April* it pleased his Majesty to admit the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* for one of the Lords of his most honourable Privy Council; An honour which he would not have accepted with so great chearfulness if his dear Friend, the Lord Bishop of *Durham*, had not been sworn at or about the same time also. So mutually did these two Prelates contribute their assistances to one another, that as *Neile* gave *Laud* his helping hand to bring him first into the Court, and plant him in King *James* his favour : So *Laud* made use of all advantages in behalf of *Neile* to keep him in favour with King *Charles*, and advance him higher. The Fleet and Forces before mentioned being in a readiness, and the Duke provided for the Voyage, it was not thought either safe or fit that the Duke himself should be so long absent, without leaving some assured Friend about his Majesty by whom all practises against him might be either prevented or suppressed, and by whose means the Kings affections might be alwaies inflamed towards him; To which end *Laud* is first desired to attend his Majesty to *Portsmouth*, before which the Navy lay at Anchor, and afterwards to wait the whole Progress also; the Inconveniencies of which journeys he was as willing to undergo as the Duke was willing to desire it. The Church besides was at that time in an heavy condition, and opportunities must be watcht for keeping her from falling from bad to worse. No better her condition now in the Realm of *England* than anciently in the Eastern Churches, when *Nectarius* sat as Supreme Pastor in the Chair of *Constantinople*; of which thus *Nazianzen* writes unto him; The *Arians* (saith he) were grown so insolent, that they make open profession of their Heresie, as if they had been authorized and licensed to it; The *Macedonians* so presumptuous, that they were formed into a Sect, and had a Titular Bishop of their own; The *Apollinarians* held their *Conventicles*, with as much safety and esteem as the Orthodox Christians. And for *Eunomius*, the bolose mischief of those times, he thought so poorly of a general connivence, that at last nothing would content him but a toleration, The cause of which disorders he ascribeth to *Nectarius* only. A man, as the Historian saith of him, of an exceeding fair and plausible demeanour,

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Greg. Naz.

Orac. 46.

Secret. Hist.

Lib. 5. c. 8.



PART I. demeanour, and very gracious with the people : one that chose rather ( as it seems ) to give free way to all mens fancies, and suffer every mans proceedings, than draw upon himself the envy of a stubborn Clergy, and a factious Multitude. Never was Church more like to Church, Bishop to Bishop, time to time, ( the names of the Sects and Heresies being only changed ) than those of *Constantinople* then, and of *England* now. A pregnant evidence, that possibly there could not be a greater mischief in the Church of God than a Popular Prelate.

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This, though his Majesty might not know, yet the Bishops which were about him did, who therefore had but ill discharged their duty both to God and man, if they had not made his Majesty acquainted with it; he could not chuse but see by the practises and proceedings of the former Parliaments to what a prevalency the Puritans were grown in all parts of the Kingdom; and how incompatible that humour was with the Regal interest. There was no need to tell him from what fountain the mischief came, how much the Popularity and remiss Government of *Abbot* did contribute towards it. Him therefore he sequestreth from his *Metropolitcal* Jurisdiction, confines him to his house at *Ford* in *Kent*, and by his Commission, bearing date the ninth day of *October*, 1627. transfers the exercise of that Jurisdiction to *Mountaine* Bishop of *London*, *Neile* Bishop of *Durham*, *Buckeridge* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Houson* Bishop of *Oxon*, and *Laud* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; To whom, or any two or more of them, he gives authority to execute and perform all and every those Acts, matters, and things, any way touching or concerning the Power, Jurisdiction, or Authority of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in causes or matters Ecclesiastical, as amply, fully, and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as the said Archbishop himself might have done. And this his Majesty did to this end and purpose, that the *Archiepiscopal* Jurisdiction, being committed to such hands as were no favourers of that Faction, there might some stop be given to that violent current which then began to bear all before it. Nor did his Majesty fail of the end desired; For though *Abbot* ( on good reasons of State ) was restored unto his Jurisdiction toward the latter end of the year next following; Yet by this breathing time, as short as it was, the Church recovered strength again. And the disgrace put upon the man did so disanimate and deject the opposite Party, that the Ballance began visibly to turn on the Churches side.

During the time that this Commission was in force, some Beneficed persons in the Country, who in themselves were well affected to ancient orders, and now in more assurance of Protections than before they were, adventured on removing the Communion Table from the middle of the Church or Chancel, and setting it ( according to the pattern of the Mother Churches ) where the Altar formerly had stood. Amongst the rest one *Titly*, Vicar of *Grantham* ( a noted Town upon the Road ) in the County of *Lincoln*, having observed



observed the situation of the holy Table, as well in his *Diocessans* Chappel, as in the Cathedral mother Church, transposed the Table from the middest of the Chancel in his Parish Church, and placed it *Altar-wise* at the East end of it. Complainth hereof being made by some of that Town to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, he presently takes hold of the opportunity to discourage the work; not because he disliked it in point of judgment (for then his judgment and his practice must have crost each other) but because *Titly* had Relation to the Bishop of *Durham*. And for the Bishop of *Durham* he had no good thoughts, partly because he kept his stand in the Court, out of which himself had been ejected, and partly by reason of the intimacy betwixt him and *Laud*, whom he looked on as his open and professed enemy. And then how was it possible that he should approve of *Titly*, or his action either, conceiving that it might be done by their or one of their appointments, or at the least in hope of better preferment from them? Hereupon he betakes himself unto his Books, and frames a Popular Discourse against placing the Communion Table *Altar-wise*, digests it in the Form of a Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*; but sends it unto some Divines of the Lecture there, by them to be dispersed and scattered over all the Country. But of this Letter more hereafter, when we shall find it taken up for a Buckler against Authority, and laid in Bar against the proceedings of the Church and the Rules of it, when such transposing of the Table became more general, not alone practised, but prescribed. But the noise of this Letter not flying very far, at the first hindred not the removing of the Table in the Parish Church of *St. Nicholas* in the Burrough of *Abingdon*; the occasion this: One *Blucknall*, dwelling in that Parish, beittowed upon it, amongst other Legacies, an annual Pension to be paid unto the Curate thereof, for reading duly prayer in the said Church according to the Form prescribed in the *English Liturgie*. For the establishing of which Gifts and Legacies to the proper use and uses intended by him, a Commission was issued out of the High Court of *Chancery*, according to the Statute 43 *Eliz.* Directed amongst others to Sir *Ed. Clark* Knight, *Sam. Fell* Doctor in Divinity, *George Purefez*, and *Richard Organ* Esquires; who by their joynt consent made this Order following: *viz.* "And that the Table given by Mr. *Blucknall* should not by the "multitude of People coming to Service, or otherwise by sitting or "writing upon it; or by any other unreverent usage, be prophaned, "spoyled, or hurt; We do order and decree, that the said Table "shall continually stand at the upper end of the Chancell, upon "which a Carpet (by him given) should be laid, where it shall "continually stand close to the upper Skreen (there being of old with- "in that Skreen a kind of Vestry for keeping the Plate, Books, and "Vestments which belong to the Church) and there to be covered "with the Carpet aforesaid, and in no place else. Which Order, together with many others, for settling and disposing the said Gifts

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PART I. and Legacies, were made at *Abingdon* on the twenty fifth of *April*,  
*Anno Dom.* 1628. and afterwards confirmed under the Great Seal of *England*.

1627. This being the only Table, as I conceive, whose posture in that place  
 is ratified by Decree in *Chancery*.

Now as some private Beneficed persons, during the Suspension of the said Archbishop, did thus adventure on the one side; so divers *Commissaries*, *Officials*, *Surrogates*, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, began to carry a more hard hand on the *Puritan* Party (their great Friend and Patron being thus discountenanced) than they had done formerly. Amongst these none more active than *Lamb*, *Sibthorp*, *Allen*, and *Burden*, according to their Power and Places; the three last having some relation to *Lamb*, as *Lamb* had to the Episcopal Court at *Peterborough*, and thereby a neer neighbourhood to the Bishop of *Lincoln*; then keeping in his House at *Bugden* in the County of *Huntingdon*; at whose Table being entertained (as they had been many times before) they found there *Morison* Chancellor to that Bishop, and *Priggeon* one of the Officers of the Court at *Lincoln*. Their Discourse growing hot against the *Puritans*, the Bishop advised them to take off their heavy hand from them; informing them, That his Majesty hereafter intended to use them with more mildness, as a considerable Party, having great influence on the *Parliament*, without whose concurrence the King could not comfortably supply his Necessities: To which he added, That his Majesty had communicated this unto him by his own mouth, with his Resolutions hereafter of more gentleness to men of that Opinion. Which words, though unadvisedly spoken, yet were not thought, when first spoken by him, to be of such a dangerous and malignant nature, as to create to him all that charge and trouble, which afterwards beset him upon that occasion; For some years after, a breach being made betwixt him and *Lamb*, about the *Officials* place of *Leicester*, which the Bishop had designed to another person, *Lamb* complains of him to some great men about the Court, for revealing the Kings Secrets committed to his trust and privacy, contrary to the Oath taken by him as a Privy Counsellor. The Bishop was conceived to live at too great a height, to be too popular withal, and thereby to promote the *Puritan* Interest, against the Counsels of the Court. This Information was laid hold on, as a means to humble him, to make him sensible of his own duty, and the Kings displeasure; and a Command is given to *Noy* (then newly made his Majesties Attorney-General) to file a Bill, and prosecute against him in the *Star-Chamber*, upon this delinquency. Though the Bishop about two or three years since had lost the Seal, yet he was thought to have taken the Purse along with him; reputed rich, and one that had good Friends in the Court about the King, which made him take the less regard of this prosecution. By the Advice of his Counsel he first demurred unto the Bill, and afterwards put in a strong Plea against it; both which were over-ruled by Chief Justice *Richardson*, to whom by Order of the Court they had

ch. Hist. lib.  
 11. p. 155.



had been referred : Which artifices and delays, though they gained much time, yet could he not thereby take off the edge of the Atturney, grown so much sharper toward him by those tricks in Law. And in this state we shall finde the business about ten years hence, when it came to a Sentence; having laid so much of it here together, because the occasion of the Suit was given much about this time.

About the same time also came out a Book entituled, *A Collection of Private Devotions, or, the Hours of Prayer*, composed by Cozens one of the Prebends of *Durham*, at the Request, and for the Satisfaction, as it was then generally believed, of the Countess of *Denbigh*, the only Sister of the Duke, and then supposed to be unsettled in the Religion here established, if not warping from it : A Book which had in it much good matter, but not well pleasing in the form; said in the Title page to be framed agreeably to a Book of Private Prayers Authorized by Queen Elizabeth, Anno 1560. After the Kalendar it began with a Specification of the Apostles Creed in Twelve Articles, the Lords Prayer in Seven Petitions, the Ten Commandements; with the Duties enjoined, and the Sins prohibited by them; The Precepts of Charity, The Precepts of the Church, The Seven Sacraments, The Three Theological Virtues, The Three kinds of Good Works, The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, The Twelve Fruits of the Holy Ghost, The Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy, The Eight Beatitudes, Seven deadly Sins, and their contrary Vertues, and the Quatuor novissima : After which (some Prefaces and Introductions intervening) followed the Forms of Prayer for the first, third, sixth, and ninth Hours, as also for the Vespers and Compline, known here in former Times by the vulgar name of Canonical Hours : Then came the Litany, The Seven Penitential Psalms, Preparatory Prayers for Receiving the Holy Communion, Prayers to be used in time of Sicknes, and of the near approach of Death, besides many others. The Book approved by Mountain then Bishop of London, and by him Licenced for the Press (with the Subscription of his own hand to it) : Which notwithstanding, it startled many at the first, though otherwise very moderate and sober men, who looked upon it as a Preparatory to usher in the Superstitions of the Church of Rome. The Title gave offence to some, by reason of the correspondence which it held with the Popish Horaries; but the Frontispiece a great deal more; on the top whereof was found the Name of *IESVS*, figured in three Capital Letters (*IHS*) with a Cross upon them, incircled with the Sun, supported by two Angels, with two devout Women praying toward it.

It was not long before it was encountred by Prynne and Burton, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. Prynne's Book (for of the other there was but little notice taken) was Printed by the name of *A Brief Survey and Censure of Cozens his Cozening Devotions*, Anno 1628. In which he chargeth it for being framed in general according to the Horaries and Primers of the Church of Rome; but more particularly, to be directly moulded, framed, and contrived

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W W



PART I. contrived according to *Our Ladies Primer* or Office Printed in *Latin* at *Anno Dom. Antwerp*, 1593. and afterwards in *Latin* and *English*, *Anno* 1604.

1627.

Next he objects, That the Book of *Latin* Prayers published by Queen *Elizabeth*, 1560. was called *Orarium* (not *Horarium*) *sive Libellus Precationum* (that is to say, *A Book of Prayers*): That in that Book there was mention of no other hours of Prayer than first, third, and ninth; and that in the second and third Editions of the same Book, published in the years 1564. and 1573. there occurred no such distribution into hours at all; which (said he) reproacheth all the Specifications before-remembered by the name of *Popish* trash and trumpery, stollen out of *Popish* Primers and Catechisms; not mentioned in any *Protestant* Writers; and then proceeds to the canvassing of every Office, and the Prefaces belonging to them, which with the like infallible Spirit he condemns of *Popery*. But for all this violent opposition, and the great clamors made against it, the Book grew up into esteem, and justified it self, without any Advocate; insomuch that many of those who first startled at in regard of the Title, found in the body of it so much Piety, such regular Forms of Divine Worship, such necessary Consolations in special Exigencies, that they reserved it by them as a Jewel of great Price and value. But of this Author and his Book, the following Parliament, to whom *Prynne* dedicates his Answer, will take further notice.

But before that Parliament begins, we must take notice of some Changes then in agitation amongst the Governours of the Church. His Majesty in the *June* foregoing had acquainted *Land* with his intent of nominating him to the See of *London* in the place of *Mountain*, whom he looked on as a man unactive, and addicted to voluptuousness, and one that loved his ease too well to disturb himself in the concerns of the Church. He also looked upon that City as the Retreat and Receptacle of the Grandees of the *Puritan* Faction; the influence which it had, by reason of its Wealth and Trading, on all parts of the Kingdom; and that upon the Correspondence and Conformity thereof, the welfare of the whole depended: No better way to make them an example of Obedience to the rest of the Subjects, then by placing over them a Bishop of such Parts and Power, as they should either be unable to withstand, or afraid to offend. In order unto this design, it was thought expedient to translate *Neile* (whose accommodations *Land* much studied) to the See of *Winchester*, then vacant by the death of *Andrews*, and to remove *Mountain* unto *Durham* in the place of *Neile*: But the putting of this design into execution did require some time. Such Officers of State as had the management of the Kings Revenue, thought it not fit in that low ebb of the Exchequer, that the Church of *Winton* should be filled with another Bishop, before the *Michaelmas* Rents at least (if not some following Pay-days also) had flowed into his Majesties Coffers. Which though it were no very long time, compared with the



the Vacancies of some former Reign; yet gave it an occasion to some calumniating Spirits to report abroad, That this Bishoprick was designed to be a Subsistence for one of the Queen of *Bohemia's* younger Sons, who was to hold it by the Name of an Administrator, according to an ill Custom of some Princes amongst the *Lutherans*. But this Obstruction being passed by, *Neile* with great chearfulness in himself, and thankfulness unto the King, proceeded in his Translation to the See of *Winton*; his Election being ratified by his Majesty, and confirmed in due form of Law, before the end of the next year, 1627. In *Mountains* hands the business did receive a stop: He had spent a great part of his Life in the air of the Court, as Chaplain to *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury*, Dean of *Westminster*, and Bishop Almoner; and had lived for many years last past in the warm City of *London*. To remove him so far from the Court, and send him into those cold Regions of the *North*, he looked on as the worst kind of Banishment, next neighbour to a Civil death: But having a long while strived in vain, and understanding that his Majesty was not well pleased with his delays, he began to set forward on that Journey, with this *Proviso* notwithstanding, That the utmost term of his Removal should be but from *London-House* in the City, to *Durham-House* in the *Strand*. And yet to beget more delays toward *Laud's* Advancement, before he actually was confirmed in the See of *Durham*, the Metropolitan See of *Tork* fell void by the death of the most Reverend Prelate Doctor *Toby Matthews*: This Dignity he affected with as much ambition, as he had earnestly endeavoured to decline the other; and he obtained what he desired: But so much time was taken up in passing the Election, facilitating the Royal Assent, and the Formalities of his Confirmation, that the next Session of Parliament was ended, and the middle of *July* well near passed, before *Laud* could be actually Translated to the See of *London*.

These matters being in agitation, and the Parliament drawing on apace, on *Tuesday* the fifth of *February* he strained the back-sinew of his right Leg, as he went with his Majesty to *Hampton-Court*, which kept him to his Chamber till the fourteenth of the same; during which time of his keeping in, I had both the happiness of being taken into his special knowledge of me, and the opportunity of a longer Conference with him than I could otherwise have expected. I went to have presented my service to him as he was preparing for this Journey, and was appointed to attend him on the same day seven-night, when I might presume on his return. Coming precisely at the time, I heard of his mischance, and that he kept himself to his Chamber; but order had been left amongst the Servants, that if I came he should be made acquainted with it; which being done accordingly, I was brought into his Chamber, where I found him sitting in a Chair, with his lame leg resting on a Pillow. Commanding that no body should come to interrupt him till he called for them, he caused me to sit down by him, inquired first into the course

L I B. III.

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PART I. of my Studies, which he well approved of, exhorting me to hold  
*Anno Dom.* my self in that moderate course in which he found me. He fell af-  
 1627. terwards to discourse of some passages in *Oxon.* in which I was spe-  
 cially concerned, and told me thereupon the story of such oppositi-  
 ons as had been made against him in that University, by Archbishop  
*Abbot*, and some others; encouraged me not to shrink, if I had  
 already, or should hereafter find the like. I was with him thus,  
*remotis Arbitris*, almost two hours: It grew towards twelve of the  
 clock, and then he knocked for his Servants to come unto him. He  
 dined that day in his ordinary Dining-room, which was the first time  
 he had so done since his mishap. He caused me to tarry Dinner with  
 him, and used me with no small respect, which was much noted by  
 some Gentlemen (*Ephilston*, one of his Majesties Cup-bearers, being  
 one of the Company) who dined that day with him. A passage, I  
 confess, not pertinent to my present Story, but such as I have a good  
 precedent for from *Philip de Comines*, who telleth us as impertinent-  
 ly of the time (though he acquaint us not with the occasion) of  
 his leaving the Duke of *Burgundies* Service, to betake himself to the  
 Employments of King *Lewis xi.*

It is now time to look into the following Parliament, in the pre-  
 paration whereunto (to make himself more gracious in the eyes of  
 the People) his Majesty releaseth such Gentlemen as had been for-  
 merly imprisoned about the *Loan*; which in effect was but the letting  
 loose of so many hungry Lions to pursue and worry him: For be-  
 ing looked upon as Confessors, if not Martyrs for the Common-  
 wealth, upon the merit of those sufferings they were generally pre-  
 ferred afore all others to serve in Parliament; and being so preferred,  
 they carried as generally with them a vindicative Spirit, to revenge  
 themselves for that Restraint, by a restraining of the Prerogative  
 within narrower bounds. At the opening of this Parliament,  
*March 17.* the Preaching of the Sermon was committed to the Bi-  
 shop of *Bath and Wells*, who shewed much honest Art in perswading  
 them to *endeavour to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace*,  
*Ephes. 4. 3.* which he had taken for his Text: In which, first laying  
 before them the excellency and effects of *UNITY*, he told them,  
 amongst other things, "That it was a very charitable tie, but better  
 " *known* than *loved*; a thing so good, that it was never broken but  
 " by the worst men; nay, so good it was, that the very worst men  
 " pretended best when they broke it; and that it was so in the  
 " Church, neuer yet Heretick renting her Bowels, but he pretended  
 " that he raked them for Truth: That it was so also in the State,  
 " seldom any *unquiet Spirit* dividing her *Union*, but he pretends some  
 " great abuses, which his integrity would remedy: O that I were  
 " made a Judge in the Land, that every man which hath any Contro-  
 " versie might come to me, that I might do him Justice: and yet no  
 " worse a man than David was King when this cunning was used,  
 " *1 Sam. 15.* That *Unity* both in Church and Common-wealth was  
 " so

Serm. 6. p.  
247.



“so good, that none but the worst willingly broke it; That even  
 “they were so far ashamed of the breach, that they must seem holi-  
 “er than the rest, that they may be thought to have had a just cause  
 “to break it. And afterwards coming by degrees to an Application,  
 “Good God (saith he) what a preposterous Thrift is this in men, to  
 “sow up every small rent in their own Coat, and not care what  
 “rents they not only suffer, but make in the Coat of Christ? What  
 “is it? Is Christ only thought fit to wear a torn Garment? Or can  
 “we think that the *Spirit of Unity*, which is one with Christ, will  
 “not depart to seek warmer cloathing? Or if he be not gone already,  
 “why is there not *Unity*, which is where ere he is? Or if he be but  
 “yet gone from other parts of *Christendom*, in any case (for the  
 “passion, and in the bowels of *Jesus Christ* I beg it) let us make stay  
 “of him here in our parts, &c. Which Sermon (being all of the  
 same piece) so well pleased the Hearers, that his Majesty gave com-  
 mand to have it Printed. How well it edified with the Commons,  
 when they came to read it; and what thanks he received from them  
 for it, we shall clearly see before we come to the end of this present  
 Session.

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The Sermon being ended, his Majesty set forwards to the House  
 of Peers, where sitting in his Royal Throne, and causing the Com-  
 mons then assembled to come before him, he signified in few words,  
 “That no man (as he conceived) could be so ignorant of the Com-  
 “mon necessity, as to expostulate the cause of this Meeting, and not  
 “to think Supply to be the end of it; That as this necessity was the  
 “product and consequent of their Advice (he means in reference to  
 “his first ingaging in the War with *Spain*) so the true Religion, the  
 “Laws and Liberties of this State, and just Defence of his Friends  
 “and Allies, being so considerably concerned, would be, he hoped,  
 “Arguments enough to perswade Supply; That he had taken the  
 “most ancient, speedy, and best way for Supply, by calling them  
 “together; in which if they should not do their duties, in answer-  
 “ing the quality of his occasions, he must then take some other  
 “course for the saving of that, which the folly of some particular  
 “men might hazard to lose; That notwithstanding the distractions of  
 “the last Meeting, he came thither with no small confidence of good  
 “success; assuring them that he would forget and forgive whatsoever  
 “was past, and hoping that they would follow that sacred Advice  
 “lately inculcated, *To maintain the UNITY of the Spirit in the bond of*  
 “*Peace*. Which being said, the Lord Keeper took his turn to speak,  
 as the Custom is, in which Speech he chiefly laboured to lay before  
 them the formidable Power of the House of *Austria*, the mighty  
 Preparations made by the King of *Spain*, the Distractions at the pre-  
 sent in the *Netherlands*, the Dangers threatned by the *French* King to  
 those of the Reformed Religion in his Dominions, and the necessity  
 which lay upon the King to provide for the support thereof, as well  
 as for the Peace and Preservation of his own Estate; concluding with

A a

several



PART I. severall reasons to invite them to assist his Majesty with a bountiful and quick supply according to the exigency of his affairs.

Anno Dom.

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But all this, little edified with the House of Commons, or rather with the prevailing Party in it, which comes all to one. For so it happens commonly in all great Councils, that some few leading Members, either by their diligence or cunning, out-wit the rest, and form a party strong enough, by casting a mist before their eyes, or other subtle Artifices to effect their purpose. And so it fared in this last Parliament with the House of Commons, which though it contained amongst the rest as *dutiful Subjects as any were in the world*, (in his Majesties own acknowledgment of them) yet being governed by some men which had their interesses apart from the Crown, they are put upon a resolution of doing their own business first, and the Kings at leisure. And their own business it must be to secure the plots and practises of the *Puritan Faction* by turning all mens eyes upon such dangers as were to be feared from the Papists; and in the next place, to make such provision for themselves, that it should not be within the power of the Royal Prerogative to lay any restraint upon their persons. No sooner had they obtained their Fast (without which nothing could be done) but they moved the Lords to joyn with them in a Petition for the suppressing of Popery, which they conceived to make the Wall of Separation betwixt God and them; to which they found their Lordships willing to consent, and his Majesty no less willing to satisfy them in all parts thereof than they could desire. For calling both houses before him on the fourth of April, "He told them he liked well of their beginning with Religion, and hoped their Consultations would succeed the happier; That he was as careful of Religion, and should be as forward in it, as they could desire; That he liked well of the Petition, and would make use of those and all other means for the maintenance and propagation of that true Religion wherein he had lived, and by the grace of God was resolved to dye; And finally, That for the particulars, they should receive a more full answer hereafter (as they shortly did.) Which said, he put them in remembrance, That if Provisions were not speedily made, he should not be able to put a ship to sea this year. But though his Majesty gave so full and satisfactory an answer to every particular branch of the said Petition, that Sir Benjamin Ruddiard moved the House to tender their humble thanks to his Majesty for it; yet to the close of his Majesties Speech, touching the speedy making of provisions for that Summers Service, they returned no answer. They must first know whether they had any thing to give or not, whether they are to be accounted as Slaves or Freeman, to which two doubts the late imprisonment of their Members, for not paying the Loan required of them, gave them ground enough.

Cont. Doom,

These weighty Questions being started, their own property and Liberty must first be settled, before they could be persuaded to move



move a foot toward his Majesties supplies; Five Subsidies they had voted for him, but it passed no further than the Vote; For seeing that there was to be a trust on the one side or the other, it was resolved, that the honour of it should be theirs. The agitating of which Points, with those which depended thereupon, took up so much time, that before the Lords could be brought to joyn with the Commons, and both together could obtain their desires of the King, there was spent as far as to the seventh of *June*; and it was ten daies after before they had prepared the Bill of Subsidies for the Kings Assent. Nothing in all this business did so trouble his Majesty as their insisting on this point: That in no case whatsoever, though it never so nearly concerned matters of State and Government, he or his Privy Council should have power to commit any man to prison without shewing the cause, and that cause to be allowed or disallowed as his Majesties Judges should think fit on the *Habeas Corpus*, of which his Majesty well observed in a Letter by him written to the Peers on the twelfth of *May*, "That by shewing the cause of the Commitment, the whole Service many times might happen to be destroyed; and that the cause also might be such, and of a nature so transcending the Rules of Law, that the Judges had no capacity in a Court of Judicature to determine in it. The intermitting of which power, being one of the constant Rules of Government, practised for so many Ages within this Kingdom, would (as he said) soon dissolve the very frame and foundation of his Monarchy, and therefore that without the overthrow of his Sovereignty he could not suffer these powers to be impeached. But what reason soever he had to alledge for himself, he was so bent on his desires to relieve the *Rochellers*, and keep that honour up abroad which he lost at home; that at the last he condescended unto their desires, and confirmed the prayer of their Petition by Act of Parliament.

L I B. I I I.

Anno Dom.

1628.

His Majesties Letter for the Lords, Bibl. Reg. Sect. 6. N. 19.

Nor would they rest upon that point. They thought they had not done themselves *right* enough in disputing their *Property* with the King in Parliament if they suffered it to be preached down in the Court and Country. *Manwaring* therefore (of whose Sermons we have spake before) must be brought in for an example unto others. Whose charge, being drawn up by the Commons, was reported to the Peers by *Pym June 13*. The Book of his two Sermons produced before them, the passages which gave offence openly read, and aggravated to the very height. And though the poor man, on his knees, with tears in his eyes, and sorrows in his heart, had most humbly craved pardon of the Lords and Commons for the errors and indiscretions he had committed in the said two Sermons, yet could he find no other mercy than, "1. To be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House. 2. To be fined one thousand pounds to the King. 3. To make such an acknowledgment of his offence at the Commons Bar as it should please them to prescribe. 4. To be suspen-



PART I. "ded from his Ministry for three years to come. 5. To be disabled  
*Anno Dom.* "from ever preaching at the Court. 6. To be incapable of any  
 1628. "further Ecclesiastical preferment, or secular Office. And fi-  
 nally, That his Majesty should be moved to call in the said Book  
 "by Proclamation, and cause it to be publickly burnt. An heavy  
 Sentence I confess, but such as did rather affright than hurt him.  
 For his Majesty looking on him in that conjuncture as one that suf-  
 fered in his cause, preferred him first to the Parsonage of *Stamford-*  
*Rivers in Essex*, (void not long after by the promotion of *Mounta-*  
*gue* to the See of *Chichester*) afterwards to the Deanry of *Worcester*;  
 and finally to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids*. This was indeed the  
 way to have his Majesty well served, but such as created some ill  
 thoughts amongst the Commons for his Majesties Indulgence to  
 him.

*Breviate.*  
 p. 13.

But they had a greater game to fly at, than to content themselves  
 with so poor a Sacrifice. The day before, complaint was made unto  
 the Commons, that *Land*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, had warranted  
 those Sermons to the Prefs, and him they had as good a mind to as  
 to any other. There had been some listings at him in the Court by  
 Sir *John Cook*, who had informed against him to the Lord Treasurer  
 then being: And by the Lord Treasurer to the Duke, where the  
 business stopt. And there had been some listings at him in the Coun-  
 try also, there being some mutterings spread abroad, that some Sa-  
 crifices must be made for expiating the ill success in the Isle of *Rhe*,  
 and that he was as like as any to be made the Sacrifice. Which  
 comming to his ears from two several persons, he thought fit to ac-  
 quaint his Majesty with it; who thereupon returned this most gra-  
 cious answer, *That he should not trouble himself with such reports, till*  
*he saw him forsake his other friends*. Had he stood still upon that  
 principle he had never fallen. Such Princes as forsake their Servants,  
 will be forsaken by their Servants in their greatest need, and neither  
 be well served at home, nor observed abroad. But it appeared by  
 the event, that those mutterings were not made without some  
 ground, and that somewhat was then plotting toward his destructi-  
 on. For *Manwaring* was no sooner censured, but *Lands* cause was  
 called to the report, some daies before (*viz. June 11.*) they had  
 voted the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the cause of all the grievances;  
 and now they were hammering a Remonstrance, both against him,  
 and all that depended on him. In which Remonstrance, having first  
 besprinkled the King with some Court *holy-water*, for granting  
 their Petition of Right, they make bold to represent unto him,  
 "That there was a general fear conceived in his people of some se-  
 "cret working and combination to introduce into this Kingdom  
 "innovation and change of holy Religion. Which fear pro-  
 "ceeded (as they said) from the encrease of *Popery* in this King-  
 "dom, and the extraordinary favours and respects which they of  
 "that Religion found in the Court from persons of great quality and  
 "power



“ power there, unto whom they continually resort, more especial- LIB. III.  
 “ ly by name from the Countess of *Buckingham* the Dukes Mother. Anno Dom.  
 “ Secondly, From some Letters written by his Majesty to stop all 1628.  
 “ legal proceedings against *Recusants*, and the Compositions which  
 “ had been made with some of them for such fines and penalties as  
 “ were laid upon them by the Laws, which seemed in their opinion  
 “ little less than a Toleration. Thirdly, From the dayly growth  
 “ and spreading of the Faction of the *Arminians*, that being (as  
 “ they thought his Majesty knew) but a cunning way to bring in *Popery*;  
 “ the professors of those opinions being common disturbers of  
 “ the Protestant Churches, and Incendiaries of those states wherein  
 “ they have gotten any head, being *Protestants* in shew, but *Jesuites*  
 “ in opinion and practice. Of which growing Faction *Neile* Bishop  
 “ of *Winchester*, and *Laud* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, are named par-  
 “ ticularly for the principal Patrons. Fourthly, From some endea-  
 “ vours to suppress the diligent teaching and instructing the people  
 “ in the true knowledge of Almighty God by disparaging pious,  
 “ painful, and Orthodox Preachers. Fifthly, From the miserable  
 “ condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in which without controule  
 “ the Popish Religion is affirmed to be openly professed, Popish  
 “ Superstition being generally exercised and avowed, Monasteries,  
 “ and Nunneries newly erected, &c. In the last place they lay before  
 “ him their former grievances, now redressed; the design of raising  
 “ moneys by the way of Excise, and of bringing in some Regiments  
 “ of *German* horse, though never put into execution; a Commis-  
 “ sion of Lieutenancy granted to the Duke of *Buckingham*; the sup-  
 “ posed decay of Trade in all parts of the Kingdom; the improvi-  
 “ dent consumption of the stock of Gunpowder; the loss of the Re-  
 “ gality of the Narrow Seas; the taking of many Merchants Ships  
 “ by the Pyrates of *Dunkirk*, &c. The cause of all which mischiefs is  
 imputed to the excessive power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his  
 abusing of that power.

This *Remonstrance* being thus digested, it was presented to his Ma-  
 jesty, together with the Bill of Subsidies, on the seventeenth  
 of *June*. At the receiving thereof his Majesty was pleased  
 to use these words: “ That on his Answer to their *Petition* of  
 “ *Right* he expected no such Declaration from them, which con-  
 “ taineth divers points of state touching the Church and Common-  
 “ wealth, that he conceived they did believe he understood them  
 “ better than themselves: But that since the reading thereof, he  
 “ perceived they understood those things less than he imagined; and  
 “ that notwithstanding he would take them into such consideration  
 “ as they deserved. Nor was it long after his Majesties receiving of this  
*Remonstrance*, but that they were drawing up another to take away  
 his right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Which coming to his Majesties  
 knowledge, he resolved to be beforehand with them, and dissolve  
 the Parliament, which was done accordingly *June 26*. At the dis-  
 solving

Bibl. Reg.  
 Sect. 157.  
 Num. 3.



PART I. solving whereof his Majesty gave this further censure on the said Remonstrance, viz. "That the acceptableness thereof unto him  
*Anno Dom.* "every man might judge, and that he would not call in question the  
 1628. "merit of it, because he was sure no wise man could justify it. And  
 possibly it had escaped without any further censure, if the Commons for the ostentation of their Zeal and Piety had not caused it to be Printed, and dispersed abroad, with which his Majesty being acquainted, he commanded it to be called in by Proclamation, as tending to the defamation of his Person and Government.

But no sooner was the Parliament ended, but he gave order unto *Laud* (whom he found to be much concerned in it) to return an answer thereunto; which he, who knew no better *Sacrifice* than obedience, did very chearfully perform; which Answer for so much as concerns Religion, the Preamble and Conclusion being laid aside, we shall here subjoyn.

*And first (saith he) that Remonstrance begins at Religion, and fears of innovation in it; Innovation by Popery; but we would have our Subjects of all sorts to call to mind what difficulties and dangers we endured not many years since for Religions sake; That we are the same still, and our holy Religion is as pretious to us as it is or can be to any of them, and we will no more admit innovation therein than they that think they have done well in fearing it so much. It is true, that all effects expected have not followed upon the Petitions delivered at Oxon, but we are in least fault for that; for supply being not afforded us, disabled us to execute all that was desired, and caused the stay of those legal proceedings which have helped to swell up this Remonstrance: Yet let all the Counties of England be examined, and London, with the Suburbs ~~examined~~, neither is there such a noted increase of Papists, nor such cause of fear as is made; nor hath any amounted to such an odious tolerating, as is charged upon it, nor near any such. For that Commission so much complained of, both the matter and intent of it are utterly mistaken; for it doth not dispence with any penalty, or any course to be taken with any Papists for the exercise of their Religion, no nor with the Pecuniary Mulcts or non-conformity to ours; it was advised for the encrease of our profits, and the returning of that into our Purse, which abuse or connivency of inferiour Ministers might perhaps divert another way, if that or any other shall be abused in the execution, we will be ready to punish upon any just complaint. The next fear is the dayly growth and spreading of the Arminian Faction, called a cunning way to bring in Popery: but we hold this Charge as great a wrong, to our Self and Government, as the former; For our People must not be taught by a Parliament Remonstrance, or any other way, that we are so ignorant of Truth, or so careless of the profession of it; that any opinion, or faction, or whatever it be called, should thrust it self so far, and so fast into our Kingdom without our knowledge of it: this is a meer dream of them that wake, and would make our loyal and loving People*



People think we sleep the while. In this Charge there is great wrong done to two eminent Prelates that attend our Person; for they are accused, without producing any the least shew or shadow of Proof against them; and should they, or any other, attempt Innovation of Religion, either by that open or any cunning way, we should quickly take other Order with them, and not stay for your Remonstrance.

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To keep on this, our people are made believe, That there is a restraint of Books Orthodoxal: but we are sure since the late Parliament began, some whom the Remonstrance calls Orthodox, have assumed unto themselves an unsufferable Liberty in Printing. Our Proclamation commanded a Restraint on both sides, till the Passions of men might subside and calm; and had this been obeyed as it ought, we had not now been tossed in this Tempest: And for the distressing and discountenancing of Good Preachers, we know there is none, if they be (as they are called) Good. But our People shall never want that Spiritual Comfort which is due unto them; and for the Preferments which we bestow, we have so made it our great Care to give them, as Rewards of Desert and Pains; but as the Preferments are ours, so will we be judge of the Desert Our self, and not be taught by a Remonstrance. For Ireland, we think in case of Religion, it is not worse than Queen Elizabeth left it; and for other Affairs, it is as good as we found it, nay, perhaps better; and we take it as a great disparagement to our Government, that it should be voiced, That new Monasteries, Nunneries, and other Superstitious Houses, are Erected and Replenished in Dublin, and other great Towns of that our Kingdom: For we assure our self, our Deputy and Council there will not suffer God and our Government so to be dishonoured, but we should have some account of it from them; and we may not endure to have our good People thus misled with Shews. There is likewise somewhat considerable, in the time when these Practises to undermine true Religion in our Kingdoms, are set on foot. The Remonstrance tells us it is now, when Religion is opposed by open force in all Parts: But we must tell our People, There is no undermining Practice at home against it, if they practice not against it that seem most to labour for it; for while Religion seems to be contended for in such a Factionous way, which cannot be Gods way, the heat of that doth often melt away the Purity which it labours earnestly (but perhaps not wisely) to preserve. And for Gods Judgments, which we and our People have felt, and have cause to fear, we shall prevent them best by a true Religious Remonstrance of the amendment of our Lives, &c.

This, and the rest of the Answer to the said Remonstrance, is all what I find acted by *Land* in reference to the present Parliament. For, That he should be a chief means for the dissolving of this, or a principal Instrument in the untimely breaking off of the former, I find no proof offered, though he stands charged with the one in the further Articles of his Impeachment, and of the other on the bare suspicion of a private Person. As little proof I find of another Article,



PART I. Article, in which he stands accused for saying, *That this Parliament Anno Dom. 1628. was a Factionous Parliament, and had cast many Scandals upon his Majesty, and had used him like a Child in his Minority; styling them PURITANS, and commending the Papists for harmless and peaceable Subjects*: For which, if any Evidence had been brought against him, he might have been condemned by some for his Indiscretion, but by none for Treason. Nor did the Parliament Act more against Church or Church-men, than what is formerly related: but only in receiving certain Articles against one *Burgefs* Vicar of *Witney*, in the County of *Oxon*. By which it did appear, That the man was sharp set against the *Puritans*, whom he accused of breaking every one of the Ten Commandments, reproach'd them with many bitter *Exasperations*, and finally impeached *Calvin*, *Beza*, and all the Ministers of the Reformed Churches, both in *France* and *Scotland*, for committing many Treasons against those Princes under whom they lived. But these Matters not being Actionable at the Common Law, nor punishable (as the times then were) in way of Parliamentary Proceedings; the poor man, after a long and chargeable Attendance, was at last dismissed. Little or nothing done in the *Convocation* which accompanied this Parliament, but the granting of five *Subsidies*, toward the Support of his Majesties Royal Estate, and the Defence of his Kingdoms: So much the more acceptable to his Majesty, because the Grant seemed in a manner to exceed their Abilities, and came not clogged with any self-ends, or particular Interesses. Kings are Gods Deputies on Earth, and like him, love a *cheerful Giver*, above all those who either do it *grudgingly*, or upon *constraint*.

No sooner was the Parliament ended, but *Laud* prepares for his Translation to the See of *London*, the *Conge d'eslire* being issued out on the first of *July*, the Election within few days returned, and publicly confirmed with the accustomed Formalities on *St. Swithin's* day, being the fifteenth of that Month. *London*, the Kings Chamber, and the chief City of the Realm; equal in bigness unto any, but in Trade Superiour unto all in these Parts of *Christendom*; one of the Metropolitan Sees of the Ancient *Britains*, and next in Dignity and Antiquity to the See of *Canterbury* amongst the *Saxons*. The first Bishop of it, called *Melitus*, received his Episcopal Consecration *Anno* 606. from whom *Laud* was in number the 88th. as he had been the 89th. Bishop of *St. Davids*, another of the Metropolitan Sees of the *Britains*. The Cathedral Church, best known by the name of *St. Pauls* in *London*, was founded first by *Ethelbert*, the first Christian King of *Kent*, and the six Monarchs of the *Saxons*; afterwards much beautified and enlarged by *Erkenwald* the fourth Bishop: Which Church of theirs being 500 years after destroyed by fire, that which now stands was built in the place thereof by *Martinius*, *Richardus* his Successor, and certain other of the Bishops, a great part of it at their own Charge, and the Residue by a general Contribution.

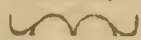


Contribution over all the Kingdom. The Bishops next in Place and Dignity to the Metropolitans, and also Deans of the Episcopal Colledge for the Province of *Canterbury*; by which Office he is not only to preside over the rest of the Bishops at *Synodical Meetings*, in case the *Metropolitan* be dead or absent; but to receive his *Mandates* for assembling *Synods*, and other businesses of the Church; and having so received them, to intimate the power and effect thereof to the Suffragan Prelates. As for the Diocess of *London*, it contains in it the whole Counties of *Middlesex* and *Essex*, so much of *Hertfordshire* as was anciently possessed by the *East-Saxons*, together with the peculiar Jurisdiction of the Church of *St. Albans*; divided into 623 Parishes (of which 189 are Improvements) and those distributed amongst five Archdeacons, that is to say, of *London*, *Middlesex*, *Essex*, *Colchester*, and the Archdeacon of *St. Albans* for that Circuit only.

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His own Translation being past, his next Employment of that nature was his assisting at the Consecration of *Mountague*, nominated by his Majesty to the See of *Chichester* in the place of *Carleton*, who died about the latter end of the Parliament; which Action in the King seemed more magnanimous than safe: For though there was much magnanimity in preferring the man, whom he beheld as well in his personal Sufferings, as his great Abilities; yet was it not held safe for him (as his case then stood) to give such matter of Exasperation to the House of Commons, of whom he did expect a Supplement to the former Subsidies within few Months after. Nor did the business pass so clearly on *Mountagues* side, but that he found a rub in his way, which was like to have hindred his Preferment for the present time, but possibly enough for the times to come. It is an ancient Custom, that the Elections of all Bishops in the Province of *Canterbury* be solemnly confirmed by the Archbishop, or his Vicar-general, in the Court of the *Arches*, held in *St. Maries Church* in *Cheapside*, commonly called by the name of *Bow Church*; at and before which Confirmation, there is publick notice given to all manner of Persons, That if they have any thing to object either against the Party elected, or the legality of his Election, he should come and tender his Exceptions at the time appointed, or else for ever after to hold his peace: Which signification being made, as *Mountague* stood ready to be Confirmed, one *Jones* a Bookseller, accompanied with a Rabble of the poorer sort, excepted against him as a man unfit to be made a Bishop, charging him with *Popery*, *Arminianism*, and some other *Heterodoxies*, for which his Books had been condemned in the former Parliament. It hapned well that *Brent* the Vicar-general, either for disaffection to the man, or on some necessary avocation, had devolved his Office for that time on Doctor *Thomas Reives* his Majesties Advocate, a man of better Principles in himself, and of more Learning in the Laws than the other was: For no sooner had *Jones* offered his Exceptions against



PART I. the Party Elected, but *Reives* had found a way to evade the danger, and frustrate the bold man of his design, for putting a present stop to the Confirmation; For neither were the Exceptions tendred in writing, signed by the hand of any Advocate, nor presented by any of the Proctors authorised to attend that Court; all which Formalities were to have been observed by *Jones* in the present Act, but that the man was hurried on with more Zeal than Knowledge. Which Rub thus happily removed August 22. *Mountague* hastens all he could to his Consecration, which was performed on Sunday the 24th. at the Archbishops house in *Croyden*, Land amongst other Bishops assisting at it.

And it is possible enough, That if he had not made such haste as he did, he might have had a worse rub in it than he had before. Scarce was the Consecration finished, when news came to *Croyden* of the unfortunate death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, murdered the day before at *Portsmouth* by one *John Felton* a Lieutenant, who thought himself neglected in the course of his Service. The Duke had wholly set his heart on the Relief of *Rochel*, then block'd up by the *French* both by Sea and Land, in hope thereby to redeem the Honour he had lost at the Isle of *Rhe*, and to ingratiate himself with the People of *England*. On the twelfth of *August* he set forwards from *Portsmouth*, neer which the Navy lay at Anchor, and where he had appointed the Rendezvouz for his Land-Forces to assemble and meet together. The interval of time betwixt that and his death he spent in putting all things into Readiness, that he was almost at the point of going on Board, when *Felton* cut him off in the midst of his Glories. The wretch in such a general confusion might have saved himself, if either curiosity in attending the issue, or some consternation in his countenance upon the horror of the Fact, had not betrayed him to a present discovery. Taken upon suspicion, and questioned about the Murder, he made no scruple to avow it, as a meritorious Act, of which he had more cause to glory than to be ashamed: And being afterwards more cunningly handled by one of his Majesties Chaplains (sent to him from the Court of purpose to work him to it) he confessed plainly and resolvedly, That he had no other motive to commit that Murder, but the late *Remonstrance*, in which the Duke had been accused for being the Cause of all the Grievances and Mischiefs in the Common-wealth. This news was brought unto the King as he was at the Publick Morning-Prayers in his Presence-Chamber, the Court being then at *Southwick*, not far from *Portsmouth*; which he received with such a stedfast Countenance, so unmoved a Patience, that he withdrew not from the place till the Prayers were ended.

It is not to be doubted but that his Majesty was much afflicted in the loss of so dear a Servant, in whose bosom he had lodged so much of his Counsels, and to whose Conduct he had so fully recommended the Great Concernments of the Kingdom. But such  
was



was the constancy of his Temper, and the known evenness of his Spirit, that in the midst of all those sorrows he neither neglected his Affairs abroad, nor his Friends at home : For notwithstanding this sad accident, the Fleet set forwards under the Command of the Earl of *Lindsey*, whose coming within sight of *Rochel* was welcom'd by those in the Town with all the outward expressions of Hope and Joy: But his desires to do them Service were without Success: For when he came, he found the Haven so strongly barred, that though he gallantly attempted to force his way, and give Relief to the Besieged; yet finding nothing but impossibility in the Undertaking, he discharged his Ordnance against the Enemy, and went off with safety: Which being perceived by those of the Town, who had placed their last hopes in this Attempt, they presently set open their Gates, casting themselves upon the Mercy of their Natural Prince, whose Government and Authority they had for so many years before both opposed and sleighted. And on the other side, being well assured of that infinite anguish and disconsolation which *Laud* (his now most trusty Servant) must needs suffer under, by the most barbarous Assassination of so dear a Friend, he dispatch'd *Elphinston* his Cup-bearer with a *gracious* Message to comfort him in those disquiets of his Soul; and on the neck of that, a Letter of his own hand-writing to the same effect. He looks upon him now as his Principal Minister, well practised in the Course of his Business, of whose fidelity to his Person, and perspicacity of Judgment in Affairs of State, he had found such good proof: And therefore at the first time that *Laud* could find himself in a condition to attend upon him, he used many gracious Speeches to him, not only to wipe off the Remembrance of that sad Misfortune, but to put him into such a Power by which he might be able to protect himself against all his Enemies. He was before but an inferiour Minister in the Ship of State, and had the trimming of the Sails, the super-inspection of the *Bulgings* and Leakings of it. Now he is called unto the Helm, and steers the Course thereof by his sage Directions.

Having obtained this height of Power, he casts his eye back on his Majesties Proclamation of the fourteenth of *June*, Anno 1626. Of which though he had made good use in suppressing some of those Books which seemed to foment the present Controversies; yet he soon found, as well by his own Observation, as by Intelligence from others, That no such general notice had been taken of it as was first expected: For being only published in Market-Towns (and perhaps very few of them) the *Puritan* Ministers in the Country did not conceive themselves obliged to take notice of it. And much less could it come to the ears of Students in Universities, for whose restraint from meddling, either by Preaching or Writing, in the Points prohibited, it might seem most necessary. He knew, that by the Laws of the Land all Ministers were to read the Book of Articles audibly and distinctly, in the hearing of their Parishioners, when they

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PART I. first entred on their Cures; and that by the Canons of the Church, all that took Orders or Degrees were publickly to subscribe unto them. A Declaration to the same effect before those Articles must needs give such a general signification of his Majesties pleasure, that no body could from thenceforth pretend ignorance of it, which must needs render his transgression the more inexcusable. Upon which prudent considerations he moved his Majesty that the Book of Articles might be reprinted; and such a Declaration placed before them as might preserve them from such misconstructions as had of late been put upon them, and keep them to their native literal and Grammatical sense. His Majesty approved the Counsel as both pious and profitable, and presently gave order, that all things should be done according as he had advised. A Declaration of great influence in the course of our Story, and therefore here to be subjoynd in its proper place.

By the King.

Bibl. Reg.  
Sect. 4.  
Num. 3.

BEing by Gods Ordinance, according to Our just Title, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governour of the Church within these Our Dominions, we hold it most agreeable to Our Kingly Office, and Our own Religious Zeal, to conserve and maintain the Church committed to Our charge in the Unity of true Religion, and in the bond of Peace: and not to suffer unnecessary Disputations, Alterations, and Questions to be raised which may nourish Faction both in the Church and Commonwealth; we have therefore upon mature deliberation, and with the Advice of so many of Our Bishops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this Declaration following: That the Articles of the Church of England (which had been allowed, and authorized heretofore, and which Our Clergy generally have subscribed unto) do contain the true Doctrine of the Church of England agreeable to Gods word: which we do therefore ratifie and confirm, requiring all Our loving Subjects to continue in the Uniform Profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said Articles; which to that end we command to be reprinted, and this Our Declaration to be published therewith.

That we are Supreme Governour of the Church of England, and that if any difference arise about the External Policie, concerning Injunctions, Canons, or other Constitutions whatsoever, thereunto belonging; the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under Our Broad Seal so to do: And we approving their said Ordinances and Constitutions, providing that none be made contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Land. That out of Our Princely care that the Church-men may do the work which is proper unto them; the Bishops and Clergie, from time to time, in Convocation, upon their humble desire, shall have licence under Our Broad Seal, to deliberate of, and to do all such things, as being made plain by them, and assented to by Us, shall concern the settled continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church



Church of England established; from which we shall not endure any variation or departing in the least degree. That for the present, though some differences have been ill raised, we take comfort in this, that all Clergie-men within Our Realm have alwaies most willingly subscribed to the Articles established, which is an Argument to Us, that they all agree in the true usual literal meaning of the said Articles, and that even in those curious Points, in which the present differences lye, men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of England to be for them; which is an argument again, that none of them intend any desertion of the Articles established. That therefore in these both curious and unhappy differences which have for many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, we will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in Gods Promises, as they be generally set forth unto Us in holy Scriptures; and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either Print or Preach to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: And shall not put his own sense or Coment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and Grammatical sense. That if any Publick Reader in either Our Universities, or any Head or Master of a Colledge, or any other person respectively in either of them, shall affix any new sense to any Article, or shall publickly read, determine, or hold any publick Disputation, or suffer any such to be held either way, in either the Universities or Colledges respectively; or if any Divine in the Universities shall Preach or Print any thing either way, other than is established in Convocation with Our Royal Assent: He, or they, the Offenders, shall be liable to Our displeasure, and the Churches Censure in Our Commission Ecclesiastical, as well as any other: and we will see there shall be due execution upon them.

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No sooner were the Articles published with this Declaration, but infinite were the clamours which were raised against it by those of the Calvinian Party. Many exclaimed against it for the depths of Satan, some for a Jesuitical Plot to subvert the Gospel: For what else could it aim at (as they gave it out) but under colour of silencing the disputes on either side, to give encouragement and opportunity to Arminians here to sow their wars, and propagate their erroneous Doctrines. And what effects could it produce, but the suppressing of all Orthodox Books, the discouraging of all godly and painful Ministers, thereby deterred from preaching the most comfortable Doctrines of mans election unto life; The Arminians in the mean time gathering strength, and going on securely to the end they aimed at. And to give the better colour to these suspicions, a Letter is dispersed abroad, pretended to be written to the Rector of the Jesuites in Bruxells the chief City of Brabant. In which the Writers lets him know, with what care and cunning they had planted here that Sovereign drug Arminianism, which they hoped would purge

the



PART I.

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Cant. Doom,

the Protestants from their *Heresies*, and that it did begin to flourish and bear fruit already; That for the better preventing of the Puritans, the *Arminians* had lockt up the Dukes ears, &c. with much of the like impudent stuff, which no sober man did otherwise look on than a piece of *Gullery*. Upon which grounds, a Petition was designed for his Sacred Majesty, by some of the *Calvinian* Party in and about the City of *London*, "For the revoking of the said Declaration, by which they were deterred (as the matter was handled) from preaching the *saving* Doctrines of Gods *Free Grace* in *Election* and *Predestination*: And this (say they) had brought them into a very great straight; either of incurring Gods heavy displeasure, if they did not faithfully discharge their Embassage in declaring the *whole Counsel* of God; or the danger of being censured as violaters of his Majesties said Act, if they preacht those constant Doctrines of our Church, and confuted the opposite *Pelagian* and *Arminian Heresies*, both preached and Printed boldly without fear of censure. And thereupon they pray on their bended knees, that his gracious Majesty would take into his Princely consideration the forenamed Evils and Grievances under which they groaned, and, as a wise Physician, prescribe and apply such speedy Remedies as may both cure the present Maladies, and secure the peace of Church and Commonwealth, from all those Plagues which their Neighbours had not a little felt, and more may fear if the Council of his Majesties Father to the States of the United Provinces were not better followed.

Manuscript  
Narrat. of  
Parl. 1628.

But this Petition being stopt before it came to the King, they found more countenance from the Commons, in the next Parliamentary meeting, than they were like to have found at the hands of his Majesty. For the Commons conceiving they had power to declare Religion as well as Law, (and they had much alike in both) they voted this Anti-Declaration to be published in the name of that House: *viz.* "We the Commons now assembled in Parliament, do claim, profess, and avow for truth the sense of the Articles of Religion which were established in Parliament the thirteenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, which by the publick Acts of the Church of *England* and the general and currant exposition of the Writers of our Church have been delivered to us, and we reject the sense of the *Jesuites*, *Arminians*, and all others wherein they differ from us. Which Declaration of the Commons, as it gave great animation to those of the *Calvinian* Party, who entertained it with the like ardency of affection, as those of *Ephesus* did the Image of *DIANA* which fell down from heaven; so gave it great matter of discourse to most knowing men. The Points were intricate and weighty, such as in all Ages of the Church had exercised the wits of the greatest Scholars. Those which had taken on them to declare for truth that which they took to be the sense and meaning of the



the Articles, in those intricate Points, were at the best no other than a company of Lay Persons, met together on another occasion ; who, though they might probably be supposed for the wisest men, could not in reason be relied on as the greatest Clerks. And therefore it must needs be looked on as a kind of *Prodigie*, that men unqualified, and no way authorized for any such purpose, should take upon them to determine in such weighty matters, as were more proper for a National or Provincial Council : But being it proceeded from the House of Commons, whose power began to grow more formidable every day than other, no body durst adventure a Reply unto it ; till *Land* himself, by whose procurement his Majesties Declaration had been published, laying aside the Dignity of his Place and Person, thought fit to make some *Scholia's*, or short notes upon it. Which not being published at that time in Print ( for ought I have either heard or seen ) but found in the rifling of his Study amongst the rest of his Papers, I shall present unto the Reader in these following words :

And first ( saith he ) the Publick Acts of the Church in matters of Doctrine are Canons and Acts of Councils, as well for expounding as determining ; The Acts of the High Commission are not in this sense Publick Acts of the Church, nor the meeting of a few or more Bishops Extra Concilium unless they be by lawful Authority called to that work, and their decision approved by the Church. Secondly, The currant Exposition of Writers is a strong probable argument, *De sensu Canonis Ecclesiae vel Articuli* ; yet but probable : The currant Exposition of the Fathers themselves have sometimes missed *Sensum Ecclesiae*. Thirdly, will you reject all sense of Jesuite or Arminian ? May not some be true ? May not some be agreeable to our Writers, and yet in a way that is stronger than ours to confirm the Article ? Fourthly, Is there by this Act any Interpretation made or declared of the Articles or not ? If none, to what end the Act ? If a sense or interpretation be declared, what Authority have Lay-men to make it ? For interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have power to make it. Fifthly, It is manifest there is a sense declared by the House of Commons, the Act saies it, ( We avow the Article, and in that sense, and all other that agree not with us in the aforesaid sense, we reject ( these, and these go about misinterpretation of a sense ; Ergo, there is a Declaration of a sense ; yea, but it is not a new sense declared by them, but they avow the old sense declared by the Church ) the publick Authentick Acts of the Church, &c. ) yea, but if there be no such publick Authentick Acts of the Church, then here is a sense of their own declared under the pretexts of it. Sixthly, It seems against the Kings Declaration, 1. That says, we shall take the general meaning of the Articles : This Act restrains them to consent of Writers. 2. That says, The Articles shall not be drawn aside any way, but that we shall take it in the literal and Grammatical sense : This Act ties us to consent of Writers, which may, and perhaps do, go against the literal sense ; for here is no exception,

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PART I. exception; so we shall be perplexed, and our consent required to things  
*Anno Dom.* contrary. Seventhly, All consent in all Ages, as far as I have obser-  
 1628. ved, to an Article or Canon, is to it self as it is laid down in the body of  
 it, and if it bear more senses than one, it is lawful for any man to chuse  
 what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense secundum  
 Analogiam fidei, and that he hold it peaceably without distracting the  
 Church, and this till the Church that made the Article determine a  
 sense: And the wisdom of the Church hath been in all Ages, or in  
 most, to require consent to Articles in General, as much as may be,  
 because that is the way of unity; and the Church in high points  
 requiring assent to particulars, hath been rent; as De Transubstantia-  
 tione, &c.

It is reported of *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, Sirnamed the *wise*, that  
 he used many times to say (never the ~~wise~~ <sup>wise</sup> for so saying) That if  
 he had stood at God Almightyes Elbow when he made the world,  
 he would have put him in mind of some things which had been for-  
 gotten, or otherwise might have been better ordered than they were.  
 And give me leave to say, with as little wisdom, (though with no  
 such blasphemy) that if I had stood at his Lordships Elbow when  
 he made these *Scholia's*, I would have put him in mind of returning  
 an answer to that Clause of the said Declaration, in which it is af-  
 firmed, *That the Articles of Religion were established in Parliament in*  
*the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth.* But I would fain know of them  
 whether the Parliament they speake of, or any other since or before  
 that time, did take upon them to confirm *Articles of Religion*, agreed  
 on by the Clergy in their Convocations, or that they appointed any  
*Committee for Religion* to examine the Orthodoxie of those Articles,  
 and make report unto the House. All which was done in that Par-  
 liament was this, and on this occasion. Some Ministers of the  
 Church so stiffly wedded to their old *Mumfimus* of the Mass; and  
 some as furiously prosecuting their new *Sumpsimus* of *inconformity*, it  
 was thought fit that between those contending parties, the Doctrine  
 of the Church should be kept inviolate. And thereupon it was  
 Enacted, That every person under the degree of a Bishop, which  
 did or should pretend to be a Priest or Minister of Gods holy Word  
 and Sacraments in the Church of *England*, should before *Christmasts*  
 next following, in the presence of his Diocesan Bishop, testifie his  
 assent and subscribe to the said Articles of the year 1562. Secondly,  
 That after such subscribing before the Bishop, he should on some  
 Sunday in the Forenoon in the Church or Chappel where he served,  
 in time of Divine Service read openly the said Articles, on pain of  
 being deprived of all his Ecclesiastical Promotions as if he were then  
 naturally dead. Thirdly, That if any Ecclesiastical person should  
 maintain any Doctrine contrary to any of the said Articles, and be-  
 ing Convented before his Bishop, &c. and should persist therein, it  
 should be just cause to deprive such person of his Ecclesiastical  
 Promoti-



Promotions. Fourthly, That all persons to be admitted to any Benefice with cure, should likewise subscribe to the said Articles, and publickly read the same in the open Church, within two months after their Induction, with declaration of their unfeigned assent to the same, on the pain aforesaid. In all which there was nothing done to confirm these Articles, but only a pious care expressed for reformation of such disorders as were like to rise amongst the Ministers of the Church by requiring their subscription and assent unto them under such temporal punishments, which at that time the Canons of the Church had not laid upon them.

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But it is time to leave these follies of my own, and return to our Bishop, who had thus seasonably manifested both his Zeal and Judgment in reference to the peace of the Church in general; nor shewed he less in reference to the peace of that Universitie, which had the happiness and honour of his Education. The Proctorship had before been carried by a combination of some houses against the rest; the weaker side calling in strangers and non-residents to give voyces for them. For remedie whereof a Letter in another year was procured from the Earl of *Pembroke*, then Chancellour of that University, by which it was declared, that only such as were actually Residents should be admitted to their Suffrages in the said Elections; which Letter was protested against by the *Proctors* for the year 1627. as knowing how destructive it was of their plot and party: And on the other side, such Colledges as had many Chapellries, and other places, which were removable at pleasure, invested many which came out of the Country in the said Offices and Places one after another, thereby admitting them for the time into actual residence. In which estate things stood when the great competition was, *April 23. 1628.* betwixt *Williamson* of *Magdalens*, and *More* of *New-Colledge* on the one side, and *Bruch* of *Brazen-nose*, with *Lloyd* of *Jesus Colledge* on the other side. These last pretending foul play to be offered to them (as indeed it was not very fair) made their appeal unto the King; before whom the proceedings being heard and examined, *Williamson* and *Lloyd* were returned *Proctors* for that year, the last pretending Kindred to the *Dutchess of Buckingham*. And to prevent the like disorders for the time to come, it was resolved by the King, with the Advice of his Council, but of *Land* especially, that the *Proctors* should from thenceforth be chosen by their severall Colledges, each Colledge having more or fewer turns, according to the number and greatness of their Foundations. To which end a *Cycle* was devised, containing a perpetual Revolution of three and twenty years, within which Latitude of time, *Christ-Church* was to enjoy six *Proctors*, *Magdalen* five, *New-Colledge* foure, *Merton*, *All-Souls*, *Exeter*, *Brazen-Nose*, *St. Johns*, and *Wadham* Colledges to have three a piece; *Trinity*, *Queens*, *Oriel*, and *Corpus Christi* to have only two; the rest, that is to say, *University*, *Baliol*, *Lincoln*, *Jesus*, and *Pembroke*, but one alone; which *Cycle* was so contrived,



PART I. contrived, that every Colledge knew their turn before it came, and  
*Anno Dom.* did accordingly resolve on the fittest man to supply the place. And  
 1628. for the more peaceable ordering of such other matters in the  
 University, as had relation thereunto, some Statutes were digested  
 by *Laud*, and recommended by the King to the said University, where  
 they were chearfully received, without contradiction, and Entred  
 on Record in the Publick Registers in *December* following. Yet was  
 not this the only good turn which that University received from him  
 in this Year: For in the two Months next ensuing, he procured no  
 fewer than 260 *Greek Manuscripts* to be given unto the Publick Li-  
 brary; that is to say, 240 of them by the Munificence of the Earl  
 of *Pembroke*, and 20 by the Bounty of Sir *Thomas Row*, then newly  
 returned from his Negotiations in the Eastern parts.

And now the time of the next Parliamentary Meeting, which by  
 divers Adjournments had been put off till the twentieth of *January*,  
 was neer at hand. And that the Meeting might be more agreeable to  
 his Intendments, his Majesty was advised to smoothe and prepare his  
 way unto it, first by removing of some Rubs, and after by some popu-  
 lar Acts of <sup>Grace</sup> and Favour. *Savill* of *Yorkshire*, a busie man in the  
 House of Commons, but otherwise a politick and prudent Person,  
 he had taken off at the end of the former Parliament, by making  
 him one of his Privy Council, and preferring him to be Comptrol-  
 ler of his Household, in the place of *Suckling* then deceased; and at  
 the end of the last Session had raised him to the honour of Lord *Sa-  
 vill* of *Pontfract*. Competitor with *Savill* in all his Elections for  
 that County, had been Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Wentworth Wood-  
 house*, a man of most prodigious Parts, which he had made use of  
 at first in favour of the Popular Faction, and for refusing of the *Loan*  
 had been long imprisoned. He looked on the Preferments of *Savill*  
 (his old Adversary) with no small disdain, taking himself to be, as  
 indeed he was, as much above him in Revenue, as in Parts and Pow-  
 er. To sweeten and demulce this man, Sir *Richard Weston* then Lord  
 Treasurer, created afterwards Earl of *Portland*, used his best endea-  
 vours; and having gained him to the King, not only procured him  
 to be one of his Majesties Privy Council, but to be made Lord *Pre-  
 sident* of the *North*, and advanc'd unto the Title of *Viscount Went-  
 worth*; by which he over-topped the *Savills* both in Court and  
 Country. Being so gained unto the King, he became the most de-  
 vout Friend of the Church, the greatest Zealot for advancing the  
*Monarchical* Interest, and the ablest Minister of State both for Peace  
 and War, that any of our former Histories have afforded to us. He  
 had not long frequented the Council-Table, when *Laud* and he, com-  
 ing to a right understanding of one another, entred into a League of  
 such inviolable Friendship, that nothing but the inevitable stroke of  
 Death could part them; and joining hearts and hands together, co-  
 operated from thenceforth for advancing the Honour of the Church,  
 and his Majesties Service.

These



These Matters being carried thus, to assure himself of two such Persons, in which he very much pleased himself, his Majesty must do something also to please the People; and nothing was conceived could have pleased them more, than to grant them their desires in matters which concerned Religion, and bestow Favours upon such men as were dear unto them. In pursuance of his gracious Answer to the Lords and Commons, touching Priests and Jesuits, the growth of *Popery*, and obstinacy of Recusants, he had caused his Proclamation to be issued on the third of *August*, for putting the Laws and Statutes made against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, in due Execution: And now he adds another to it, dated on the eleventh day of *December*, for the Apprehension of *Richard Smith* a *Popish Priest*, styling and calling himself the Bishop of *Chalcedon*, a dangerous man, and one who under colour of a Foreign Title, exercised all manner of Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Church of *England*. And on the other side, Archbishop *Abbot*, a great Confident of the Popular Party in the House of Commons, is sent for to the Court about *Christmas*, and from out of his Barge received by the Archbishop of *York* and the Earl of *Dorset*, by them accompanied to the King, who giving him his Hand to kiss, enjoined him not to fail the *Council-Table* twice a week. And so far all was well, beyond all exception; but whether it were so in the two next also, hath been much disputed. *Barnaby Potter*, *Provost* of *Queens Colledge* in *Oxon*. a thorow-pac'd *Calvinian* (but otherwise his ancient Servant) is preferr'd to the Bishoprick of *Carlisle*, then vacant by the Translation of *White* to the See of *Norwich*. *Mountague's Book*, named *Appello Cesarem*, must be called in also; not in regard of any false Doctrine contained in it: but, for being the first cause of those Disputes and Differences which have since much troubled the quiet of the Church; His Majesty hoping, That the occasion being taken away, men would no longer trouble themselves with such unnecessary Disputations. Whether his Majesty did well in doing no more, if the Book contained any false Doctrine in it; or in doing so much, if it were done only to please the Parliament, I take not upon me to determine: But certainly, it never falleth out well with Christian Princes, when they make Religion bend to Policy, or think to gain their ends on men by doing such things as they are not plainly guided to by the Light of Conscience, And so it hapned to his Majesty at this present time; those two last Actions being looked on only as Tricks of King-craft, done only out of a design for getting him more love in the hearts of his People than before he had. Against the calling in of *Mountague's Book*, it was objected commonly to his disadvantage, That it was not done till three years after it came out, till it had been questioned in three several Parliaments, till all the Copies of it were dispersed and sold; and then too, That it was called in without any Censure either of the Author or his Doctrines; That the Author had been punished with a very

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Hist. of K.  
Charles.



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(a) *Inviso  
semel princi-  
pe cum bene  
facta, cum  
male facta  
premiunt.*  
Tacit. Hist.

good Bishoprick, and the Book seemingly discountenanced, to no other end but to divert those of contrary perswasion from Writing or Acting any thing against it in the following Parliament. And as for *Potter*, what could he have done less in common gratitude, than to prefer him to a Bishoprick, for so many years Service as *Potter* in his time had done him both as Prince and King. So true is that of the wise Historian, (a) *when Princes once are in discredit with their Subjects, as well their good Actions as their bad are all accounted Grievances.*

For notwithstanding all these preparatory actions, the Commons were resolved to begin at the same Point where before they ended. The Parliament had been Prorogued as they were hammering a Remonstrance against *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which animated *Chambers*, *Rouls*, and some other Merchants, to refuse the payment; for which refusal some of their Goods was seised by Order from the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, and some of them committed Prisoners by the Kings Command. These matters so possessed their thoughts, that a week was passed before they could resume their old care of Religion; or think of Petitioning his Majesty for a Publick Fast: but at last they fell upon them both. To their Petition for a Fast (not tendered to his Majesty till the thirtieth of *January*) he returned this Answer the next day, *viz.* That this Custom of Fasts at every Session was but lately begun; That he was not so fully satisfied of the necessity of it at this time; That notwithstanding, for the avoiding of Questions and Jealousies, he was pleased to grant them their Request, with this *Proviso*, That it should not hereafter be brought into President but on great occasions: And finally, That as for the form and times thereof he would advise with his Bishops, and then return unto both Houses a particular Answer. But so long it was before that Answer came unto them, and so perverse were they in crossing with his Majesties Counsels, that the Parliament was almost ended before the Fast was kept in *London* and *Westminster*, and dissolved many days before it was to have been kept in the rest of the Kingdom. And for Religion, they insisted on it with such importunity, that his Majesty could no longer dissemble his taking notice of it, as a meer artifice and diversion to stave him off from being gratified in the Grant of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which he so often press'd them to. And thereupon he lets them know, *That he understood the cause of their delay in his business to be Religion, of the preservation whereof none of them should have greater care than himself; and that either it must be an Argument he wanted Power to preserve it (which he thought no body would affirm) or at the least, That he was very ill counselled, if it were in so much danger as they had reported.*

This notwithstanding, they proceed in their former way. His Majesty had granted several Pardons to *Mountague*, *Cosens*, *Manwaring*, and *Sibthorp*, before-mentioned. These Pardons must be questioned,



tioned, and the men summoned to appear: And Information is LIB. III.  
 preferred by *Jones* against *Mountague's* Confirmation in the See of *Ghichester*, which after many disputes is referred to a Select Com- Anno Dom. 1628.  
 mittee. Complaint is made against *Neile* Bishop of *Winton*.   
 for saying to some Divines of his Diocess, *That they must not Preach*  
*against Papists now, as they had done formerly.* *Marshall* and  
*Moor*, two Doctors in Divinity (but such as had received some dis-  
 pleasures from him) are brought in to prove it. Upon him also it  
 was charged, That the Pardons of *Mountague* and *Cosens* were of his  
 procuring: Insomuch that *Eliot* pronounced positively, *That all the*  
*Dangers which they feared, were contracted in the person of that Bi-*  
*shop;* and thereupon desired, *That a Motion might be made to his*  
*Majesty to leave him to the Justice of that House.* Many Reports come  
 flowing in to the Committee for Religion, of turning Tables into  
 Altars, adoring towards or before them, and standing up at the  
 Gospels and the *Gloria Patri*, which must be also taken into conside-  
 ration. The Articles of *Lambeth* are declared to be the Doctrines  
 of this Church, and all that did oppose them to be called in questi-  
 on. *Walker* delivered a Petition from the Booksellers and Printers,  
 in complaint of the Restraint of Books written against *Popery* and  
*Arminianism*; and the contrary allowed of, by the only means of  
 the Bishop of *London*; and, That divers of them had been *Purse-*  
*vanted* for Printing of *Orthodox Books*; and, That the Licencing of  
 Books was only to be restrained to the said Bishop and his Chaplains.  
 Hereupon followed a Debate amongst them about the Licencing of  
 Books, which having taken up some time, was referred to the  
 Committee also, as the other was. By these Emb<sup>arras</sup> ~~arras~~ the  
 Committee for Religion had Work enough, more than they knew  
 how to turn their hands to. But before they could bring any thing  
 to perfection, his Majesty was so exasperated by their rigorous Pro-  
 ceedings against the Farmers of his Customs, the Imprisoning of  
*Acton* Sheriff of *London*, their Voting down his Right to *Tonnage*  
 and *Poundage*, and their threatening Speeches against the Lord Treas-  
 urer *Weston*, whom he highly favoured; That on the second of  
*March* he Adjourned the House, and on the tenth of the same  
 Month Dissolved the Parliament. At which Adjournment some of  
 the Members carried themselves in such an undutiful (I must not say  
 a seditious) manner, that they locked up the Doors of the House,  
 put the Keys into one of their Pockets, excluded the Kings Messen-  
 ger from coming in to deliver his Errand, compelled the Speaker to  
 return to his Chair, and held him there by strong hand, till they had  
 thundred out their *Anathema's*, not only against such as should dare  
 to Levy the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, but those also who should wil-  
 lingly pay it, before it had been granted by Act of Parliament; for  
 which Contempts and Disobediciencies, the principal Sticklers were  
 convented by the Lords of the Council, and after brought before  
 the Justices of his Majesties Bench, by whom they were not only  
 fined,



PART I. fined, but committed unto several Prisons, notwithstanding all they  
*Anno Dom.* could pretend or plead from the *Petition of Right*, which they so  
 1628. much stood on. So hard a thing it is to finde a cord so strong as to  
 bind the Prerogative, when Kings have either Power or Will to make  
 use thereof.

1629. During this last Parliament, *Leighton*, a *Scot* by birth, a Doctor of  
 Physick by Profession, a fiery *Puritan* in Faction, dedicated a most  
 pestilent Book unto them called *Sions Plea*: In this Book he incited  
 them to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fifth Rib; in-  
 veighing also against the *Queen*, whom he branded by the name of an  
*Idolatress*, a *Canaanite*, and the Daughter of *Heth*. And that this  
 general Doctrine might not be Preached without a particular Appli-  
 cation, a Paper was cast into the yard belonging to the House of  
 the Dean of *St. Pauls*, March 2. to this effect; viz. "Laud look to  
 thy self; be assured thy Life is sought, as thou art the fauterer of  
 all Wickedness: Repent thee, repent thee of thy monstrous sins,  
 before thou be taken out of the World, &c. And assure thy self,  
 neither God nor the World can indure such a vile Counsellor to  
 live, or such a Whisperer. Another was found at the same time  
 and place against the Lord Treasurer, who now is made the Scape-  
 Goat, to bear all those faults in Civil Matters which formerly had  
 been imputed to the Duke of *Buckingham*. It was no need to bid  
 them have a care of themselves, after two such Warnings: *Leigh-  
 ton* is therefore brought into the *Star-Chamber* as soon as he could be  
 apprehended, where he was Sentenced to have his Ears cropp'd, his  
 Nose slit, his Forehead stigmatized, and to be whipped: But be-  
 tween the Sentence and Execution he made his escape out of the  
*Fleet*, though by better hap to the *warden*, than to himself, he was  
 retaken in *Bedfordshire*, and underwent the punishment appointed for  
 him; but this hapned not till November 29. 1630. The rest of  
 this Year (in reference to our present Story) was of little Action,  
*Laud* falling into a burning Fever on the fourteenth of *August*, at the  
 House of *Windebank* his old Friend, by which he was brought to  
 such a low and weak estate, that he was not able to reach to his own  
 House till *October* 20. nor to put himself into the Service of his Place  
 till the end of *March*. Yet such was the Activeness of his Spirit,  
 that though his Body was infirm, yet his Thoughts were working.  
 He saw the Church decaying both in Power and Patrimony: Her  
 Patrimony dilapidated by the Avarice of several Bishops, in ma-  
 king havock of their Woods to enrich themselves; and more than  
 so, in filling up their Grants and Leases to the utmost term, after  
 they had been nominated to some other Bishoprick, to the great  
 wrong of their Successors. Her Power he found diminished partly  
 by the Bishops themselves, in leaving their Diocesses unregarded,  
 and living altogether about *Westminster*, to be in a more ready way  
 for the next Preferment; partly by the great increase of Chaplains  
 in the Houses of many private Gentlemen: but chiefly by the mul-  
 titude

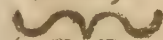


titute of Irregular Lecturers, both in City and Country, whose work it was to undermine as well the Doctrine as the Government of it. For the preventing of such mischiefs as might hence ensue, some Conference had passed betwixt him and *Harsnet*, who lately had succeeded *Mountain* (before he had half warmed his Chair) in the See of *York*; and certain Considerations were resolved upon to be propounded to the King, for the peace and well-ordering of the Church; which being reduced into form, and by *Land* presented to his Majesty, were first signed by his Majesties Royal Hand, and published in *December* following by the Title of *His Majesties Instructions to the most Reverend Father in God George Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, containing certain Orders to be observed and put in execution by the several Bishops in his Province: Which said Instructions were as followeth*

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## CHARLES REX.

- I. That the Lords the Bishops be commanded to their several Sees, there to keep Residence; excepting those which are at necessary Attendance at Court.
- II. That none of them Reside upon his Land or Lease that he hath Purchased, nor on his Commendam, if he hold any; but in one of his Episcopal Houses, if he have any such: And that he waste not the Woods where any are left.
- III. That they give Charge in their Triennial Visitations, and at other convenient times, both by themselves and their Arch-Deacons, That the Declaration for settling all Questions in difference, be strictly observed by all Parties.
- IV. That there be a special Care taken by them all, That their Ordinations be Solemn, and not of unworthy Persons.
- V. That they take great Care concerning the Lecturers in their several Diocesses, for whom we give these Special Directions following.
  1. That in all Parishes the afternoon Sermons be turned into Catechising by Question and Answer, where and whensoever there is not some great cause apparent to break this ancient and profitable Order.
  2. That every Bishop Ordain in his Diocess, That every Lecturer do read Divine Service according to the Liturgy Printed by Authority, in his Surplice, and before the Lecture.
  3. That where a Lecture is set up in a Market-Town, it may be Read by a Company of Grave and Orthodox Divines near adjoining, and in the same Diocess; and that they Preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks, as too many do use.
  4. That if a Corporation do maintain a single Lecturer, he be not suffered to Preach till he profess his willingness to take upon



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upon him a Living with Cure of souls, within that incorporation, and that he do actually take such Benefice or Cure so soon as the same shall be fairely procured for him.

- VI. That the Bishops do incourage and countenance the grave and Orthodox Divines of their Clergy, and that they use all means by some of their Clergy, or others, that they have knowledge how both Lecturers and Preachers within their Diocesses behave themselves in their Sermons, that so they may take order for any abuse accordingly.
- VII. That the Bishop suffer none under Noblemen, and men qualified by the Law, to have any private Chaplain in his house.
- VIII. That they take especial care, that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for the Prayers and Catechism, as Sermons; and take particular notice of all such as absent themselves as Recusants, or otherwise.
- IX. That every Bishop, who by Our Grace and Favour, and good opinion of his Service, shall be nominated by Us to another Bishoprick, shall not from that day of nomination presume to make any Lease for three Lives, or one and twenty years, or Concurrent Lease, or any way renew any Estate, or cut any wood or timber, but meerly to receive the Rents due, and so quit the place; For we think it a hateful thing that any mans leaving the Bishoprick should almost undo his Successor. And if any man shall presume to break this Order, we will refuse him at Our Royal Assent, and keep him at the place which he hath so abused.
- X. And lastly, We command you to give Us an account every year on the second of January of the performance of these Our Commands.

The Reader may think strange that in the second of these Instructions we should find any Bishop under a supposition of having no Episcopal house for his habitation; concerning which he is to know that the Bishops of *Oxon* at that time had no house left belonging to their Episcopal See, either in the City, or in the Country: but dwelt at their Parsonage houses which they held in *commendam*, as before Dr. Bridges, who had no *commendam* within the Diocess, did for the most part in hired houses. For though at the foundation of the Bishoprick of *Oxon*, in the Abbey of *Oseney* the King appointed *Glocester* Hall for the Bishops Palace; yet when that foundation was dissolved, and the Bishops See removed to *Christ Church*, the Grant of *Glocester* Hall was dissolved also. The Bishops thereupon retired to some Country house within the Diocess, which appertained unto them in the right of their See, as long as any of their Mannours, Land, and Houses were left unsould. But they being finally made a prey to the Lust and Sacriledge of some great persons, they have since lived for the most part in hired houses, or on their *Commendams* (if they had any such) within their Diocesses, till the year



1632. when Dr. *John Bancroft* was made Bishop of *Oxon*, who L I B. III. Anno Dom. 1629. having at or about that time obtained of the King that the Vicaridge of *Cudsdon*, about five miles from *Oxon*, being of his own proper Patronage and Donation, might be annexed for ever unto his Episcopal See, built there at the perswasion of our Bishop of *London*, a very fair and convenient house, with a decent Chappel thereunto, to be the ordinary dwelling place of himself, and his Successors. But the house proved almost as short lived as the Founder, being burned down by Collonel *Leg*, during the short time that he was Governour of *Oxon*, for fear it might be made a Garrison by the Parliament Forces; though with as much reason, and more piety, he might have garrisoned it for the King, and preserved the house.

But to proceed, No sooner were these *Instructions* come to the hands of Archbishop *Abbot*, but they were presently dispersed, and communicated to the Suffragan Bishops. In this he acted only *Ministerially*, and durst do no otherwise, but when he came to act *Authoritatively*, in his own capacity he betrayed the cause; he neither liked the third Instruction for observing his Majesties Declaration before the Articles, that being looked on as an Artifice to bring in *Arminianism*. Nor was he pleased with any of the Limitations concerning *Lecturers*, to whom (as the chief sticklers in the *Puritan Cause*) he was alwaies favourable; which last affection he was so unable to conceal, that when the *Dean* and *Archdeacon* of *Canterbury* had suspended *Palmer* and *Udny*, two of the *Lecturers* in that Diocess, Cant. Doom, p. 513. whom they found obstinately inconformable to the Kings Directions; He restored them not long after to their several Lectures, inhibiting the Archdeacon from his Jurisdiction, and exposing all that Acted in it to contempt and scorn. And if an Archbishop could be so unsatisfied for putting these Instructions into execution, as his place required, there is no question to be made, but various descants and reports would be raised upon them by most sorts of People. The Country Gentlemen took it ill to be deprived of the liberty of keeping Chaplains in their houses, from which they had not been debarred by the Laws of the Land. The Laws indeed had taken order, that no persons under the Degree of a Baron, (some Judges and great Offices excepted only) should qualifie any of their Chaplains for a dispensation to hold more than one Benefice with *Cure of Soules*, or to be dispensed with for not residing on such Cures as they were preferred to. And they had taken order how many Chaplains every such person, according to his Rank and Degree in the *Scale* of Nobility, should be enabled to qualifie to those ends and purposes: but otherwise all persons had been left at liberty to keep as many as they would, and as long as they pleased, without any comptrull. Nor were the Chaplains better pleased than their Masters were. For having lived upon hard commons, and perhaps under some smart Discipline also in their Halls and Colledges, they thought that they had spent their studies to good purpose by finding



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ease and a full belly in these Gentlemens houses, from whom there was some possibility of preferment also, which better Scholars then themselves might have otherwise hoped for. Such of the Bishops as were possessed of the poorer Bishopricks were as much troubled as the other, and thought it the worst kind of banishments to be confined unto the Country; complaining privately, that now the Court-Bishops had served their own turns upon the King, they cared not what miseries their poor brethren were exposed unto; who if they were constrained to live in their Episcopal houses, or in any other place within their Diocesses, must be constrained also to keep up such a Port, and maintain such open Hospitality as their Revenues could not bear. Nor was it thought a less injury to them, that they could not make the best of their time, but were required to be good husbands for another man, who was to enjoy the place which they were to leave; when they were fain to take it as it came to their hands, without any prevention going before, or satisfaction following after.

But greater were the clamours of the *Puritan* Faction, reviving all, which had been made against the like Instructions in the time of King *James*, and the late Declaration published by the King reigning. For what less could be aimed at in them than suppressing the Divine Ordinance of Preaching, or at the least, a dreadful diminution of the number of Sermons; And what could follow thereupon, but negligence in the Priests, ignorance in the People, *Popery* and Superstition in the mean time gaining ground on both. Spending the afternoons in teaching the Catechism was a work fitter for a *Pedagogue* than a preaching Minister, who rather were ordained to provide *strong meats* for men, than *milk* for babes; and yet such was the strictness of the said *Instructions*, in looking to the observance of the late *Declaration*, that they were not suffered to set *strong meats* before the people, though men of ripe years, and somewhat more than children in their understandings. Preaching must be restrained hereafter to Gods Will revealed, to Faith in Christ, and Moral duties toward God and men: but as for his secret Will and Purpose in the unfathomable depths of *Predestination*, those must be kept sealed up under lock and key, and none but the *Arminians* have the opening of them. And yet the grief had been the less if *Lecturers* had been left to their former liberty, and not tied up to *Gown* and *Surplice*, or fettered with *Parochial* cures, and consequently with Subscriptions and Canonical Oaths; badges of Antichrist, and professed enemies to the pure Freedom of the Gospel. Where might a man repair with comfort to hear Gods Word preached in truth and simplicity, the Sacraments administred in their original nakedness; to hear Christ speaking in his Prophets, and the Prophets speaking to the People if this world went on? But notwithstanding these secret Murmurs on the one side, and the open Clamours of the other, *Land* was resolved to do his duty, who summoning all the

Ministers



*Ministers and Lecturers* about the City of *London* to appear before him, made a solemn Speech, in which he pressed the necessity of his Majesties said *Instructions* for the good of the Church, and of their chearful obedience to them; He directed Letters also to every Archdeacon in his Diocess requiring them to see them published to all the Clergy, and to give him an exact account at the end of their Visitations how they were observed; especially insisting on the third Instruction, *For keeping the Kings Declaration, that so the differences and disputes in those prohibited points might be laid aside.* The like care taken also by the rest of the Bishops, but slackning by degrees when the heat was over; and possibly in short time after they had not been looked into at all, if *Abbot* had continued longer in the See of *Canterbury*: or that his Majesty had not enjoined the Bishops to give him an exact account of their proceedings in the said particulars, not once for all, but Annually once in every year, on the second of *January*. Which care being taken for the peace and happiness of the Church of *England*, we will lay hold upon this opportunity for crossing over into *Ireland*, and taking a short view of the state of Religion in that Country; which from henceforth shall be lookt into more than hath been formerly.

Concerning which we are to know, that when the Reformation was advanced in the Church of *England*, the first care was to let the people have the Bible, the publick Liturgie, and certain godly Homilies in the English tongue; as appeareth by the Statutes 2,3. *Edw. vi. 5,6. Edw. vi. and 1 Eliz.* Secondly, The like care was taken of the *welch*; For whose Instruction it was further ordered, partly by the Queen, and partly by Act of Parliament, in the fifth of her Reign, that as well the Bible as the Common-Prayer Book should be Translated, Printed, and Published in that Language; one Book of each sort to be provided for every severall Church at the Charge of the Parish. Which being Printed at the first in the large Church-Volume, was afterwards reduced to a more portable bulk for Domestical uses by the cost and charge of *Rowland Heylyn*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, about the beginning of the Reign of this King. But for *Ireland* no such care was taken. The Acts of the Supremacy, and of the Consecrations of Archbishops and Bishops were received there as before in *England*, the *English Liturgie* imposed on them by order from hence, and confirmed by Parliament in that Kingdom. Which notwithstanding not only the *Kernes*, or natural wild *Irish*, but many of the better sort of the Nation, either remain in their old barbarous ignorance, or else adhere unto the Pope, or finally to their own superstitious fancies, as in former times. And to say truth; it is no wonder that they should, there being no care taken to instruct them in the *Protestant* Religion, either by translating the Bible, or the *English Liturgy*, into their own Language, as was done in *wales*; but forcing them to come to the English Service, which they understood no more than they did the *Mass*. By means

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PART I. whereof the *Irish* are not only kept in continual ignorance, as to the  
*Anno Dom.* Doctrine and Devotions of the Church of *England*: but those of  
 1629. *Rome* are furnished with an excellent argument for having the Service  
 of the Church in a Language which the Common people understand  
 not. And though somewhat may be pleaded in excuse thereof, du-  
 ring the unquietness of that Kingdom under Queen *Elizabeth*, who  
 had the least part of it in her possession; yet no sufficient plea can be  
 made in defence of it for the time succeeding, when the whole  
 Country was reduced, and every part thereof lay open to the  
 course of Justice. So that I cannot look upon it without great  
 amazement, that none of the Bishops of that Church should take  
 care herein, or recommend the miserable condition of that people to  
 the Court of *England*.

Now as Popery continued by this means in the Realm of *Ireland*,  
 so *Calvinism* was as strongly rooted in that part thereof, which pro-  
 fessed the Doctrine and Religion of the Church of *England*. And  
 touching this we are to know also, that the *Calvinian* Doctrines  
 being propagated in both Universities by such Divines as lived in ex-  
 ile in Queen *Maries* time; one *Peter Baroe* a Frenchman obtained to  
 be the Lady *Margarets* Professor in the Divinity Schools at *Cam-*  
*bridge*. This man approving better the *Melanethonian* Doctrine of  
 Predestination than that of *Calvin*, publicly taught it in those  
 Schools, and gained in short time very many followers. *Whitaker*  
 was at that time her Majesties Professor for Divinity there, and *Per-*  
*kins* at the same time was of no small note, both *Calvinists* in these  
 points of Doctrine, and both of them *supralapsarians* also. Be-  
 twixt these men and *Baroe* there grew some disputes, which after-  
 wards begat some heats, and those heats brake out at last into  
 open *Factions*. Hereupon *Whitaker*, *Perkins*, *Chaderton*, and  
 others of the same opinion, thought it expedient to effect that by  
 power which they were not able to obtain by Argument. And to  
 that end Preoccupate the most Reverend Archbishop *Whitgift* with  
 most sad complaints touching the Rupture made by *Baroe* in that  
 University. For remedy whereof, the Archbishop calls unto him  
*Fletcher* the Lord Elect of *London*, *Vaughan* the Lord Elect of *Ban-*  
*gor*, *Tyndal* Dean of *Ely*, and such Divines as came from *Cambridge*,  
 who meeting at his house in *Lambeth* on the twenty sixth day of *No-*  
*vember*, Anno 1595. did then and there conclude upon certain  
 Articles, for regulating disputations in those points of Controver-  
 sie. Which Articles, being nine in number, are these that  
 follow:

- I. God from all eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life, certain  
 men he hath reprobated.
- II. The moving or efficient cause of Predestination unto life, is not the  
 foresight of Faith, or of perseverance, or of Good-works, or of any  
 thing that is in the person predestinated. but only the good will and  
 pleasure of God.
- III. There



- III. *There is predetermined a certain number of the Predestinate which can neither be augmented or diminished.* L I B. III.  
Anno Dom. 1629.
- IV. *Those who are not predestinated to salvation, shall be necessarily damned for their sins.*
- V. *A true living and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the Act either finally or totally.*
- VI. *A man truly faithful, that is, such a one who is endued with a justifying Faith, is certain with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.*
- VII. *Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men; by which they may be saved if they will.*
- VIII. *No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son.*
- IX. *It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.*

These Articles being brought to *Cambridge* so discouraged *Baroe*, that when the ordinary time of his publick readings was expired, he forsook that place, and not many years after died in *London*. His Funerall being attended (by order from Bishop *Bancroft*) by most of the Eminent Divines about that City, which shews that both the Bishop, and the most eminent Divines of *London*, were either inclinable to his opinions, or not so averse from them, as not to give a solemne attendance at the time of his Funeral. The news of which proceedings being brought to the Queen, she was exceedingly offended, conceiving it a deep intrenchment upon her Prerogative, that any such Declaration should be made in matter of Religion without her Authority. Once was she at a point to have them all indited of a *Premunire*, but the high esteem she had of *Whitgift*, whom she commonly called her *black husband*, reprieved all the rest from the danger of it. Howsoever such a strict course was taken for suppressing the said Articles, that a Copy of them was not to be found in *Cambridge* for a long time after; though after the Queens death they began to peep abroad again, and became more publick. Nor was King *James* better conceited of them than Queen *Elizabeth* was; for when it was moved by Dr *Reynolds* at *Hampton Court* that the nine *Orthodoxal Assertions* (as he pleased to call them) which were concluded on at *Lambeth* might be admitted into the confession of the Church of *England*, the King so much disliked the motion, that it was presently rejected without more ado. But that which the *Calvinians* could not get in *England* they effected at the last in *Ireland*; where the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of *England* had been less looked after than at home. For in the year 1615. a Parliament and Convocation being holden in *Dublin*, it was resolved on by the Archbishop, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy then assembled, that a Book of Articles should be framed to be the publick



PART I. Publick Confession of that Church for succeeding times; the drawing up whereof was committed to Doctor *James Usher* (afterwards  
*Anno Dom.* 1629. Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Lord *Primate of Ireland*) a Rigid Calvinist, but otherwise the ablest Scholar of that Nation: And he  
*Ushers Life,* accordingly fashioning the Doctrine for that Church by his own  
*p. 49.* Conceptions, inserted into the said Book of Articles the nine Conclusions made at *Lambeth*, to be the standing Rule (as he thought and hoped) of that Church for ever.

And yet they did not stay there neither. The *Sabbatarian* Doctrines had been broached by *Bownd* in the same year wherein the nine Articles had been made at *Lambeth*: Which being opposed by Archbishop *Whitgift*, and never admitted in this Church, were by the cunning of that Faction, and the zeal or diligence of this man, incorporated into the Body of the Articles for the Church of *Ireland*; in which it is declared for a Doctrinal Point, *That the first day of the Week, which is the Lords-day, is wholly to be dedicated to the Service of God; and therefore we are Bound therein to rest from our common and daily Business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy Exercises, both Publick and Private.* And because he concluded in himself that the *Pope* was *Antichrist*, that also must be made an Article of this Confession, in which we find it in these words, *viz. The Bishop of Rome is so far from being the Supream Head of the Universal Church, that his works and Doctrines do plainly discover him to be the Man of Sin, foretold in the Holy Scripture, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming.* Add hereunto, That the Plantation of the *Scots* in *Ulster* (unhappily projected in the time of King *James*) brought in so much *Puritanism*, such a contempt of Bishops, such a neglect of the Publick *Liturgie*, and other Divine Offices of this Church, that there was nothing less to be found amongst them than the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship established in the Church of *England*. The *Papists* in the mean time encreasing more and more, grew at the last to so great a confidence, by the clashings here in *England* betwixt the King and his Parliaments, that they gave themselves great hope of a *Toleration*: And possibly enough they might have obtained somewhat like it, if the *Irish* Bishops had not joined together in a *Protestation* to the contrary, and caused it to be published in the Pulpit by the Bishop of *Derry*, with infinite Acclamations of the *Protestant* Hearers. Howsoever, the lost hopes had so far emboldened them, that they set up some Religious Houses even in *Dublin* it self, shewed themselves openly in their Friars Habits, and publicly affronted not only the Mayor, but the Archbishop of that City. This coming to his Majesties knowledge, he caused his pleasure to be signified to the Lords of his Council, "That Order should  
 "be taken there, That the House where the said *Seminary Friars* ap-  
 "peared in their Habits, and wherein the Reverend Archbishop and  
 "the Mayor of *Dublin* received their first Affront, be speedily de-  
 "molished,



“molished, and be the Mark of Terrour to the Resisters of Authority; and that the rest of the Houses erected or employed there or elsewhere, to the use of Superstitious Societies, be converted to Houses of Correction, and to set the People on work, or to other Publick uses, for the Advancement of Justice, good Arts, or Trade. Which Order of the Council-Table bears date 31 January 1629.

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Anno Dom.

1630.

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That part of the *Remonstrance* of the House of Commons which related to the Affairs of *Ireland*, first alarm'd *Land* to take the Business of that Church into consideration. And that he might be the better informed in all Particulars which concerned it, he took order with Doctor *William Beadle*, designed unto the Bishoprick of *Killmore*, to give him an exact Account of the Estate of that Church, as soon as he could make any perfect Discovery of it. This Order of the Council-Table reinforced that case, and quickned the dispatch of *Beadle* for his satisfaction, from whom he received a Letter dated *April* the first, *Anno* 1630. In which he signified, “That he had not been unmindful of his Lordships commands, which he was now the better able to perform, because (saith he) I have been about my Diocese, and can set down out of my knowledge and view what I shall relate, and shortly, to speak much ill matter in few words. Which said, he lets his Lordship know, That the Estate of his Church was very miserable; That the Cathedral Church of *Ardagh* (united to the See of *Killmore*) one of the most ancient in *Ireland*, and said to be built by *St. Patrick*, together with the Bishops House there, was down to the ground; That the Church at *Killmore* had been built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice; That the Parish-Churches were all in a manner ruined, or unroofed and unrepaired; That the People, saving a few *British* Planters here and there, (which are not the tenth part of the Remnant) were obstinate Recusants; That there was a *Popish* Clergy, more numerous by far than the *English* Clergy; That they were in full Exercise of all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical by their *Vicars-general* and *Officials*, who were so confident as to Excommunicate those that come to the Courts of the *Protestant* Bishops; That the *Popish* Primate for *Ireland* lived within two miles of his House, and the Bishops in another part of his Diocese further off; That every Parish had their *Priest*, and some two or three apiece, and so their *Massing-houses* also; and that *Masses* are sometimes said in their Churches; That there were *Friars* in divers places, who went about, though not in their Habit, who by their importunate begging did impoverish the People; That Poverty was much increased, as well by their paying double Tythes both to their own Clergy and the *English*, as by the dearth of Corn, and the death of their Cattel; That the Oppressions of the Courts Ecclesiastical (which was reckoned for another cause of the common poverty) were not indeed to be excused, which for his part he

Cant. Doom.

“ had



PART I.

Anno Dom.

1630.



“had a purpose to reform; That in each Diocess there were some  
 “seven or eight Ministers of good sufficiency; but being *English*,  
 “they neither understood the Tongue of the People, nor could per-  
 “form any Divine Offices, nor converse with them as they ought,  
 “and consequently could give no stop to the growth and increase of  
 “*Popery*; That most of the said Ministers held two, three, four,  
 “or more Vicaridges apiece; and that sometimes one man was  
 “Clerk of three or four Parishes, which were ordinarily bought,  
 “sold, and let to Farm: And finally, That by those and such other  
 “means, his majesty was King as to the Hearts and Consciences of  
 “that People; but so, that it remained wholly at the *Popes* Dis-  
 “cretion.

Hist. of K.  
Charles.

Here was sufficient work for a Reformation; and we shall see *Laud* taking care of it in convenient time. But first we must look back to *England*, where we shall find a new Honour attending on him. On *Saturday*, being the tenth of *April*, *William* Lord *Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Steward of his Majesties Household, and Chancellor of the University of *Oxon*. died suddenly at his House called *Baynards-Castle*, having then made up the fiftieth year of his life, beyond which it had been foresignified by some Learned Mathematicians that he should not live. This News being brought to *Oxon*. the same night, or else betimes on *Sunday* morning, *Laud*'s friends not only in *St. Johns*, but in other Colledges, so bestirred themselves, that before noon there was a Party strong enough to confer that honourable Office on him. *Frewen* of *Magdalen* Colledge being then *Vice-Chancellor*, was at that time as far as *Andover* in a Colledge-Progress, where hearing accidentally of the Earls decease, he made such haste back again to *Oxon*. that he came thither before the end of Evening Prayer; and finding his own Colledge in so good a posture, advised with some other Heads of Houses, whom he knew to have the same Inclinations, to make sure work of it; by whom it was agreed, That a *Convocation* should be called the next day, to speed the business before any other Competitor should appear against him. Nor did they make more haste than good speed in it, some Agents coming thither before night in behalf of *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*, Brother to the Earl deceased; and they so well discharged their Trust, that those of the *welch* Nation generally, *Prideaux*, and some other Heads of Houses who were of the *Calvinian* Party, and the four Colledges belonging to the Visitation of the Bishop of *Lincoln* (that is to say, *Baliol*, *Oriel*, *Lincoln*, and *Brazen-nose*) were wholly in a manner for him; that Bishop sticking in the Cause, not so much out of love to him, as hate to *Laud*. But all their diligence could not carry it as they desired, the Election passing clear for the Bishop of *London*, of which he was presently advertised by the University. On his receiving of which Message, he presently addressed himself unto the King, acquainted him with what had hapned, and humbly submitted the Place unto his disposal. To which



which his Majesty most graciously returned this Answer, *That he knew none more worthy of it than himself; and that he should rather study how to add further Honours to him, than take any from him.* LIB. III.  
Anno Dom.  
1630.

On which encouragement, he appointed *wednesday* the twenty eighth of the same Month for the Solemnity of his Investiture in that Office, which was performed in a frequent *Convocation* of that University, held at *London-House*, to the great contentment of both Parties.

To add a further Honour to him, it pleased his Majesty to send him the joyful news, under his Royal Signature, of the Princes Birth, born at his Majesties House of St. *James's* on *Saturday May* the twenty ninth, about one of the Clock in the afternoon. He had the happiness of seeing the Royal Infant in the first hour of his Birth, and the honour afterwards to Baptize him. By ancient Priviledge belonging to the See of *Canterbury*, those Archbishops are Ordinaries of the Court; his Majesties Household, wheresoever the same shall be, being reckoned to be his Parishioners, or of his peculiar. But *Abbot* being at that time infirm, or otherwise of no desirable Company, this Office was devolved on *Land*, as Dean of the Chapel; and he accordingly performed it. The Birth of this young Prince, as it gave cause of great Rejoycings to all good Subjects, so it gave no small matter of discouragement to the *Puritan* Faction, who had laid their Line another way, and desired not that this King should have had any Children: Insomuch that at a Feast in *Fryday-street*, when some of the Company shewed great joy at the news of the Queens first being with Child, a leading man of that Faction (whom I could name, were it worth the while) did not stick to say, *That he could see no such cause of joy as the others did.* Which said, he gave this Reason for it; *That God had already better provided for us than we had deserved, in giving such a hopeful Progeny by the Queen of Bohemia, brought up in the Reformed Religion; whereas it was uncertain what Religion the Kings Children would follow, being to be brought up under a Mother so devoted to the Church of Rome.* And I remember that being at a Town in *Glostershire*, when the news came of the Princes Birth, there was great Joy shewed by all the rest of the Parish, in causing Bonfires to be made, and the Bells to be rung, and sending Victuals unto those of the younger sort, who were most busily imployed in the publick Joy: But so, that from the rest of the Houses, being of the *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* Party, there came neither Man, nor Child, nor Wood, nor Victuals; their doors being shut close all the evening, as in a time of general mourning and disconsolation.

It was not long after the Birth of this new Prince, that the *Feoffees* for buying in *Impropriations* were called in question. The Project took beginning about four years since, when *Preston* Governed the Affairs of the *Puritan* Faction; at what time it was resolved amongst them, to set up stipendary *Lectures* in all or most Market-Towns, where the People had commonly less to do, and consequently were

Bibl. Regia,  
sect. 5. n. 15.



PART I. more apt to Faction and Innovation than in other places; and of all  
*Anno Dom.* Market-Towns, to chuse such as were Priviledged for sending Bur-  
 1630. gesses to the High Court of Parliament: Which that it might be done  
 with the less charge to the People, who commonly love that Religion  
 best which comes cheapest to them, it was agreed to raise a common  
 Stock amongst them, for buying in such Improvements as were re-  
 maining in the hands of the *Laity*. To this end they erected a kind  
 of Corporation amongst themselves, consisting of twelve Persons,  
 Clergymen, Citizens, and Lawyers, enabling them to receive and  
 expend such Monies as their Emiliaries should bring in from their se-  
 veral Circuits. Their names, *Gouge*, *Offspring*, *Sibbs*, and *Daven-*  
*port*, Ministers; *Eyre*, *Brown*, *White*, and *Sherland*, Lawyers;  
*Geering*, *Davis*, *Harwood*, and *Bridges*, Citizens; to whom was  
 afterwards added *Rowland Heylyn* Alderman of the City of *London*,  
 by the name of Treasurer to the Company, that there might be a  
 casting Voice amongst them, as occasion served. Great were the  
 Sums of Money which the Piety of the Design, and the Diligence  
 of their Limitaries brought in from their several Walks; most men  
 admiring, all applauding the nobleness of such a Popular and Reli-  
 gious Act. But so it hapned, that one of the Fellows of *Magda-*  
*len* Colledge, resorting frequently to a Town in *Glocestershire*, where  
 one of these new *Lectures* had been founded by them, observed  
 these two things: First, That the Impropiation of that place re-  
 mained in the same Lay-hands as before it did; and therefore that  
 the *Lecturer* must receive his Stipend from the Profits of some other  
 Parish: And secondly, he observed, That the man there planted in  
 that *Lecture* was one of a notorious Inconformity, found upon fur-  
 ther search to have been hunted from one Diocess to another, till at  
 last he was Silenced upon that account by the *High-Commission*. This  
 gave him the first hint of making a more diligent Inquiry into that  
 Design; and the more he looked into it, the worse he liked it. He  
 knew so much of some, and heard so much of all the rest which  
 were trusted in the Conduct of it, that he could hope for no good  
 to the Church of *England*, from any thing of their projectment;  
 For if such publick mischiefs be presaged by *Astrologers* from the  
 Conjunctions of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, though the first of them be a  
*Planet* of a most sweet and gentle Influence; what Dangers, what  
 Calamities might not be feared from the Conjunction of twelve such  
 Persons, of which there was not one that wished well to the present  
 Government.

Having gone thus far in the Discovery, it pleased the *President* of  
 his Colledge, being then *Vice-Chancellor*, to appoint him to Preach  
 the Act Sermon at *St. Maries* on Sunday in the afternoon, July 11.  
 1630. To which appointment he submitted, resolving to deliver  
 something in that great concourse of People from all parts of the  
 Kingdom, which might serve to undeceive them in that Particular.  
 He had chosen for his Text those words in the thirteenth of *St.*  
*Matthew*,



*Matthew, viz. But while men slept, the enemy came and sowed tares amongst the wheat, and went his way.* Beginning to draw toward the end of his Sermon, he thus began to unfold the Arras, and shew the Portraiture thereof in as lively Colours as he could, "Planting, "saith he, also many Pensionary Lecturers in so many places where "it need not, and upon days of common labour, will at the best "bringing forth of fruit, appear to be a tare indeed, though now no "wheat be counted tares, &c. We will proceed a little on further "in the proposall of some things to be considered. The Corporati- "on of *Feoffees* for buying in Impropriations to the Church; Doth "it not seem in the appearance to be an excellent piece of *wheat*? "A noble and gracious point of piety? Is not this *Templum Domini*, " *Templum Domini*? But blessed God, that men should thus draw "near unto thee with their mouths, and yet be far from thee in their "hearts! For what are those intrusted in the managing of this great "business? Are they not the most of them the most active and the "best affected men in the whole cause, and *Magna Partium momen- "ta*, Chief Patrons of the Faction? And what are those whom they "prefer? Are they not most of them such as must be serviceable to "their dangerous innovations? And will they not in time have "more preterments to bestow, and therefore more dependencies than "all the Prelates in the Kingdom, &c. Yet all this while we sleep "and slumber, and fold our hands in sloth, and see perhaps, but "dare not note it.

No sooner were these words delivered, but a general consternation shewed it self in the looks of his Auditors. Some honest and well meaning men seemed much to pity his misfortune in being put (as it was then generally, but falsely, thought) on that odious task by some higher power, of purpose to discourage such a pious work which good men rejoiced at. But greater was the clamour of the *Puritan* Faction, who in a meeting held that night conceived no punishment great enough to inflict upon him which either Law, Malice, or Revenge could expose him to. Being thus alarmed on the one side, and threatned by the other, he sent a Copy of his Sermon to the Bishop of *London*, not long before made Chancellour of that University; and signified in a Letter therewith sent, that he was both able and ready to make good his charge, whensoever it should be required. This information came opportunely to his Lordship, with whom the King had used some Speech (as appears by his *Breviate* p. 12.) about restoring Impropriations to the Church, which this new project seemed to frustrate. And thereupon he entred it in the *Memorandum* at the end of his *Breviate*, viz. *To overthrow the Feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, going under the specious pretence of buying in Impropriations.* The Preacher in the mean time making a further search into the business, observed these particulars, first, That no Impropriation by them bought, was laid unto the Parish Church, and settled upon the present Incumbent, as was first



PART I. expected, that being utterly destructive of their design. Secondly,  
*Anno Dom.* That a great part of that Revenue was spent in maintaining a dayly  
 1630. Lecture in the Church of St. *Antholins* at six a clock in the Morn-  
 ing, to serve for a *Seminary* for the training up of such *Novices* as  
 were to be sent into the Country. Thirdly, That another part of it  
 was laid out, not only for the support of silenced Ministers, during  
 their own lives, but of their Wives and Children also after their  
 decease, than which there could not be a greater tye to unite men to  
 them, and make them sticklers in the Cause. Fourthly, These Pen-  
 sions neither were so settled, nor their Lectures so well established  
 in their several places: but that the one might be withdrawn, and  
 the other removed, at the will and pleasure of their Patrons, if they  
 grew slack and negligent in the *holy cause*, which fastened a depen-  
 dence on them to the very last. It was not long before *Noy*, that  
 Renowned Lawyer, was made his Majesties Attorney General, to  
 whom the Preacher was commanded to deliver a particular of all  
 such passages as he had observed in the carrying on of this design;  
 the Feoffees thereupon being called into the Court of Exchequer,  
 the Feoffment damned, the Impropriations by them bought confis-  
 cated to his Majesties use, and the merit of the cause referred to a  
 further censure. And though the Sentence past not on them in the  
 Court of Exchequer, *Anno 1632*. yet I have laid all here together,  
 that so I might proceed to the rest of my business with the less dis-  
 turbance.

For whilst the business of these Feoffees was under a more strict  
 enquiry, some things were acted by this Bishop, which brought  
 him into the like danger of an Inquisition. St. *Catherine Creed*  
 Church in *London* being ruinous, and in great decay, had in some  
 places been taken almost down to the ground, and rebuilt again by  
 the Parishioners at such time as *Mountain* was their Bishop, who  
 suffered it to be made use of for Religious Offices without any new  
 consecration of it, which coming to the knowledge of Bishop *Land*,  
 he caused it for a time to be suspended from all Divine Service, Ser-  
 mons, and Sacraments, till it was reconsecrated by himself. Which  
 Office he solemnly performed on Sunday *January 16*. An infinite  
 number of people of all sorts drawing together to behold that Ce-  
 remony to which they had so long been strangers, ignorant altoge-  
 ther of the Antiquity and the necessity of it. The like done also at  
 the Church of St. *Giles* in the Fields on the Sunday after; which had  
 been generally repaired, and for the greatest part new built in the  
 time of his Predecessor also; Divine Service, Preaching, and Ad-  
 ministration of the Sacraments being used therein, without any such  
 dedication of it, contrary to the practice of the Primitive times and  
 the Ancient Canons. And that we may lay these things together,  
 the next year after, *June* the seventh, he consecrated a new Church  
 at *Hammer Smith*, built at the charges of that Village; and the next  
 year after that, *July* the seventeenth, a new Church built at *Stan-*  
*more*



*more magna*, in the County of *Middlesex*, erected at the sole cost and charges of Sir *John wolstenholm*, one of the Farmers of the Customs, who made that day a sumptuous and magnificent Feast for the entertainment of all such persons of quality as resorted thither to behold the Consecration. It was my chance to bestow a visit on his Lordship at his house in *Fulham*, as he was preparing to set forwards to this last Consecration; and being one of his Chaplains was at that time absent, and that he was of ordinary course to make use of two, he took me along with him to perform the Office of the Priest in the solemnity, in which his Chaplain *Bray* was to Act the Deacons. I observed all the Circumstances and religious Ceremonies which were used by him in that sacred Action from his first coming into the Church till his going out, but could see nothing in it favouring of that Superstition which had raised so much talk amongst ignorant People, and afterwards was certified by *Willingham* at the time of his trial in reference to the consecration of *St. Katherine Creed Church*. The Antiquity of which Consecrations hath been shown in our *Introduction* performed by the Fathers at such times when the Church hated nothing more than superstitious vanities, or the accumulating of unnecessary and fruitless Ceremonies. The form and manner of it left by our first *Reformers* to the care and discretion of the Bishops whom it most concerned; Presuming that nothing would be done by them which would not be consistent with the Rules of Piety, and the ancient practise of the Church in the times foregoing. And such a Form was that which this Bishop now made use of, digested first by the learned *Andrews* for his own particular use, but afterwards copied out, approved and followed (though possibly not without some alterations) by most Bishops else.

LIB. III.

Anno Dom.

1630.



Nor did he take care only of the Fabrick, the material Church, to make it fit and ready for Gods publick Service: but that Gods publick Service should be so done in it, as might most tend to the edification of the Mystical Church, the body aggregate of Gods People. His Majesty had took special care, as well by his Proclamation of the fourteenth of *June*, 1626. as by his Declaration before the Articles, 1628. for the silencing of all disputes touching Predestination, and the points depending thereupon, which had begun to threaten such a general disturbance to the peace of the Church. But neither Proclamation, nor Declaration could perswade the *Calvinian* Party unto any such silence, which they interpreted to be a plain betraying of Gods Cause into the hands of his enemies. Somewhat is to be done to conjure down these unruly Spirits, which otherwise would not be confined within their Circle. *Mady*, the Lecturer of *Christ-Church* near *Newgate*, must needs fly out upon the Point of *Election*, and the motives to it. For this contempt he is called before the Bishop of *London*, and on some further misbehaviour prohibited from preaching any more within that Diocess.

*Burges*



PART I. *Burges* ( who afterwards pulled down the Cross in *St. Pauls Church-yard* ) must needs add scorn to his contempt ; telling his Auditors, *Anno Dom.* that if their Minister preached *Popery* or *Arminianism* they might change their dwellings, and not trouble the peace and order of their Church. For which about the same time he is questioned also. *white*, and some others, in that Diocese suspended by this Bishop on the same occasion.

1630.

Ch. Hist. lib.  
II. p. 140.

From the City pass we to the Court. Where toward the end of the same Month we find *Davenant* Bishop of *Sarum* preaching a Lent Sermon before the King, and therein falling upon some of those prohibited points, even before his face, for which the King being much offended ( as he had good reason ) he caused him to be called before the Lords of his Council. The cause is managed against him by Archbishop *Harsnet* ( *Laud* all the while walking by in silence ) who gravely laid before him as well the Kings Piety in setting forth the said Declaration, as the greatness of his, the said *Davenants*, offence, in making so little reckoning of it. *Davenant* at first endeavoureth many defences to make good his Action, but at last wisely casts himself upon this submission, he tells the Lords, in answer to one of *Harsnets* objections, *That he was sorry he did no sooner understand his Majesties intention, which if he had done before, he would have taken some other matter to treat of, which might have given none offence ; and that for the time to come he would conform himself as readily as any other to his Majesties Command.* *Arundel*, Earl Marshal, bids him hold to that, as his safest plea, and that he should proceed to no further defence ; a bad cause not being made the better by two much handling. To this counsel he conforms himself. And being afterwards admitted to the kiss of his Majesties hand ( which his attendance might deserve, though his Sermon did not ) his Majesty declared to him his Resolution, “ That he would not have this high Point meddled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, “ because it was too high for the Peoples understanding ; and that “ other Points which concerned Reformation and Newness of life, “ were more needful and profitable. I hope the lower Clergy will not say hereafter as some did of old, That Laws are like the Spiders Cobwebs, which suffer the great flies to break through, and lay hold only upon those of the smaller size.

1631.

Cant. Doom.  
P. 173.

From the Court let us go to *Oxon.* where we find the next year beginning ( in a manner ) with a Sermon preached at *St. Maries Church* by one *Hill* of *Heart-hall*, May 24. point blank enough against his Majesties Declaration, and more than bitter enough against those of different persuasion from him, whom he charged with *handling Scriptures worse than poor Christians were by the Turk at Tunis, enforcing them to the vassallage of the foulest errors*, not without some reflection on the Higher Powers by whom they were *mischieved into honour*. For which indiscretion being convented before the *Vice-Chancellor*, and Heads of Houses, ( but not without the Chancellors privity )



p. ivity) he confessed his fault, and craved pardon for the same, which he obtained on his submission made in the Convocation the sixteenth of *July* following. But worse it fared not long after with *Ford* of *Magdalen Hall*, *Hodges* of *Exeter Colledge*, and *Thorne* of *Baliol*, who in their several Sermons had not only committed the like error, but charged their *Renovation* of some ancient order in the Church, to be no other than plain *Innovation*. Questioned for this by *Smith*, then Warden of *Wadham Colledge*, and Vice-Chancellor of that University, they appeal from him to the Convocation. The Proctors, having unadvisedly received the Appeal, were at the point to have named *Delegates* when *Smith* appealed to the King: But they took their aim amiss when they shot this bolt; For both his Majesty and the Chancellor were alike concerned in it; the King, to justifie his Declaration; the other, to preserve his own power and dignity; neither of which could have been done, but by defending *Smith* in his lawful acting. On the twenty third of *August* all Parties interested in the Cause appeared before the King at *Woodstock*, who after a full hearing of both sides, it was ordered thus, That the three Delinquents should be expelled the University; *Doughty* and *Bruch*, the two Proctors, should be deprived of their places: *Prideaux* and *Wilkinson* (this last then Principle of *Magdalen Hall*) being checked for stickling so much in it, and glad they were that they escaped without further censure. But they shewed not the same mercy which they found; for *Rainsford* of *Wadham Colledge*, preached at *St. Maries* in *August* following in defence of *Universal Grace*, and *Mans Election unto life, from Faith foreseen*. No man more forward than *Prideaux* to appeach him of it, on whose complaint and prosecution he was sentenced to a publick acknowledgment of his offence in a form prescribed; which was as much as had been done in the case of *Hill*. So that the Rigid *Calvinians* can pretend no just ground for that so great Calummie, that none but they were censured from preaching those prohibited Doctrines; those of the *Arminian Party* (as they commonly called them) going off unpunished.

LIB. III.  
Anno Dom.  
1630.

From *Oxon.* cross we into *Ireland*, where we shall see *Lands* care as great for preserving the Kings Authority and the Churches peace as it was in *England*. *Usher*, the Lord Primate of that Church, had published a Book this same year in the Latine Tongue, called, The History of *Gotteschalchus*: for which he was after much extolled by *Twisse* of *Newbury*, as professed a *Calvinian* as himself, in a Letter of his dated *May 29. 1640*. "For, having first commended him for his great learning and various reading manifested in his Book *De Primodiis Britannicarum Ecclesiarum*, he magnifies next his singular wisdom for taking an occasion to insert therein the History of the *Pelagian Heresie*, coming so opportunely in his way; and then he addeth, that his History of *Gotteschalchus* was a piece of the like nature, and came forth most seasonable, so much the more because it seemed to give



PART I. give some check to a Book written by *Vossius*, a right Learned man, which had been much cried up by the *Remonstrants*. *Downham* then  
*Anno Dom.* Bishop of *Derry* had somewhat before that published a Discourse  
 1630. about Perseverance, wherein some Passages were found directly thwarting his Majesties most pious purpose in the said Declaration: But *Usher's* Book being writ in *Latin*, gave the less offence. Nor seemed it fit to put any publick disgrace on a man to whom the Government of the whole National Church had been committed by King *James* of most Blessed Memory. By questioning and suppressing *Downham's* Book, he might be made as sensible of his Error in writing the aforesaid History, as if his own had been made subject to the like condemnation. His Majesty therefore gives him Order, by Letters bearing date at *Woodstock*, August 24. (the next day after the said Sentence of *Thorn, Hodges, &c.*) to call in Bishop *Downham's* Book, who thereupon sent out Warrants, and caused all the Books that were unsent into *England*, to be seised on: But so long it was before the King had notice of it, and so long after that, before his Letters came to the Lord Primates hands, which was not till the fifteenth of *October* following, that almost all the Copies were dispersed in *England* and *Ireland*, before the coming out of the Prohibition. And for preventing of the like for the time to come, a Command is laid on *Beadle* Bishop of *Killmore* (which sheweth that *Usher* was not thought fit to be trusted in it) to have an eye unto the Press, and to take care that nothing hereafter should be published contrary to his Majesties said Directions: So *Beadle* in his Letter to the Bishop of *London*, dated *November* 8. 1631. Which care being taken for the Peace of that Church, and nothing else presented to us on that side of the Sea, to detain us any longer there, we will hoise Sail again for *England*, where we finde more Work.

More Work indeed, and far the greatest not only of this present year, but the greatest of this Bishops Life: A Work before in project, but in project only. None had the Courage or the Power to carry it on so far as he: He could not rest under the shade of those vast Ruines of *St. Paul's* Church (his own Cathedral) without continual thought, and some hopes withal of repairing those deformities in it, which by long time had been contracted. Of the first Founding of this Church by *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the first Christian King and the sixth Monarch of the *Saxons*; and the Enlargement of the same by *Erkenwald* the fourth Bishop of it, we have spoke already: And now we are to know, That their old Fabrick being much wasted by Fire in the time of the Conqueror, *Mauritius* then Bishop of *London*, *Anno* 1083. began the Foundation of that most magnificent Pile now standing, viz. all the Body of the Church, with the South and North crosse Isles. Toward which Work he made use of a great part of the Materials of the old *Palatine* Castle (standing in the same place where the Covent of the *Black-Friars* was after built) great part whereof had perished by the  
 same



same Fire also. But the Foundations which this worthy Bishop had laid, being futable to his mind, were so vast, as the Historian observes, (a) That though he prosecuted the Work twenty years, he left the performing thereof to the care of Posterity: amongst which, none more transcendently affected to this business, than his next Successor *Richard Beaumis*, (b) who bestowed the whole Revenue of his Bishoprick upon it, supporting himself and his Family by other means. And after him (some other Bishops succeeding between them) that *Richard*, who was Treasurer to King *Henry ii.* being made Bishop of *London* in the first year of King *Richard*, bestowed great Sums of Money in the Reparation of this Church, and the Episcopal Houses which belonged unto it. But all this Charge was principally laid out on the main Body of the Church, and the Crossed Isles thereof, the Choire not holding Proportion with so vast a Structure: So that resolving to make it fairer and more capacious than before, they began with the Steeple, which was finished in *Anno 1221.* (5 *Hen. 3.*) In which year the Dedication of it was celebrated with great magnificence, the King himself, *Otho* the Popes Legate, *Edmond* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Roger* surnamed *Niger* then Bishop of *London* (a chief Advancer of the Work) with five other Bishops, besides infinite multitudes of the Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, and others of the Common People from all parts of the Land, being present at it.

Nor is it to be thought that the Charges of that stately and magnificent Structure was supported by the Bishops only, or issued out of such Revenues as belonged unto the Dean and Chapter; but that the Clergy and People generally, both of *England* and *Ireland*, contributed largely to the Work; the People of those Times, out of their Devotion to Gods Service, being easily incited to further all Works of this nature as occasion offered. And this appears by the sundry Letters of several Bishops of both Nations, to the Clergy under their Jurisdiction, for recommendation of that business to their particular Congregations, many of which are extant still upon Record. Nor were the People stirred on only by the sollicitation of their Priests, or the exhortatory Letters of their several Prelates; but by the grants of such Indulgences, and relaxation from their several and respective Penances, which in those Letters were extended unto all sorts of People, who with a chearful heart and liberal hand did promote the Service: By means whereof some men contributed Materials, others sent in Money; and many Mafons, Carpenters, and other Artificers, who were to labour in the Work, bestowed their pains and toil upon it for less consideration and reward than in other Buildings. Besides which, *Henry de Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln* is said to have been a principal Benefactor to that part of it which was then called the *New-work*, in a Chappel whereof, dedicated to *St. Dunstan*, we find his body to be interred. And so was *Ralph de Baldock* also, both while he was Dean, and when he was Bishop of this Church; whose Body was also buried in another part of the *New-work*, called *Our Ladies Chappel*.

F f

But

LIB. III.

Anno Domini.

1631.

(a) Hujus laboriosi operis impensam transmissit ad postereros.

(b) In Ecclesiæ suæ, & Edificiorum ad Sedem suam spectantium Structura magnam impendit pecuniam. Godw. in Catal Episc.



PART I. But this vast Pile, the Work of so long time, and so many Ages,  
*Anno Dom.* was on the fourth of *June*, *Anno 1561.* in danger to be suddenly  
 1631. consumed by a violent Fire, beginning in the Steeple, and occasioned  
 by the negligence of a Plummer, who left his pan of coals unquench'd  
 at his going to dinner. A Fire so violent, that in the space of few  
 hours it consumed not only the Steeple where it first began, but did  
 spread it self to the upper Roof of the Church and Isles, totally  
 burning all the Rasters, and whatsoever else was of combustible na-  
 ture. The Queen knew well, as well as any, that the Reve-  
 nues of that Church were so dilapidated, that neither the Bishops  
 themselves, nor the Dean and Chapters, were able to repair the least  
 part of those Ruines which the Fire had made: And thereupon out  
 of a deep apprehension of that lamentable Accident, forthwith di-  
 rected her Letters to the Lord Mayor of *London*, requiring him to  
 make some speedy Order for its repair; and to further the Work,  
 gave out of her Purse 1000 Marks in Gold, as also a Warrant for  
 1000 Load of Timber to be taken out of her Woods, and elsewhere.  
 Nor were the Citizens slack herein; for having given a large Benevo-  
 lence, they added three whole *Fifteens* to be speedily paid for that  
 purpose; all which amounted to three thousand two hundred forty  
 seven pound sixteen shillings two pence half-peny. The Clergy of  
*England* within the Province of *Canterbury*, freely contributed the  
 fortieth part of all such Church Livings as were charged with First-  
 fruits, and the thirtieth part of all their Benefices not so charged;  
 those of *London* only excepted, who besides the thirtieth part of such  
 as paid First-fruits, gave the twentieth part of all the rest: Which  
 Contribution of the Clergy amounted to one thousand four hundred  
 sixty one pound thirteen shillings and eleven pence; whereunto was  
 added, by the benevolence of the Bishop of *London*, at several times,  
 coming in all to nine hundred five pound one shilling and eleven  
 pence; By the Dean and Chapter one hundred thirty six pound thir-  
 teen shillings and four pence: and made of the surpluse of Timber  
 one hundred nineteen pound three shillings and nine pence; Gi-  
 ven by the Justices and Officers of the Common Pleas thirty four  
 pound five shillings; and by those of the Kings Bench seventeen  
 pound sixteen shillings eight pence: All which together made no  
 more than six thousand seven hundred and two pound thirteen shil-  
 lings and four pence. And yet with this small Sum (such was the  
 cheapness of those Times) the Work was carried on so prosperously,  
 that before the Month of *April 1566.* all the Roofs of Timber  
 (whereof those large ones of the *East* and *West*, framed in *Yorkshire*,  
 and brought by Sea) were perfectly finished and covered with Lead;  
 the adding of a new Steeple being thought unnecessary (because too  
 chargeable) though divers Models have been made and presented of  
 it.

The whole Roof being thus Repaired, the Stone-work of it stood  
 as before it did, sensibly decaying day by day, by reason of the cor-  
 roding



roding quality of the Sea-coal smoke, which on every side annoyed it: Which being observed by one *Henry Farley*, about the middle of the Reign of King *James*, he never left soliciting the King by several Petitions and Addresses, to take the Ruinous Estate thereof into his Princely Consideration, till at last it was resolved on by the King. And to create the greater Veneration to so good a Work, he bestowed that magnificent Visit on it, described at large in the first Book of this History, *Anno 1620*. The product and result whereof was, the issuing out a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the sixteenth day of *November* then next following, directed to Sir *Francis Jones* Knight, then Lord Mayor of *London*, *George* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Francis* Lord *Verulam* then Lord Chancellor of *England*, and divers others, to the number of sixty Persons and upwards: Which Commission importing, That this Church being the greatest and most eminent (as also one of the principal Ornaments) of the Realm, and in much decay, any six or more of these Commissioners, whereof three to be of the said Kings Privy-Council, should meet to make Particulars of the decay, and likewise what Houses, Cellars, &c. had been built near it, either to the annoyance of it, or the Church-yard: And moreover to Inquire what Lands, Rents, &c. had been given towards its Repair, or Sums of Money collected to that purpose; and not accordingly employed: And further to consider of the most fit and proper means to raise money to carry on the said Repair: And lastly, to appoint Surveyors and other Officers of their Work, and to make Certificate of their Proceedings therein, into the Chancery. Upon the Meeting of which Commissioners, and diligent search made into the Particulars afore-mentioned, it was acknowledged that the Bishop of *London* had the whole care of the Body of that Church, and the Dean and Chapter of the Choires: But that which each of them enjoyed to this purpose, was so little, that they yearly expended double as much upon the Roof and other parts decayed, to preserve them from present ruine. Which being made evident to the Commissioners, as also that in former times, even from the very first foundation thereof, it had been supported partly out of the large Oblations of those that visited the Shrines and Oratories therein, and partly from Publick Contributions in all parts of the Kingdom; It was concluded to proceed in the same way now, as had been done formerly. And that it might proceed the better, the King himself, and many of the principal Nobility and Gentry, declared by their Subscriptions (for the encouragement of others to so good a Work) what Sums they resolved to give in pursuance of it: Doctor *Fohn King*, then Bishop of *London*, subscribing for 100 *l. per Annum* as long as he should continue in that See. *Mountain* who succeeded not long after in that Bishoprick, procured with great charge and trouble some huge massie Stones to be brought from *Portland*, for the beginning of the Work: But money coming slowly in, and he

L I B. III.

Anno Dom.

1631.

W



PART I. being a man of small activity, though of good affections, the heat  
*Anno Dom.* of this great business cooled by little and little, and so came to no-  
 1631. thing.

But *Land* succeeding him in the See of *London*, and having deservedly attained unto great Authority with his Majesty, no sooner saw his Office settled both at home and abroad, but he possessed him with a Loyal and Religious Zeal to pursue that Work, which King *James* had so piously designed, though it went not much further than the bare design. Few words might serve to animate the King to a Work so pious, who aimed at nothing more than the Glory of God, in the Advancement of the Peace and Happiness of the Church of *England*: And therefore following the example of his Royal Father, he bestowed the like Visit on *St. Pauls*, whither he was attended with the like Magnificence, and entertained at the first entrance into the Church with the like Solemnity. The Divine Service being done, and the Sermon ended, which tended principally unto the promoting of a Work so honourable both to his Majesties Person, and the *English* Nation; his Majesty took a view of the Decays of that Church, and there Religiously promised not to be wanting in the Piety of his best Endeavours, to the Repair of those Ruines which Age, the Casualties of Weather, or any other Accidents had brought upon it. In order whereunto, in the beginning of this year he issued out his Royal Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the tenth of *April* in the seventh year of his Reign, directed to Sir *Robert Duncy* Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, *George* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Coventry* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, &c. *William* Lord Bishop of *London*, *Richard* Lord Bishop of *Winton*, *John* Lord Bishop of *Ely*, &c. *Nicholas Rainton*, *Ralph Freeman*, *Rowland Heylyn*, &c. Aldermen of the City of *London*, *Edward Waymack*, and *Robert Bateman* Chamberlain of the said City of *London*. In which Commission the said King taking notice of this Cathedral, as the goodliest Monument and most ancient Church of his whole Dominions, as also that it was the principal Monument of the City of *London*, the Imperial Seat of this his Realm; and moreover, That the Commissions issued out by his Royal Father (as heretofore had been observed) were slackned by reason of his death; but he resolving to go on therewith effectually, declared as followeth: viz. 1. That all Money brought in for Repair thereof, should be paid into the Chamber of *London*. 2. That *William Laud* then Bishop of *London* offered to allow 100 l. per Annum out of the Revenues of that Bishoprick, during his continuance therein. 3. That a Register-Book should be made of all Subscriptions for Contributions thereunto, as had been done in King *James* his time. 4. That the Judges of the Prerogative Court, and all Officials throughout the several Bishopricks in *England* and *Wales*, upon the Decease of any Person Intestate, should be excited to remember this Church, out of what was proper to be given to pious uses: And lastly, That



*That Commissions should be issued throughout the whole Kingdom.* Which Commissions were executed in the Country with care and diligence, and seconded so strongly by the power and sollicitation of this pious Prelate, that the money came flowing in apace; so much being raised by Legacies, by money given to pious uses, and other free and voluntary Contributions, before the issuing out of those Commissions, as enabled the grand Commissioners to begin the work. Infomuch that on the sixteenth of *December, Anno 1632.* they found that there had been brought into the Chamber of *London* the Sum of 5416 li. 13 s. 6 d. And in *April* next ensuing the Work was begun: The houses adjoyning to and near the Church being compounded for, and plucked down, a great part of the Church-yard paled in for Masons to work in, and an order given to *Inigo Jones*, Surveyor general of his Majesties Works, on the twenty sixth of *June* next following, to prepare Scaffolding for the same. Which Preparations being made, the first stone of this new Work was solemnly laid by our Bishop himself, the second by Sir *Francis Windebanke*, his Majesties principal Secretary of State, and the third by Sir *Henry Martin* Knight, then Judge of the Prerogative Court, and the fourth by the said *Inigo Jones*, chief Surveyor of that Fabrick; each of them giving money liberally amongst the Workmen, the better to encourage them to proceed therein with all honest speed. The Quire or Chancel being first finished, the work was carried on to the North part of the Cross Isle, and so unto the Western part or main body of the Cross Isle, and so unto the Western part or main body of the Church. This worthy Prelate continuing the Piety of his endeavours towards the compleating of this stately and Magnificent Structure, as well when he was Archbishop of *Canterbury* ( to which dignity he was promoted in *September* following ) as when he was Bishop of *London*, and was more nearly concerned in the affairs of that Church.

LIB. III.

Anno Dom.

1631.



And though it be affirmed by a late Historian, *that many had no fancy to the work because he promoted it*; yet on the contrary it is known, that had not he promoted it there were not many would have had the fancy to a work of that nature. Some men in hope of favour and preferment from him, others to hold fair quarter with him, and not a few for fear of incurring his displeasure, contributing more largely to it than they had done otherwise; if otherwise they had contributed at all. Certain I am, that the Regular Clergy were so forward in it, that being called together by their several Ordinaries, few of them gave so little as a single tenth, many a double Subsidy, most in the middle betwixt both, to be paid in three, four, or five years, as the work continued. Which joyned together amounting to a liberal sum, not reckoning in the Deans and Chapters, whom it more nearly did concern to support that Fabrick than those of the Parochial Clergy. And yet it cannot be denied, but that it met with many rubs, and mighty enemies. The Puritan Ministers

Hist. of K.

Ch. by H.L.



PART I. nisters and their Adherents inveighed against it as the repairing and  
*Anno Dom.* adorning of a *Rotten Relique*; insinuating to the people (as they  
 1631. found occasion) that it was more agreeable to the Rules of Piety  
 to demolish such old Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry than  
 to keep them standing. For remedy whereof order was given to such  
 as preached at *St. Pauls Cross*, and other publick places both in  
 City and Country, to represent unto their hearers all those several  
 motives which might not only serve to justifie, but endear the work;  
 nor wanted there some zealous Patriots (or such as were desirous  
 to be so accounted) on the other side, who gave it out to be a cheat,  
 a mean Court device to procure money for the King without help of  
 Parliaments; which project if it might succeed, the King (said  
 they) would grow too absolute, and take unto himself an Arbitra-  
 ry form of Government; the People for want of Parliaments being  
 left remediless; which false report coming to his Majesties ears, he  
 was compelled to make this Declaration of himself in all such  
 following Commissions as were dispatched into the Country, that  
 he had not only commanded, "That the work of Reparation  
 "should begin, but had caused an entrance to be made into it, and  
 "that he was constantly resolved to follow it till it was brought to  
 "perfection, whereof he required the Commissioners to satistie all  
 "his loving Subjects of the clearness of his Royal Intention therein,  
 "and to assure them in his Name, that all rumours and imaginati-  
 "ons, as of diverting the money to any other purpose, was but the  
 "fancies of men either grossly malevolent, or causelessly jealous and  
 "distrustful.

*Bibl. Reg.*  
*Sect. 3. n. 14.*

The Subject being thus assured, the Clergy active, and the Nobility giving good example unto all the rest, the work was so followed by the care of this powerful Prelate, that before the year 1640. the whole body of it was finished, and the Tower or Steeple Scaffolded to the very top, with an intent to take it down to the very Arches, and raise it to a more stately height than it had at the present, with four great Pinacles (at each Corner one) the Arches being thought unable to support the burthen of such a Steeple as before was fired. And though the publick Contribution which was brought into the Chamber of *London* amounted to the Sum of 101330*li.* 4*s.* 8*d.* yet there was something more done in it by the Munificence of the King, and the bounty of the private Subject. His Majesty to give life to the Work had sent in first and last 10295*li.* 5*s.* 6*d.* toward the said Sum, with part whereof he caused a stately *Portico* to be erected at the *west* end of the Church, raised on *Corinthian* Pillars, where he placed the Statues of his Royal Father King *James*, and himself, for a lasting memorial of this their advancement of so glorious a work. Which *Portico* was intended to be an *Ambulatory* for such as by usual walking in the body of the Church prophaned the place, and disturbed the Divine Service in the Chaire. And on the other side, Sir *Paul Pindar* Knight (sometime Ambassador from King *James*



James at Constantinople) first repaired the decaies of that goodly Partition, made at the West end of the Choire, adorning the outward Front thereof with fair Pillars of black Marble, and Statues of those Saxon Kings who had been Founders and Benefactors to that Church; beautified the inward part thereof with Figures of Angels, and all the Wainscoat work with Figures and Carving, viz. of Cherubins, and other Images richly gilded; adding also fine sorts of hangings for the upper end thereof, and afterwards bestowed 4000 li. in repairing the South part of the Cross Isle. But as this Bishop fell, the work fell with him; the yearly Contribution abating in the year 1641. when he was plunged into his troubles, from 15000 li. and upward, to little more than 1500 li. and after by degrees to nothing, which clearly shews upon what Wheel the whole Engine moved, whose soul it was, which gave both life and motion to that great design. A work of such a vast Magnificence as required a large and open heart, commensurate in some manner to the greatness of it; not to be entertained by a man of such narrow comprehensions, as were ascribed unto him in a Speech made by one of the Peers, when he first fell into his troubles. So easie a thing it is to disgrace the man whom the weight of his afflictions have once made incapable of standing up against such reproaches as the Pens or Tongues of his Revilers shall accumulate on him.

LIB. III.

Anno Dom.

1630.



Better success he had in another of his undertakings, though not of such a publick nature, or of so general a concernment to the honour of the Church and State. He had received his breeding and first Preferments in St. Johns Colledge in Oxon. which he resolved to gratifie for the charge of his Education, by adding a second Quadrangle unto that of the first Foundation. The other great work he carried on by the publick Purse, contributing little more unto it (besides his annual pension of 100 li.) but his power and diligence. But this he means to carry on at his own proper Costs, his Majesty most graciously contributing some timber towards it out of Shot-over woods, of which the Lord Treasurer endeavoured (but in vain endeavoured) to have made a stop. Some Benefactor had before enricht the Colledge with a Publick Library, which made one side to his new Building, the other three he added to it of his own. That on the North consisted altogether of several Chambers, for the accommodations of the Fellows and other Students. That on the East of a fair open walk below, supported upon curious Pillars, and bearing up a beautiful Gallery, opening out of the Library, for meditation and discourse: confronted on the other side with the like open walk below, and a sutable Fabrick over that raised up against the Eastern wall of the Ancient Buildings. The whole composition fashioned in an excellent Symetry according to the exactest rules of Modern Architecture; not only graceful in it self, and useful to that private house, but a great ornament also to the University. St. Johns in Cambridge shall boast no longer of its precedency before



PART I. before this in a double Quadrangle ; In which it stands equalled at  
*Anno Dom.* the least, if not surmounted also by this of *Oxford*. On the twenty  
 1631. third of *July*, in this present year, he laid the first stone of this new  
 building, not intermitting it (but only during the unseasonableness  
 of the following Winters) till he had brought it to an end, according to his first design and proposition. Nor did these publick buildings take him off in the least degree from doing the Office of a Bishop. His eye was alwaies watchfull over the Churches peace. And to preserve his own Diocess both in peace and order, he bestowed this year a personal Visitation on it ; beginning at *Brentwood* in *Essex*, on the thirtieth of *August*, and so went on from place to place, till he had visited and regulated the whole Clergy of it in their severall Deanries, and Precincts. And for performing of that Office he laid aside the dignity of a Privy Counsellor, and his attendance on the person of his gracious Sovereign, in being an example of a careful and prudent Pastor to the rest of his brethren.

In the late Agitations at *Woodstock* before the King he let fall some words, which were interpreted to the disparagement of the married Clergy. He was a single man himself, and wisht perhaps as *St. Paul* once did, That all men else (that is to say, all men in *holy Orders*) would remain so likewise. And some occasion being offered at that time to speak about the conveniencies or inconveniencies of a married Clergy, he made some declaration of himself to this effect, that in disposing of all Ecclesiastical Promotions he would prefer the single man before the married, supposing the abilities of the persons were otherwise equal; which limitation notwithstanding it gave much matter of discourse, and not a little ground of scandal to many very honest and well-minded men, who began presently to fear the sad consequences of it. This general murmur could not but come unto his ears, and found him very sensible of the Inconveniencies which might grow upon it. For he soon wiped off that reproach, by negotiating a Marriage between Mr *Thomas Turner*, one of his Chaplains, and a Daughter of *Windebanke* his old friend, (at whose house he had so long lain sick, as before is said.) And that the satisfaction in this point might appear the greater, he officiated the whole Service of their Marriage in his own Chappel at *London House*, joyning their hands, and giving the Nuptial Benediction, and performing all other Ecclesiastical Rites which belonged to the solemnization of Matrimony by the Rules of this Church. This was the answer which he made to his own Objection, and indeed it was so full and home, that the Objection seemed not to require any further answer. Nor was it long before *Windebanke* found how well his cheerfulness in yielding to that Match had been entertained. He was at that time one of the Clerks of the *Signet*, as his Father Sir *Thomas Windebanke* had been before him : But our Bishop did not mean he should dwell there alwaies. They had been Cotemporaries at *St. Johns Colledge*, their acquaintance from their very Childhood, their



their persons much of the same stature; a like facetiousness in both for wit and company. In which respects *Laud* had commended him to the good Graces of the Duke when he was alive. But the Duke doing nothing for him, left *Laud* in a capacity to supply the want; by whose power and favour with the King he was advanced unto the honourable Office of the principal Secretary of State, in the place of *Dudly Lord Carlton Viscount Dorchester*. *Dorchester* died on *Ash-Wednesday* Morning, Anno 1631. And of *Windebanke* he writes thus in his *Breviate*, viz. *June 15. 1632.* Mr. Francis Windebanke my old friend was sworn Secretary of State, which Place I obtained for him of my gracious Master King Charles.

LIB. III.

Anno Dom.

1632.



About the same time also Sir *Francis Cottington*, who succeeded the Lord Treasurer *Weston* in the place of Chancellor, was made Successor unto *Nanton* in the Mastership of the Wards and Liveries. No sooner was he in this place, but some difference began to grow betwixt him and *Coventry*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, about the disposing of such Benefices as belonged to the King, in the Minority of his Wards: *Coventry* pleaded a joynt interest in it according to the Priviledge and usage of his Predecessors, it standing formerly for a rule, that he of the two which first heard of the vacancy, and presented his Clerk unto the Bishop, should have his turn served before the other. But *Cottington* was resolved to have no Competitor, and would have either all or none. During which Competition betwixt the parties, *Laud* ends the difference by taking all unto himself. Many Divines had served as Chaplains in his Majesties Ships, and ventured their persons in the Action at the Isle of *Rhe*, during his Majesties late engagements with *France* and *Spain*; some reward must be given them for their Service past, the better to encourage others on the like occasions for the time to come. It is cold venturing in such hot Services without some hope of Reward. And thereupon he takes occasion to inform his Majesty, that till this Controversie were decided he might do well to take those Livings into his own disposing for the reward of such Divines as had done him service in his Wars, or should go forth hereafter on the like imployments. Which Proposition being approved, his Majesty committed the said Benefices unto his disposal, knowing full well how faithfully he would discharge the trust reposed in him for the advancement of his Majesties Service, the satisfaction of the Suitors, and the Churches peace. Neither did *Cottington* seem displeased at this designation: As being more willing that a third man should carry away the prize from both, than to be overtopped by *Coventry* in his own Jurisdiction. By the accession of this power as he encreased the number of his dependents, so he gained the opportunity by it to supply the Church with regular and conformable men, for whom he was to be responsal both to God and the King. Which served him for a Counter-Ballance against the multitude of Lecturers established in so many places, especially by the *Feoffees* for impropriations,



PART I. priations, who came not to their doom till *February* 13. of this present year, as before was said.

1632.

But greater were the Alterations amongst the Bishops in the Church than amongst the Officers of Court, and greater his Authority in preferring the one than in disposing of the other. *Buckeridge* his old Tutor, dying in the See of *Elie*, makes room for *White*, then Bishop of *Norwich*, and Lord *Almoner*, to succeed in his place; A man who having spent the greatest part of his life on his private Cures, grew suddenly into esteem by his zealous preachings against the *Papists*, his Conferences with the Jesuite *Fisher*, and his Book wrote against him by command of King *James*. Appointed by that King to have a special eye on the Countess of *Denbigh* (whom the Priests much laboured to pervert) he was encouraged thereunto with the Deanry of *Carlisle*, advanced on that very account to the Bishoprick thereof by the Duke her brother. The Duke being dead, his favour in the Court continued, removed to *Norwich* first and to *Ely* afterwards. *Corbet* of *Oxon.* one of *Lauds* fellow-sufferers in the University, succeeds him in the See of *Norwich*; and *Bancroft*, Master of *University Colledge*, is made Bishop of *Oxon.* Kinsman he was to ever renowned Archbishop *Bancroft*, by whom preferred unto that Headship, and looked upon for his sake chiefly, though otherwise of a good secular living in this Succession. The Bishoprick of small Revenue, and without a House, but *Laud* will find a remedy for both in convenient time. The Improprate Parsonage of *Cudefden* five miles from *Oxon.* belonged to the Bishop in the right of his See, and he had the Donation of the Vicaridge in the same right also. The Impropration was in Lease, but he is desired to run it out without more renewing, that in the end it might be made an improvement to that slender Bishoprick. The Vicaridge in the mean time falling, he procured himself to be legally instituted and inducted, and by the power and favour of our Bishop of *London* obtains an annexation of it to the See Episcopal, (the design of bringing in the impropration going forwards still) and builds that beautiful house upon it, which before we mentioned. The See of *Bristow* was grown poorer than that of *Oxon.* both having been dilapidated in Queen *Elizabeths* time, though by divers hands. To improve the Patrimony thereof, his Majesty had taken order, that *Wright*, then Bishop of that Church, should suspend the renewing of a Lease of a very good Farm, not very far distant from that City, well Housed, and of a competent Revenue, to serve as a Demesne to the following Bishops; for which he was to be considered in some other Preferment. *Houison* of *Durham* being dead, *Morton* removes from *Lichfield* thither, A man who for the greatest part of his time had exercised his Pen against the *Papists*: but gave withall no small contentment to King *James*, by his learned Book in defence of the three harmless Ceremonies against the *Puritans*. *Wright* follows him at *Lichfield*, and *Cooke* (brother to Secretary *Cooke*) follows *Wright* at



at *Bristol*, tyed to the same conditions, and with like encouragement. The Secretary had formerly done our Bishop some bad Offices. But great Courtiers must sometimes pay good turnes for injuries, break and be pieced again, as occasions vary. The like care also taken by him for mending the two Bishopricks of *Asaph* and *Chester*, as appears by his *Breviate*.

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*Breviate.*

p. 28.

Nor were these all the Alterations which were made this year; Archbishop *Harsnet* having left his life the year before, care must be taken for a fit man to succeed at *York*; a man of an unsuspected trust, and one that must be able to direct himself in all emergencies. *Neiles* known sufficiencies had pointed him unto the place, but he was warm at *Winton*, and perhaps might not be perswaded to move toward the North, from whence he came not long before with so great contentment; Yet such was the good mans desires to serve his Majesty, and the Church in what place soever, though to his personal trouble and particular loss; that he accepted of the offer, and was accordingly translated in the beginning of this year, or the end of the former. Two Offices fell void by this remove, one in the Court, which was the Clerkship of the Closet: and another in the Church of *Winton*, which was that of the Bishop. To the Clerkship of the Closet he preferred Dr. *William Juxon*, (whom before he had made President of *St. Johns* Colledge) and recommended to his Majesty for the Deaury of *Worcester*, to the end that he might have some trusty friend to be near his Majesty, whensoever he was forced by sickness, or any other necessary occasion, to absent himself. So that *windebanke* having the Kings ear on one side, and the Clerke of the Closet on the other, he might presume to have his tale well told between them; and that his Majesty should not easily be possessed with any thing to his disadvantage. To find another fit man for *Winton* must be his chief business, whom it concerned to plant such a Bishop in that See as might be pliant and subservient unto his desires. The Bishop of *Winton* by his place is Visitor of five considerable Colledges in the University of *Oxon*. that is to say, *Magdalens*, *New Colledge*, *Corpus Christi*, *St. Johns*, and *Trinity*; by which means he is able to draw a great party after him, and such as might much curb the power of the Chancellor if they should cross with one another. Therefore to make sure work at *Oxford* he thought it most conducive to his peace and power to prefer *Curle* from *Bath* and *Wells* to the See of *Winton*, which being accordingly effected, *Pierce* is removed from *Peterborough* to the Church of *Wells*, upon the like consideration as *Wright* about the same time was translated to *Lichfield*. There was a rich Parsonage, called *Castor*, which belonged to his Patronage as Bishop of *Peterborough*, about three or four miles from that small City, designed whensoever it fell void to serve for a perpetual *commendam* to the Bishops of it. And falling void, it was so ordered by the care of our Bishop of *London*, that *Pierce* should wave the preferment of a friend unto



PART I. it, and take it for the present unto himself, leaving it afterwards to  
*Anno Dom.* his Successors. For his Reward therein he was preferred to *Bath*  
 1632. and *Wells*, and *Peterborough* procured by *Land* for his old Friend and  
 Fellow-Servant Doctor *Augustine Lyndsell*, for whom he formerly  
 had obtained the Deanry of *Litchfeild*: And to say truth, the man  
 deserved it, being a very solid Divine, and a learned Linguist, to  
 whom the Christian World remains indebted for *Theophylact's*  
*Comment* on the Epistles, and the *Catena* upon *Job*, published by  
 him in *Greek* and *Latin*.

His Majesties Printers, at or about this time, had committed a  
 scandalous mistake in our *English* Bibles, by leaving out the word  
*Not* in the Seventh Commandment. His Majesty being made ac-  
 quainted with it by the Bishop of *London*, Order was given for cal-  
 ling the Printers into the *High-Commission*, where upon Evidence of  
 the Fact, the whole Impression was called in, and the Printers deep-  
 ly fined, as they justly merited. With some part of this Fine *Land*  
 causeth a fair Greek Character to be provided, for publishing such  
 Manuscripts as Time and Industry should make ready for the Pub-  
 lick view; of which sort were the *Catena* and *Theophylact* set out by  
*Lyndsell*.

This mentioning of the *High-Commission* conducts me toward the  
*Star-Chamber*, where we shall find a Censure passed on *Sherfeild* the  
 Recorder of *Sarum*, wherein our Bishop was as active as in that  
 before; which because it drew upon him some clamour, and such a  
 clamour as not only followed him to his death, but hath been since  
 continued in sundry Pamphlets, I shall lay down the occasion of it,  
 and the true Reasons of his Earnestness and Zeal in that prosecution.  
 This *Sherfeild* being Recorder of *Sarum*, as before is said, was one  
 of the Parishioners of the Parish Church of *St. Edmonds*, in one of  
 the Windows whereof the Story of the Creation was express'd in  
 old painted Glass, in which there was a Representation of God the  
 Father in the shape of an Old Man, after which form the Painters of  
 those Elder Times did most commonly draw him. This Window,  
 which had continued in the Church without any offence from the  
 first setting of it up, till the year 1629. or thereabouts, became a  
 great eyesore to this man, whom nothing would content but the defa-  
 cing of those Pictures, in such a way as might best please his own hu-  
 mour, and affront Authority. *Davenant* at that time was Bishop  
 of *Sarum*, and lived for the most part in his Palace there; a man of  
 known disaffections to the Church of *Rome*, and all the Superstitious  
 Vanities and Corruptions of it. Had he been made acquainted with  
 it, there is no question to be made, but that he either would have gra-  
 tified the man, in causing the said window to be taken down in a peace-  
 able way; or else have given him such good Reasons to the contra-  
 ry, as might have qualified the peccancy of the present Humour.  
 But *Sherfeild* being the Recorder, and thinking he had the Law in his  
 hands, as well as he had it in his head, must go another way to  
 work,



work, and bring the Business to be agitated in a Parish *Vestry*, which *Bastard Elderships* began to grow so much in use in most Corporate Towns, that countenance and connivence in short time would have made them Legitimate. The *Elders* of the *Vestry* being as willing to embrace the business, as he was to commend it to them, enabled him at the next *Church-Session*, in the Month of *January* 1629. to ease his Conscience of that burthen, by taking down the offensive Window, and setting up another of plain white Glass in the place thereof: And yet this gave him no content, unless he might shew a more than ordinary Zeal, in defacing those Images which he was ordered to take down; and did accordingly deface them, beating down the Pictures with his Staff in such a violent and scandalous way, as was disrelished by most moderate men of his own Perswasion. The noise of so foul a misdemeanour growing lowder and lowder, it came at last unto the Court; whereupon an Information was exhibited against him in the *Star-Chamber* by the Kings Atturney, not ripened for a Hearing till the latter end of this present year, and then brought to Sentence. The Affront done to the *Dio-cesan*, and the erecting of a new *Eldership* in despite of Authority, had been crime sufficient to bring him under the Censure of the *High-Commission*: But taking power unto himself of Reforming what he thought amiss in the face of the Church, and proceeding to the execution of it in a way so dangerous, so full of ill example to the rest of the Zealots, made him more properly subject to the Court of *Star-Chamber*, and to as heavy a Censure there as that Court could legally inflict for the like Disorders. For what Security could be hoped for in Church or State, if every man should be a *Sherfeild*, and without asking leave of the Prince or Prelate, proceed to such a Reformation as best pleased his Phansie? If suffered to go on in defacing Windows, they would be spirited in short time to pull down Churches; there being commonly no stop in such Tumultuary Reformations, till every man be wearied in his own confusions. And somewhat there was also in it which was looked upon as a great discouragement to the moderate *Papists*, from thinking favourably of our Churches, or resorting to them; and to some moderate *Protestants* also, in beautifying and adorning Churches after such a manner, as without giving just offence, might draw the greater Estimation to those sacred Places. In which respect, *Laud* did not only aggravate the Crime as much as he could, in reference to the dangerous Consequences which might follow on it: but shewed how far the use of painted Images, in the way of Ornament and Remembrance, might be retained in the Church; not justifying the painting of God the Father in the shape of an Old Man (as he was commonly misreported) but only laying down the Reason which induced some Painters to that Representation; which they grounded on *Daniel* 7. 9. where God the Father is not only called the *Ancient of Days*, to signifie his Eternity before all time (which

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was



PART I. was so much insisted on by the Earl of *Dorset*) but described after  
*Anno Dom.* the similitude of an Old Man, *the hair of whose head was like the pure*  
 1632. *wooll.* In fine, though *Sherfeild* found some Friends, yet they were  
 but few, the major part concurring in this Sentence on him, that is  
 to say, to be fined a thousand pounds to the King, deprived of his  
 Recordership, bound to his good behaviour for the time to come,  
 as also to make a publick Acknowledgment of his Offence, not only  
 in the Parish Church of *St. Edmonds*, where it was committed; but  
 in the Cathedral Church it self; that the Bishop, in contempt of  
 whose Authority he had plaid this *Pageant*, might have Reparation.

This Censure being past on *Sherfeild* on the eighth of *February*,  
 Order is given to *Noy* the Atturney-General to make preparation for  
 another, but of greater consequence. We shew'd before how bu-  
 sie *Prynne* had made himself in some present Controversies, and  
 with what insolence he carried himself from the *High-Commission*.  
 Prepared with confidence and success for a further Calamity, he pub-  
 lishes a small Pamphlet called *Lame GILES his Halting*, An *Appen-*  
*dix* against *Bowing at the Name of JESUS*, a larger Book called  
*Anti-Arminianism*, and notably bestirs himself in discovering a  
 mistake (an *Imposture* it must needs be called) in the *Historical Nar-*  
*ration* published 1631. against which he never left exclaiming, till he  
 had procured Archbishop *Abbot* (with whom he was grown very  
 gracious) to call it in: But not contented with that Triumph, he  
 prepares another *Pageant* for us in the end of *Michaelmas* Term this  
 year, known by the name of *Histrion-Mastix*, in which he seemed  
 to breath nothing but Disgrace to the Nation, Infamy to the Church,  
 Reproaches to the Court, Dishonour to the Queen, and some  
 things which were thought to be tending to the destruction of his  
 Majesties Person. Neither the Hospitality of the Gentry in the  
 time of *Christmas*, nor the Musick in Cathedrals and the Chappels  
 Royal, nor the Pumps and Gallantries of the Court, nor the Queens  
 harmless Recreations, nor the Kings solacing himself sometimes in  
 Masques and Dances, could escape the venom of his Pen; expres-  
 sed for the most part in such bitter Language, and frequently inter-  
 laced with such dangerous Aggravations and Insinuations, that it  
 was not possible for the Author to escape uncensured. This Book  
 being brought before the Lords of the Council toward the end of  
*January*, and found too tedious for their Lordships to be troubled  
 with it, it pleased his Majesty to give order, that the Book should be  
 committed to the Reading of one of the *Prebends* of *westminster*, with  
 command to draw out of it and digest such particular Passages as  
 tended to the danger or dishonour of the King or State. On the finish-  
 ing and return of which Collection, *Prynne* is committed to the Tow-  
 er on *Sunday* being *Candlemas* day, and on the morrow after the Col-  
 lector received a further Order to review his Notes, and deduct out  
 of them such Logical Inferences and Conclusions as might and did na-  
 turally arise on those dangerous Premises: One Copy of the same to be  
 left



left for the Lords of the Council, and another with *Noy* the Attur-  
ney-General, and the rest of his Majesties Council-Learned in the  
Laws of this Realm; which Papers gave such satisfaction to the one,  
and such help to the other, that when the Cause was brought to  
hearing in the *Star-Chamber*, they repeated his Instructions only, as (a)  
*Prynne* himself informed against him to the House of Commons.  
What was done further in this business, we shall see hereafter.

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(a) Discovery of the Pre-  
lates Tryal,  
p. 129.

This business being put into a course, our Bishop offereth  
some Considerations to the Lords of the Council, concerning  
the Dishonour done to the Church of *England* by the wilful ne-  
gligence of some Chaplains and other Ministers, both in our Facto-  
ries and Regiments beyond the Seas; together with the Inconveni-  
encies which redounded to it from the *French* and *Dutch* Congrega-  
tions settled in many places amongst our selves. He had long teemed  
with this Design, but was not willing to be his own *Midwife* when  
it came to the *Birth*; and therefore it was so contrived, that *Winde-  
bank* should make the Proposition at the Council-Table, and put the  
Business on so far, that the Bishop might be moved by the whole  
Board to consider of the several Points in that weighty Business:  
who being thus warranted to the execution of his own desires, pre-  
sented two *Memorials* to their Lordships, at the end of this year,  
*March 22*. The one relating to the Factories and Regiments beyond  
the Seas; the other to the *French* and *Dutch* Plantations in *London*,  
*Kent*, *Norfolk*, *Yorkshire*, *Hampshire*, and the Isle of *Axholme*. He  
had observed, not without great indignation, how Tenacious the  
*French* and *Dutch* Churches were of their own received Forms, both  
in Worship and Government; as on the other side, how ignoble  
and degenerate the *English* had shown themselves, in neglecting the  
Divine Service of this Church in their several Factories, where they  
were licenced to make use of it by the Power and Countenance of that  
State in which they Traded. The Earl of *Leicester* being sent this  
year to negotiate some Affairs with the King of *Denmark*, and *An-  
strother* ready to come from the Court of the Emperour, they were  
appointed by his Majesty to meet at *Hamborough*, there to expect the  
coming of *Pennington* with some Ships to conduct them home. The  
*English* driving a great Trade in that Town, were by the Magistrates  
thereof indulged all the Priviledges of an *English* Church: but  
they retained nothing of a Church of *England*, governing them-  
selves wholly by *Calvin's* Plat-form, which they had taken up in  
*England*. The two Embassadors being met, but the Ships not  
come, the *Elders* of the Church humbly desired their Lordships to  
do them so much honour in the eyes of the People, as to vouchsafe  
their presence at the *English* Church; and that their Lordships  
Chaplains might be ordered to Exercise in the Congregation. This  
Motion being chearfully embraced by both, the Earl of *Leicester's*  
Chaplain first mounts the Pulpit, and after a short Psalm, according  
to the *Genevian* fashion, betakes himself unto his Sermon. The  
like



PART I. like was done by *Johnson*, *Anstrothers* Chaplain, (for I remember  
*Anno Dom.* not the name of the other) when it came to his turn. The Ships be-  
 1632. ing come, and staying for a change of wind, the like curtesie was  
 desired of *Pennington*, Admiral of that little Fleet for the present  
 Service. *Pennington* told them that he had no Chaplain, that there  
 was in the Ship one Dr. *Ambrose* his Friend and Kinsman, who had  
 borne him company in that Voyage; and that he doubted not but  
 that he would readily hearken to them, if they made the motion.  
 The motion being made and granted, *Ambrose* attends his Admiral  
 to the place of Exercise, where he took up his stand very near the  
 Pulpit. The Congregation being filled, and the Psalm half done,  
 a Deacon is sent to put him in mind of going into the Pulpit; of  
 whom he desires to be accommodated with a Bible, and a *Common-  
 Prayer* Book; The Deacon offered him a Bible, but told him that  
 they had no such thing as a *Common-Prayer* Book, and that the *Com-  
 mon* Prayers were not used amongst them: Why then, said *Ambrose*,  
 the best is, that I have one of my own; which being presently ta-  
 ken out of his pocket, he began with the Sentences, and invitation,  
 and was scarce entred into the Confession, when all the Church was  
 in an uprore. The Elders thereupon in a great amaze sent back the  
*Deacon*, to desire him to go into the Pulpit, and not to trouble  
 them with that which they were not used to. *Ambrose* replied,  
 That if they were an *English* Church they were obliged to serve  
 God by the *English Liturgie*; and that if they would have no *Pray-  
 ers* they should have no Sermon, and so proceeded on with the rest  
 of the Liturgy; which Message being delivered to the *Elders*, the  
*Deacon* was sent back the third time, requiring him to desist from  
 that unnecessary Service. On the receiving of which Message he puts  
 the book into his pocket, and goes out of the Church, the two  
*Embassadours* following him, and the Admiral them; to the great  
 honour of himself, and the confusion of *Johnson* (from whose  
 mouth I received the story) and the other Chaplain, being thus  
 shewed their errour in not doing the like.

That our Bishop was ever made acquainted by the said *Johnson*  
 with this passage, I am not able to say; but whether he were or not,  
 he had too much ground for what he did, in offering to their Lord-  
 ships his considerations for regulating Divine Service in that and  
 all other Factories, Imployments, and Commands of the *English*  
 Nation. That is to say, "First, That the Colonels of the *English*  
 "Regiments in the *Low-Countries* should entertain no Minister as  
 "Preacher to their Regiments but such as should conform in all  
 "things to the Church of *England*, to be commended to them by  
 "their Lordships, the Advice of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and  
 "York being taken in it. Secondly, That the Company of Merchants  
 "there residing, or in any other parts, shall admit no Minister as  
 "Preacher to them but such as are so qualified, and so commended,  
 "as aforesaid. Thirdly, That if any Minister hath gotten himself by  
 "indirect



" indirect means to be so commended, and should be afterwards  
 " found to be unconformable, and should not conform himself with-  
 " in three months, upon warning giving<sup>2<sup>d</sup></sup> him by the said Colonels  
 " or Deputy Governour of the Factors under whom he liveth, he  
 " shall be dismissed from his imployment, and a more orderly man  
 " recommended to it. Fourthly, That every Minister or Chaplain  
 " in any Factory, or Regiment, whether of *English* or *Scots*, shall  
 " read the Common Prayers, Administer the Sacraments, Cate-  
 " chise the Children, and perform all other publick Ministerial du-  
 " ties, according to the Rules or *Rubricks* of the *English* Liturgie,  
 " and not otherwise. Fifthly, That if any Minister or Preacher,  
 " being the Kings born Subject, should with any bitter words, or  
 " writings, in Print or otherwise, defame the Church of *England*  
 " by Law established, notice thereof is to be given to the Ambassa-  
 " dor there, and by him to this State, by whom the party so offend-  
 " ing should be commanded over again to answer for his said offen-  
 " ces; the like to be done also in derogating from the Doctrine and  
 " Discipline of the Church, and in Preaching, Writing or Printing  
 " any thing prejudicial to the Temporal State and Government of the  
 " Realm of *England*. Sixthly, That no Colonel or Deputy Go-  
 " vernour should permit their Minister or Preacher, in the case of  
 " sickness, or necessary absence, to bring in any to preach or officiate  
 " for him, but such an one for whose conformity he would be  
 " accountable. Seventhly, That no Deputy Governours should be  
 " sent to *Delfe*, or any other place of Residence for the *English* Mer-  
 " chants, but one that, being conformable to the Church of *Eng-*  
 " *land* both in Doctrine and Discipline, would take care also, that  
 " such as be under him, shall perform all Church duties before  
 " expressed; that the party so designed shall be presented to their  
 " Lordships by the Merchant *Adventurers*, giving assurance of his  
 " fitness and sufficiency for that charge, and that some of the chief  
 " of the Merchants be sent for to the board, and made acquainted  
 " with this order. Eightly, That as often as the said Merchants  
 " shall renew their Patents, a clause for the due observation of  
 " these Instructions (or so many of them at the least as should  
 " seem necessary to their Lordships) to be inserted in the same.  
 " Ninthly, That all his Majesties Agents there from time to time  
 " have these Instructions given them in Charge, and that once a  
 " year they be required to give the Board an account of the Pro-  
 " gress of the business, that further order might be taken if occasion  
 " be. Tenthly, That the *English* Ministers in *Holland*, being his Ma-  
 " jesties born Subjects, be not suffered to hold any *Classical* meet-  
 " ings, but howsoever not to assume the power of *Ordination*; from  
 " which if they should not be restrained, there would be a per-  
 " petual Seminary for breeding up men in Schism and Faction, to the  
 " disturbance of this Kingdom.

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In reference to the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here in *England* he

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proceeded in another method ; first, representing the occasion of their settling here, their several abuses of that Favour, together with the manifold dangers and inconveniencies which might thence arise ; and next advising such agreeable remedies as he thought most proper for the cure. “ And first he represented to them the great piety “ of this State in giving liberty to those Nations to enjoy the freedom of their own Religion, at *London* and elsewhere in this Kingdom ; when being under persecution in their own Countries they could not enjoy the same at home. Secondly, That it was not the meaning of this State then, or at any other time since, that the first Generation being worn out, their Children, and Childrens Children, being naturally born Subjects of this Realm, should still remain divided from the rest of the Church, which must needs alienate them from the State, and make them apt to any innovation which may sort better with their humour. Thirdly, That they still keep themselves as a distinct body of themselves, marrying only in their own Tribe with one another ; by means whereof it must needs follow, that as they are now a Church within a Church, so in short time they might grow to be a Commonwealth in the midst of a Kingdom. Fourthly, That these bodies standing thus divided from the Church and State are planted for the most part in such Haven Towns as lay fittest for *France* and the *Low-Countries* ; which may be a shrewd temptation to them to take such advantages to themselves, or to make use thereof for others as occasion offereth. Fifthly, That the example is of ill consequence in Church-affairs to the Subjects of *England*, many being confirmed by it in their stubborn waies, and inconformities, but in *London* chiefly. Sixthly, That neither *French* nor *Dutch* Church be longer tolerated in this Kingdom than the Subjects of this Kingdom be suffered to enjoy the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* in those several parts beyond the Seas where they have their abode. The dangers and inconveniencies being thus laid down, he proceeds to the Remedies. And first he doth advise, “ That the number of them in all places of the Kingdom be fully known, to the end a better Judgment might be made of the way by which they are to be reduced to the rest of the Kingdom. Secondly, That a Command be issued to this purpose from the State it self, and that it be avowedly ( and not perfunctorily ) taken in all places where they do reside, and a Certificate returned of the men of most credit and wealth amongst them. Thirdly, That if they will continue as a distinct body both from State and Church, they should pay all duties double as strangers used to do in this Realm, and not be capable of such immunities as the Natives have, as long as they continue so divided from them. Fourthly, That when it shall be thought convenient to reduce them to the same condition with the rest of the Subjects, they should then be warned in an Ecclesiastical way ( excepting “ such



“such as be new Commers-) to repair diligently to their Parish Churches, and to conform themselves to their Prayers and Sacraments; which if they should refuse to do, then to proceed against them by Excommunication; and so unto the Writ *de Excommunicatione capiendo*, for a terror to others. Fifthly, and lastly, That if this course prevaile not with them, a Declaration to be made by the State to this effect, That if they will be as natives, and take the benefit of Subjects they must conform themselves to the Laws of the Kingdom, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal; That being the likeliest way to make them capable of the inconveniencies they should run unto by their refusal and perverseness. Such were the considerations offered by him to the Lords of the Council, for advancing the peace and honour of this Church both at home, and abroad. But long it will not be before we shall behold him sitting in the Chair of *Canterbury*, acting his own counsels, bringing these Conceptions to the birth, and putting the design into execution, of which more hereafter.

L I B. III.

Anno Dom.

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These matters standing in this state, we must at last look toward *Scotland*; for the receiving of which Crown his Majesty and the Court prepare the beginning of this year. But besides the Pomp and Splendor of a Coronation, which the people with great opportunity had long prest upon him, there were some other *Loadstones* which made the *Needle* of his *Compass* point so much to the *North*. Concerning which the Reader may be pleased to know, that at the first Alteration of Religion in the Kirk of *Scotland*, the *Scots* petitioning for aide from Queen *Elizabeth* to expell the *French*, (a) obliged themselves by the subscription of their hands to embrace the *Liturgie*, *Rites*, and *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*. According whereunto, an Ordinance was made by their *Reformers*, that in all Parishes of that *Realm* (b) the Common-Prayer should be read weekly on Sundaies, and other Festival daies, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of *England*; it being well known, that for divers years after, they had no other order for Common-Prayer but that which they received from hence. But as *Presbytery* prevailed, so the *Liturgie* fell: the fancy of *Extemporary* Prayers growing up so fast in the minority of King *James*, that it soon thrust all Publick Forms out of use and credit. In which confused estate it stood till the coming of that King to the Crown of *England*, where he much pleased himself with the Sobriety and Piety of the publick *Liturgie*. This made him cast his eyes more sadly on the Kirk of *Scotland*, where for want of some such publick *Forms* of *Prayers* the Ministers prayed so ignorantly, that it was a shame to all Religion to have God spoke to in that barbarous manner, and sometimes so seditiously that their Prayers were plain Libells against Authority, or stult with lies made up of all the false reports in the Kingdom. For remedy whereof, after he had restored, and settled

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(a) Religionis cultui & ritibus cum Anglia communibus subscripserunt.

Buch. Hist. Scot. l. 19.

(b) Preface to the Scots Liturgie.



PART I. the *Episcopal* Government, he procured the *General Assembly* of that  
*Anno Dom.* Kirk, held at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616. to pass an Act for Authorising  
 1633. some of the Bishops, and divers others, to compile a Publick *Liturgie*  
 for the use of that Kirk; which being presented unto the King, and by him approved, should be universally received over all the Kingdom. To prepare the way unto them, his Majesty gave order the next Spring after, That the *English Liturgie* should be Officiated day by day in his Chappel-Royal in the City of *Edenborough*; and in the year following 1618. obtained the five Articles before-mentioned (as so many chief Ingredients for the Common-Prayer-Book) to be passed at *Perth*: by which Encouragements, the Commissioners which were appointed to compile the Book, went so luckily forwards, that it was not long before they brought it to an end, and sent it to King *James* by Archbishop *Spotswood*; who not only carefully perused every Passage in it, but caused it to be revised by some of the Bishops of that Kingdom, which were then in *England*, in whose Judgments he reposed especial confidence. Fitted according to his mind, he sent it back again to those from whose hands he received it, to be by them commended to the use of the Church; which undoubtedly had took effect, if the Breach with *Spain*, and the Death of that King, which followed not long after, had not unfortunately interrupted the Success of the business.

*Hidd. Works,*  
 p. 155.

In this condition of Affairs King *Charles* succeeded in the Crown, engaged in a War with the King of *Spain*, and standing upon no good terms with his People at home; so that the business of the *Liturgie* seemed to be laid asleep, if not quite extinct. But in the year 1629. having agreed his differences with the Crown of *France*, and being in a good way towards an Accommodation with the King of *Spain*, the *Scottish* Bishops were again remembered of their Duty in it, who dispatch'd *Maxwell*, then one of the Preachers of *Edenborough*, to the Court about it: *Maxwell* applying himself to *Laud*, then Bishop of *London*, from whom he received this positive Answer, That if his Majesty would have a *Liturgie* settled there, different from what they had already, it was best to take the *English Liturgie*, without any variation from it; that so the same Service-Book might pass through all his Majesties Dominions. *Maxwell* replying, That the *Scottish Bishops* would be better pleased to have a *Liturgie* of their own, but such as should come near the *English* both in Form and Matter, the Cause was brought before the King, who on a serious consideration of all Particulars, concurred in Judgment for the *English*. And on these terms it stood till this present year, *Laud* standing hard for admitting the *English Liturgie* without alteration; the *Scottish* Bishops pleading on the other side, That a *Liturgie* made by themselves, and in some things different from the *English Service*, would best please their Countrymen, whom they found very jealous of the least dependence on the Church of *England*. But because Letters writtten in the time of Action, are commonly conceived to carry more truth in



in them, than Relations made upon the *post-fact* for particular ends; take here this short Remembrance in one of his Letters to the Earl of Traquaire, dated September 11. 1637. where we find this Passage : *And since (saith he) I hear from others, That some exception is taken, because there is more in that Liturgie in some few particulars, than is in the Liturgie of England, why did they not admit the Liturgie of England without more ado? But by their refusal of that, and the dislike of this, 'tis more than manifest they would have neither, and perhaps none at all, were they left to themselves.*

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Ibid. p. 169.

But besides this, there was another Invitation which wrought much upon him in order to the present Journey : At his first coming to the Crown, the great Engagements then upon him, want of Supply from *England*, and small help from *Scotland*, forced him to have recourse to such other ways of assistances as were offered to him ; of which this was one. In the Minority of King *James*, the Lands of all Cathedral Churches and Religious Houses which had been settled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shared amongst the Lords and great men of that Kingdom (by the connivence of the Earl of *Murrey*, and some other of the Regents) to make them sure unto that side : And they being thus possessed of the same Lands, with the Regalities and Tythes belonging to those Ecclesiastical Corporations, Lorded it with Pride and Insolence enough in their several Territories, holding the Clergy to small Stipends, and the poor *Peasant* under a miserable Vassalage and subjection to them, not suffering them to carry away their nine parts, till the Lord had carried off his Tenth ; which many times was neglected out of pride and malice, those Tyrants not caring to lose their Tythe, so that the poor mans Crop might be left unto spoil and hazard. King *James* had once a purpose to revoke those Grants ; but growing into years and troubles, he left the following of that Project to his Son and Successor : Having but little help from thence to maintain his Wars, by the Advice of some of the Council of that Kingdom, he was put upon a course of resuming those Lands, Tythes, and Regalities into his own hand, to which the present Occupants could pretend no other Title than the unjust Usurpation of their Predecessors. This to effect, he resolves upon an Act of *Revocation*, Commissionating for that purpose the Earl of *Annandale*, and the Lord *Maxwell* (afterwards Earl of *Niddisdale*) to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, for Contribution of Money and Ships against the *Dun Kirkers* ; and arming *Maxwell* also with some secret Instructions for passing the said Act of *Revocation*, if he found it feasible. Being on the way as far as *Barwick*, *Maxwell* was there informed, That his chief errand being made known, had put all at *Edenborough* into Tumult ; That a rich Coach which he had sent before to *Dalkeith* was cut in pieces, the poor Horses killed, the People seeming only sorry that they could not do so much to the Lord himself. Things being brought unto this stand, the King was put to a necessity of some second Counsels,



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Counsels, amongst which none seemed more plausible and expedient to him, than that of Mr. *Archibald Achison*, who from a puisne Judge in *Ireland*, was made his Majesties *Procurator* or *Solicitor-General* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; who having told his Majesty, That such as were *Estate*d in the Lands in question, had served themselves so well by the bare naming of an *Act* of *Revocation*, as to possess the People (whom they found apt to be inflamed on such Suggestions), That the true intendment of that *Act* was to revoke all former Laws for suppressing of *Popery*, and settling the Reformed Religion in the *Kirk* of *Scotland*: And therefore, That it would be unsafe for his Majesty to proceed that way. Next he advised, That instead of such a General *Revocation* as the *Act* imported, a *Commission* should be issued out under the Great Seal of that Kingdom, for taking the *Surrendries* of all such *Superiorities* and *Tythes* within the Kingdom, at his Majesties Pleasure: And that such as should refuse to submit unto it, should be *Impleaded* one by one; to begin first with those whom he thought least able to stand out, or else most willing to conform to his Majesties Pleasure: Assuring him, That having the Laws upon his side, the Courts of Justice must and would pass Judgment for him.

The King resolved upon this course, sends home the Gentleman, not only with Thanks and Knighthood (which he had most worthily deserved) but with Instructions and Power to proceed therein; and he proceeded in it so effectually to the Kings Advantage, that some of the impleaded Parties being cast in the Suit; and the rest seeing, that though they could raise the People against the King, they could not raise them against the Laws, it was thought the best and safest way to compound the business. Hereupon, in the year 1630. Commissioners are sent to the Court of *England*, and amongst others, the Learned and right Noble Lord of *Marcheston* (from whose mouth I had this whole Relation) who after a long Treaty with the King, did at last agree, That the said *Commission* should proceed as formerly; and, That all such *Superiorities* and *Tythes* as had been or should be surrendered, should be re-granted by the King on these Conditions: First, That all such as held *Hereditary Sheriffdoms*, or had the Power of Life and Death over such as lived within their Jurisdiction, should quit those *Royalties* to the King. Secondly, That they should make unto their Tenants in their several Lands, some permanent Estates, either for their Lives, or one and twenty years, or some such like Term; that so the Tenants might be encouraged to Build and Plant, and improve the Patrimony of that Kingdom. Thirdly, That some Provisions should be made for augmenting the Stipends of the Clergy. Fourthly, That they should double the yearly Rents which were reserved unto the Crown, by their former Grants. And finally, That these Conditions being performed on their parts, the King should settle their Estates by *Act* of Parliament. Home went the Commissioners with joy for their good success, expecting to be entertained with Bells and Bonfires: but they found the contrary; the proud Scots being generally



rally resolved, rather to put all to hazard, than to quit that Power and Tyranny which they had over their poor *Vassals*, by which name (after the manner of the *French*) they called their Tenants. And hereunto they were encouraged under-hand by a Party in *England*, who feared that by this Agreement the King would be so absolute in those Northern Regions, that no Aid could be hoped from thence, when the necessity of their designs might most require it: Just as the *Castilians* were displeased with the Conquest of *Portugal* by King *Philip* the Second, because thereby they had no place left to retire unto, when either the Kings displeasure, or their disobedience, should make their own Country to hot for them.

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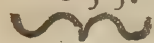
Such was the face of Church and State when his Majesty began his Journey for *Scotland* to receive the Crown; a Journey of great expence on both sides, but of small profit unto either. On the thirteenth day of *May* he advanced toward the North; but by such leisurely Removes, that he recovered not the City of *York* till the twenty fourth, into which he made a Solemn and Magnificent Entrance, attended by the Flower of the *English* Nobility, the principal Officers of his Court, and some of the Lords of his Privy Council. He was received at his first entrance into *Scotland* with a gallant body of that Nation, consisting for the most part of the like Ingredients, and so conducted into *Edenborough* on the tenth of *June*. *Edenborough*, the chief City of the Realm of *Scotland*, and indeed the *Summa totalis* of that Kingdom, extended a whole mile in length from the *Palace-Royal* of *Holy-Rood-House*, lying at the foot of the Hill, to a fair and ancient Castle mounted on the top thereof. From this Castle the King was to descend the Street in a Royal Pomp, till he came to his Palace (as the Kings of *England* commonly on the like occasion ride from the *Tower* thorow *London* to the Court of *White-hall*) where the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be perform'd. The day designed for it was the eighteenth of *June*, the concourse of People beyond expression, and the expressions of their Joy in gallantry of Apparel, sumptuous Feastings, and Acclamations of all sorts, nothing inferiour to that concourse. But this was only the *Hofanna* of his first Reception; they had a *Crucifige* for him when he came to his Parliament. It was conceived at his Majesties first going toward the *North*, that he would have settled the *English Liturgie* in that Church, at his being there: but he either carried no such thoughts with him, or, if he did, he kept them to himself as no more than thoughts, never discovering any such thing in his words or actions. The *Scots* were of another temper, than to be easily won to any thing which they had no mind to; and a less mind they could have to nothing than the *English Liturgie*. King *James* had taken order at his being in *Scotland*, Anno 1617. That it should constantly be read twice every day in his Chappel-Royal for that City; and gave command that the Lords of his Privy-Council, and the Lords of *Session*, should be present at it on the *Sundays*, and there receive



PART I. receive the Holy Communion, according to the form prescribed in the Common-Prayer-Book: And this he did unto this end, That as well the Citizens of *Edenborough*, as such as came thither upon Business, might by degrees be made acquainted with the *English* Forms, and consequently be prepared for the receiving of such a *Liturgie* as the King, with the Advice of his Bishops, and other Learned Men (according to the Act of the *Assembly at Aberdeen*) should commend unto them: But these Directions being either discontinued, or carelessly followed after his decease, and the five Articles of *Perth* not press'd so diligently on the People as they might have been, the *Scots* were generally as great Strangers to the *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*; as when King *James* first came amongst us.

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His Majesty could not be so ill served, as not to be well enough informed how things went in *Scotland*; and therefore was not to venture rashly upon such a business, wherein he might receive a foil. He thereupon resolves to proceed no further in Matters which concerned the Church, than to pass an Act of *Ratification*, an Act Confirmatory of such Laws and Statutes, relating unto Church-concernments; as by King *James* had been obtained with great charge and cunning. And though he carried this Act at last, yet was it not without a far greater opposition than he had reason to expect from that *Convention*: But the Commission of *Surrendry* did so stick in their stomachs, that they could not chuse but vent their disaffections on the first occasion. Nor would they suffer him to enjoy the benefit of that Act, so hardly gotten, with Peace and Honour; but followed him into *England* with a pestilent *Libel*, in which they charged him to have carried that Act by corrupting some, and a plain down-right buying of the Voices of others. This was the first taste which they gave the King of their malevolency towards his Person and Government; but it shall not prove to be the last. His Majesty had another business to effect at his being there, for which he needed not their Assistance, and for that reason did not ask it: This was the raising of the City of *Edenborough* to a See Episcopal, which before was only a Borough Town, belonging anciently to the Diocess and Jurisdiction of *St. Andrews*. The *Metropolitan* of *St. Andrews* was willing for the common good to yield unto this diminution of his Power and Profit; and that the whole County of *Lothian*, extending from *Edenborough-Fryth* to the Town of *Barwick*, should be dismembred from his own Diocess, to serve as a Diocess to this Bishop of new Election. And on the other side, the Duke of *Lenox*, whose Ancestors had long enjoyed the *Priory* of *St. Andrews*, with a great part of the Lands belonging to it, was willing to let his Majesty have a good penyworth of some part of those Lands, to serve as a Patrimony to this new Episcopal See, and the Bishop of it. Which Provision being thus made and settled, *Forbesse* a right grave and solid Divine, is made the first Bishop of this City, his Cathedral fixed



fixed in the Church of *St. Giles* (being the fairest in the Town), a Dean appointed for that Church, some Ministers of *Edenborough* and the Parts adjoining, being nominated for the *Canons* or *Prebends* of it. A design pious in it self, and purposely intended to inure the *Edenburghers* to the Fatherly Government of a Bishop, who by tempering the exorbitancies of the Ministers there, might by degrees prepare the People to such impressions of Conformity as his Majesty, by the Council and Consent of the rest of the Bishops, should graciously be pleased to imprint upon them. But such ill luck his Majesty had with that stubborn Nation, that this was look'd upon also as a general Grievance, and must be thought to aim at no other end than Tyranny and *Popery*, and what else they pleased.

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We have almost done our work in *Scotland*, and yet hear nothing all this while of the Bishop of *London*; not that he did not go the Journey, but that there was little to be done at his being there, but to see and be seen: And yet it was a Journey which brought him some access of Honour, and gave him opportunity of making himself known to those of best Quality of that Kingdom. He had been in *Scotland* with King *James*; but then he waited only as a private Chaplain. He is now looked upon as the third Bishop of *England* in Place, and the greatest in Power; a Counsellor of State, and the Kings great Favorite. He entred *Scotland* as a Privy-Counsellor of *England* only; but returned thence as a Counsellor for that Kingdom also: to which Office he was sworn on the fifteenth of *June*. Nor did he shew himself less able in that Church, than in the Council-Chamber; being appointed by his Majesty to Preach before him on the last of that Month: in which some question may be made how he pleased the *Scots*, although it be out of question that he pleased the King. The greatest part of the following *July* was spent in visiting the Country, and taking a view of the chief Cities, and most remarkable Parts and Places of it: Which having seen, he made a Posting Journey to the Queen at *Greenwich*, whither he came on *Saturday* the twentieth of *July*, crossing the Water at *Blackwall*, and looking towards *London* from no nearer distance: But in this Act he laid aside the Majesty of his Predecessors, especially of Queen *Elizabeth* of Famous Memory, of whom it was observed, That she did very seldom end any of her *Summer Progresses*, but she would wheel about to some end of *London*, to make her passage to *Whitehall* thorow some part of the City; not only requiring the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their Scarlet Robes and Chains of Gold, to come forth to meet her: but the several Companies of the City to attend solemnly in their Formalities as she went along. By means whereof she did not only preserve that Majesty which did belong to a Queen of *England*; but kept the *Citizens* (and consequently all the Subjects) in a reverent Estimation and Opinion of her. She used the like Arts also in keeping up the Majesty of the Crown, and Service of the City, in the Reception and bringing in of Foreign *Embassadors*;



PART I. who if they came to *London* by Water, were met at *Gravesend* by  
*Anno Dom.* the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Companies in their several  
 1633. Barges, and in that Solemn manner conducted unto such Stairs by  
 the Water side, as were nearest to the Lodgings provided for them :  
 But if they were to come by Land, they were met in the like sort at  
*Shooters-Hill*, by the Mayor and Aldermen, and thence conducted  
 to their Lodgings, the Companies waiting in the Streets in their se-  
 veral Habits. The like she used also in celebrating the *Obsequies*  
 of all Christian Kings, whether *Popish* or *Protestant*, with whom she  
 was in Correspondence ; performed in such a Solemn and Magnifi-  
 cent manner, that it preserved her in the estimation of all Foreign  
 Princes, though differing in Religion from her, besides the great  
 contentment which the People took in those Royal Poms. Some  
 other Arts she had of preserving Majesty, and keeping distance with  
 her People ; yet was so popular withal, when she saw her time,  
 that never *Majesty* and *Popularity* were so matched together. But  
 these being laid aside by King *James*, who brooked neither of them ;  
 and not resumed by King *Charles*, who loved them not much more  
 than his Father did ; there followed first a neglect of their Persons,  
 which *Majesty* would have made more Sacred ; and afterwards a  
 dislike of their Government, which a little *Popularity* would have  
 made more grateful.

*Land* having no such cause of hastning homewards, returned not  
 to his House at *Fulham* till the twenty sixth of the same Month : But  
 he came time enough to hear the news of *Abbot's* Sickness, and with-  
 in few days after, of his Death, which hapned on *Sunday* morning  
 the fourth of *August*, and was presently signified to the King, being  
 then at *Greenwich*. A man he was that had tasted both of good and  
 ill Fortune in extremes ; affirmed by the Church Historian (for I  
 shall only speak him in the words of others) to be a grave man in his  
 Conversation, and unblameable in his Life : but said withal to have  
 been carried with *non amavit gentem nostram*, forsaking the Birds of  
 his own feather, to fly with others ; and generally favouring the  
*Laity* above the *Clergie*, in all Cases which were brought before  
 him : Conceived by one of our State Historians, to be too facil and  
 yielding in the exercising of his Function ; by whom it is also affirm-  
 ed, That his extraordinary remisness, in not exacting strict Conformity  
 to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, seemed to  
 resolve those legal Determinations to their first Principle of Indifferency,  
 and to lead in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future reduction of  
 those tender-conscienc'd men to long discontinued Obedience, was inter-  
 preted an Innovation. By the first Character we find what made  
 him acceptable amongst the Gentry ; by the last, what made him  
 grateful to the *Puritan*, in favour of which men he took so little care  
 of the great Trust committed to him, and gave them so many op-  
 portunities of increasing both in Power and Numbers, that to stop  
 them in their full career, it was found necessary to suspend him from  
 his *Metropolitan* Jurisdiction, as before was noted. It

Ch. Hist. B.  
 11. p. 128.

Hist. of K.  
 Charles.  
 p. 131.



It is reported, That as Prince *Henry*, his Majesty, then Duke of *York*, Archbishop *Abbot*, with many of the Nobility were waiting in the Privy Chamber for the coming out of King *James*; the Prince, to put a jest on the Duke his Brother, took the Archbishops Square Cap out of his hands, and put it on his Brothers head, telling him, that if he continued a good Boy, and followed his Book, he would one day make him Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Which the Child took in such disdain, that he threw the Cap upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, not being without much difficulty and some force taken off from that eagerness. This though first it was not otherwise beheld than as an Act of Childish Passion, yet when his Brother Prince *Henry* died, and that he was Heir apparent to the Crown, it was taken up by many zealous Church-men for some ill presage unto the *Hierarchy* of Bishops; the overthrow whereof by his Act and Power did seem to be fore-signified by it. But as their fears in that were groundless, so their conjectures were no better grounded than their fears, (there never being a greater Patron of the Episcopal order than he lived and died) but whether there might not be some presage in it in reference to the Archbishops person, the diminution of his Dignity and fall of his Power, may be best judged by this suspension and the consequents which followed on it: And though he lived not long under the disgrace, yet in the interval of time he saw so much of his Authority devolved on *Land*, that he grew more and more discontented, and was ready in a manner to have made himself the head of the *Puritan* Faction.

It is related by a late Writer, That towards his death he was not only discontented himself, but that his house was the Rendezvous of all the Malecontents in Church and State, that he turned Midnight to Noonday by constant keeping of Candles lighted in his Chamber and Study; as also that such Visitants as repaired unto him called themselves *Nicodemites*, because of their secret coming to him by night. I know how much that Author hath been mistaken in other things, but I see nothing in this which may not be consistent with the truth of History. Certain I am, his Chaplains were successively declared *Calvinians*, his Secretary a professed Patron of the *Puritan* Faction, his doors continually open to the Chiefs of that party, and such as stickled in that cause; and amongst others to him by whose Suggestion (if we may take his own report) the *Historical Narration* was called in, for the great danger which it threatened to the grounds of *Calvinism*.

For his compliance with the Gentry against the Clergie, this reason is alledged from his own mouth, *That he was so severe to the Clergy on purpose to rescue them from the severity of others, and to prevent the punishment of them by lay Judges to their greater shames*; which leaves the poor Clergy under a greater obloquy than any which their enemies had laid upon them. But the truer reason of it was, that having never been Parson, Vicar, nor Curate, he was altogether

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ch. Hist. B.

II. p. 128.



PART I. together ignorant of those afflictions which the Clergy do too often  
*Anno Dom.* suffer by the pride of some, and the Avarice of others of their  
 1633. Country Neighbours, and consequently shewed the least compassi-  
 on towards them when any of them had the hard fortune to be  
 brought before him. And for his compliance with the *Puritans*  
 against the Church this reason is alledged by others, *viz.* That he  
 shewed the greater favour to them, to keep the ballance even be-  
 twixt them and the *Papists*; as *Land* was thought to be indulgent to  
 the *Papists*, the better to keep down the pride and prevalency of the  
*Puritan Faction*. But the truer reason of it was, That he had been  
 alwaies inclinable to them from his first beginnings; insomuch that  
 when he went *Chaplain* into *Scotland* with the Earl of *Dunbar*, (im-  
 ployed by King *James* in some negotiation about that Church) he  
 was upon the point of betraying the cause, if *Hodgskins*, (afterwards  
 one of the *Residentaries* of *York*) who went *Chaplain* with him, had  
 not preacquainted the Earl with his tergiversation.

And as he laboured to be Popular upon both accounts, so he en-  
 deavoured a more particular correspondence with the Gentry of  
*Kent*, but most especially of his own Diocess. It had been for-  
 merly the custom of his Predecessors to spend the greatest part of  
 the long vacations in the Palace of *Canterbury*; met at the first  
 entrance into the Diocess with a body of five hundred horse, con-  
 ducting them to *Canterbury* with great love and duty; feasting the  
 Gentry, relieving the poor City, entertaining their Tenants, and by  
 them liberally furnished on the other side with all sorts of provisi-  
 ons. *Abbot* affected not this way, and therefore never bestowed any  
 such visit upon his Diocess, but when he was confined to his house  
 at *Ford* by the Kings appointment; and yet resolved upon a course  
 which carried some equivalence with it towards his design. For  
 once or twice in every year (and sometimes oftner) at the end of  
 the term he would cause enquiry to be made in *Westminster Hall*, the  
 common Rendezvouz in *St. Pauls Church*, and the Royal Exchange,  
 for all such Gentlemen of his Diocess as lodged in and about the  
 City of *London*, dispersing several Tickets from one to another, by  
 which they were invited to a general entertainment at his house in  
*Lambeth*, the next day after the end of the present term, where he  
 feasted them with great bounty and familiarity. A course as accep-  
 table to the *Kentish* Gentry as if he had kept open Hospitality in his  
 Palace at *Canterbury*; because it saved them both the trouble of  
 attending on him, and the charge of sending Presents to him, both  
 which had been expected if he had spent any part of the year  
 amongst them. But this he discontinued also for three or four years,  
 or more, before his death, fearing (as his affairs then stood) that  
 it might render him obnoxious to some misconstructions, which he  
 was willing to avoid.

To bring his Story to an end, I shall say no more, but that he had  
 his Birth at *Guilford*, the chief Town of *Surrey*, and the best part of  
 his



his breeding in *Baliol Colledge* in *Oxon.* whereof he was Fellow, and from thence preferred to be Master of *University Colledge*, and Dean of *Winton.* Other preferments he had none till he came to *Lichfield*, of which he was consecrated Bishop on the third of *December, Anno 1609.* from thence translated unto *London* within few Months after, and within twelve Months after that to the See of *Canterbury.* Marks of his Benefaction we find none, in places of his Breeding, and Preferments ; but a fair Hospital, well built, and liberally endowed in the place of his Birth. To which the woful man retired in the first extremity of those afflictions which his misfortune at *Bramzill* had drawn upon him ; and to this place he designed his body whensoever it should please God to translate him out of the *Church Militant* to the *Church Triumphant*, which hapned on the fourth of *August*, as before was said.

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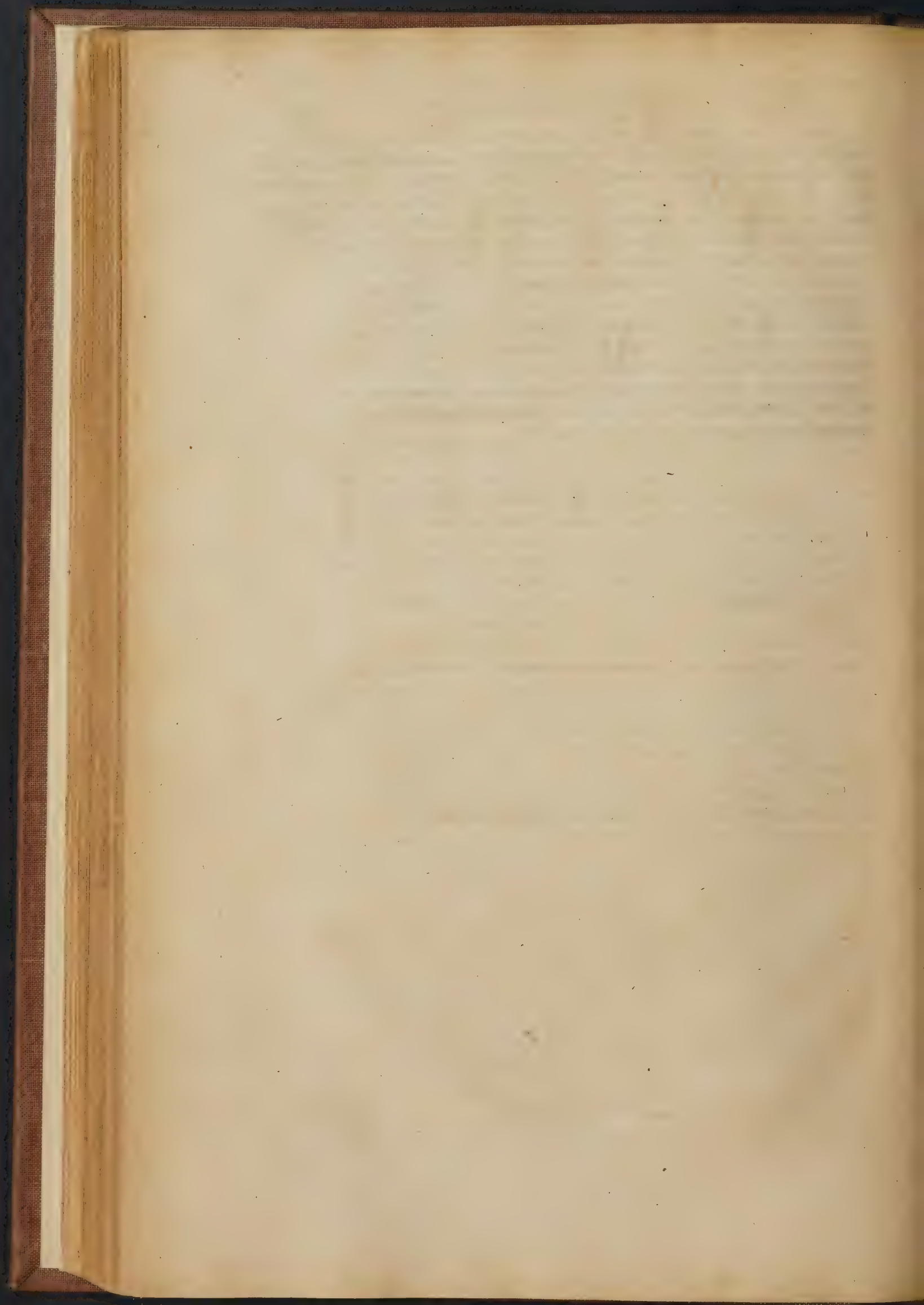
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*The End of the First Part.*

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CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:  
OR, THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Life and Death,  
OF  
The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE  
WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,  
Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all  
*ENGLAND*, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the  
Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the  
Lords of the Privy Council to His late most  
SACRED MAJESTY  
King CHARLES  
Second MONARCH of *Great-Brittain*.

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PART. II.

*Carrying on the History from his Nomination to the Metropolitcal  
See of Canterbury, August 6. 1633. to the day of his Death  
and Burial, Jan. 10. 1644.*

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LONDON:

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *A. Seile*, 1668.

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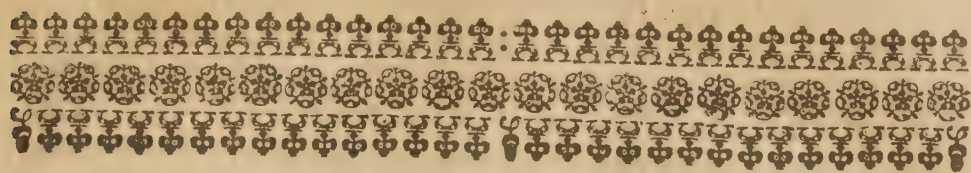
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# THE L I F E

O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

L I B. IV.

*Extending from his being made Archbishop of Canterbury to  
the end of the Parliament and Convocation, Anno 1640.*



*ANTERBURY* was anciently the principal City of the Kingdom, and afterwards of the County of *Kent*, situate about seven miles from the Sea, and neighboured by a little River, capable only of small boats, and consequently of no great use for the wealth and trading of the place. It was made an *Archiepiscopal See* at the first planting of the Gospel amongst the *English*, *Augustine* the Monk who first preacht the one, being the first Archbishop of the other. For though that Dignity was by Pope *Gregory* the Great designed for *London*, yet *Augustine* the Monk (whom he sent hither on that Errand) having received this City in gift from the King, resolved to fix himself upon it without going further. *Merlin* had prophesied as much, if those Prophecies be of any credit, signifying, that the (a) Metropolitan dignity which was then at *London*, should in the following times be transferred to *Canterbury*. *Ethelbert*, then King of *Kent*, having thus given away the Regal City, retires himself unto *Reculver*, where he built his Palace for himself and his Successors in that Kingdom, leaving his former Royal Seat to be the

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(a) *Dignitas  
Londini ador-  
nabit Dorober-  
niam, Math.  
West. in Hist.  
Flor.*

K k

Archiepif-



PART II. Archiepiscopal Palace for the Archbishops of *Canterbury*. The Cathedral, having been a Church before in the *Britains* time, was by *Anno Dom.* the said Archbishop *Augustine* repaired, Consecrated and Dedicated to the name of *Christ*, which it still retains, though for a long time together it was called *St Thomas*, in honour of *Thomas Becket*, one of the Archbishops hereof, who was murdered in it. The present Fabrick was begun by Archbishop *Lanfranck* and *William Corboyle*; and by degrees made perfect by their Successors. Take *Canterbury* as the Seat of the *Metropolitan*, it hath under it twenty one *Suffragan* Bishops, of which seventeen are in *England*, and four in *Wales*: But take it as the Seat of a *Diocesan*, and it containeth only some part of *Kent*, to the number of 257 Parishes, (the residue being in the Diocess of *Rocheſter*) together with some few particular Parishes dispersed here and there in several Diocesses; it being an ancient privilege of this See, that wheresoever the Archbishops had their Mannors or Advouſons, the place forthwith became exempt from the *Ordinary*, and was reputed of the Diocess of *Canterbury*. The other Priviledges of this See are, that the Archbishop is accounted *Primate and Metropolitan of ALL England*, and is the first *Peer of the Realm*: having precedency of all *Dukes*, not being of the *Royal blood*, and all the great Officers of the State. He hath the Title of *Grace* afforded him in common speech, and writes himself *Divina Providentia*, where other Bishops only use *Divina Permiſſione*. The Coronation of the King hath anciently belonged unto him: It being also formerly resolved, that wheresoever the Court was, the King and Queen were (b) the proper and Domestical Parishioners of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. It also did belong unto him in former times to take unto himself the Offerings made at the holy Altar by the King and Queen, wheresoever the Court was, if he were present at the same; and to appoint the *Lent Preachers*: but these time hath altered, and the King otherwise disposed of them. Abroad in *General Councils* he had place at the Popes Right foot: At home this Royal Priviledge, That those which held Lands of him were liable for Wardship to him, and to compound with him for the same, though they held other Lands in chief of our Lord the King. And for the more increase of his power and honour it was Enacted, 25 *Hen. viii.* and 21. "That all Licences and Dispensations (not repugnant to the Law of God) which heretofore were sued for in the Court of *Rome*, should be hereafter granted by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and his Successors. As also in the 1 *Eliz.* and 2. That by the Advice of the *Metropolitan* or *Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, the Queens Majesty might ordain and publish such *Rites and Ceremonies*, as may be most for the Advancement of Gods glory, the Edifying of his Church, and the due Reverence of Christs holy Sacraments. To this high dignity *Laund* succeedeth on the death of *Abbot*, nominated unto it by the King on the sixth of *August*, the Election returned and presented to his Majesty

(b) *Speciales,*  
*& Domestici*  
*Parochiam*  
*Domini Archie-*  
*episcopi.*



Majesty from the *Dean and Chapter*, on the twenty fifth of the same, and the translation fully perfected on the nineteenth of *September* then next following, on which day he kept a solemn and magnificent Feast at his house in *Lambeth*, his State being set out in the great Chamber of that house, and all persons standing bare before it after the accustomed manner; his Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller, attending with their white staves in their several Offices.

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1633.

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Thus have we brought him to his height, and from that height we may take as good a prospect into the Church under his direction, as the advantage of the place can present unto us. And if we look into the Church as it stood under his direction, we shall find the Prelates generally more intent upon the work committed to them, more earnest to reduce this Church to the ancient Orders, than in former times; the Clergy more obedient to the Commands of their *Ordinaries*, joyning together to advance the work of *Uniformity* recommended to them, the Liturgie more punctually executed in all the parts and offices of it; the Word more diligently preacht, the Sacraments more reverently administred, than in some scores of years before; the people more conformable to those Reverend Gestures in the House of God, which, though prescribed before, were but little practised; more cost laid out upon the beautifying and adorning of Parochial Churches, in furnishing and repairing Parsonage houses, than at or in all the times since the Reformation; the Clergy grown to such esteem, for parts and power, that the Gentry thought none of their Daughters, to be better disposed of than such as they had lodged in the Arms of a Church-man; and the Nobility grown so well affected to the State of the Church, that some of them designed their younger Sons to the Order of Priesthood, to make them capable of rising in the same *Ascendent*. Next, if we look into the Doctrine, we shall find her to be no less glorious within, than beautified and adorned to the outward eye; the Doctrines of it publicly avowed and taught, in the literal and Grammatical sense, according to the true intent and meaning of the first *Reformers*; the Dictates and Authorities of private men (which before had carried all before them) subjected to the sense of the Church; and the Church hearkening to no other voice than that of their great *Shepherd* speaking to them in his holy Scriptures; all bitterness of spirit so composed and qualified on every side, that the advancement of the great work of Unity and Uniformity between the parties went forwards like the building of *Solomons* Temple without the noise of Axe or Hammer. If you will take her Character from the mouth of a (c) Protestant he will give it thus: "He that desires to pour-  
" tray *England* (saith he) in her full structure of external glory, let  
" him behold the *Church* shining in transcendent Emphyreal brightness,  
" and purity of Evangelical Truths. Her Religious Performances,  
" her holy Offices, ordered and regulated agreeable to the strict ex-  
" pedient of such Sacred Actions. Her Discipline, Model, suitable

(c) H. of K.

Ch. by H.L.

p. 242.



## PART II.

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“to the Apostolick Form. The set and suit of her whole Tribe, renowned for Piety and Learning, are all those in so super-eminent a degree, that no Church on this side of the Apostolick, can or could compare with her in any one: All Arts and Sciences highly honoured, and consequently their Academies to flourish. To which last part of the Character let me add thus much, That the Universities never had such a flourishing time for number of Students, civility of Conversation, and eminence in all parts of Learning, as when the influences of his Power and Government did direct their Studies.

(d) Preface  
to Charity  
maintained,  
sect. 20.

If you will take her Character from the Pen of a (d) Jesuit, you shall find him speaking, amongst many falsehoods, these undoubted Truths; viz. “That the Professors of it, they especially of greatest Worth, Learning and Authority, love Temper and Moderation; That the Doctrines are altered in many things; as for example, the Pope not *Antichrist*, *Pictures*, *Free-will*, *Predestination*, *Universal Grace*, *Inherent Righteousness*, the preferring of *Charity before Knowledge*, the *Merit* (or *Reward* rather) of good works; the 39 *Articles* seeming patient, if not ambitious also of some Catholick sense; That their Churches begin to look with a new face, their Walls to speak a new Language, and some of their Divines to teach, *That the Church hath Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and interpreting the Scriptures*; That men in talk and writing use willingly the once fearful names of *Priests* and *Altars*, and are now put in mind, That for Exposition of Scripture they are by Canon bound to follow the Fathers. So far the *Jesuit* may be thought to speak nothing but truth; but had he tarried there, he had been no *Jesuit*: And therefore to preserve the Credit of his Order, he must fly out further, and tell us this, viz. “That *Protestantism* waxeth weary of it self; That we are at this time more unresolved where to fasten, than in the infancy of our Church; That our Doctrine is altered in many things, for which our Progenitors forsook the then visible Church of Christ, amongst which he reckons *Limbus Patrum*, *Prayer for the Dead*, *Justification not by Faith alone*, *The possibility of keeping Gods Commandments*, and the accounting of Calvinism to be Heretic at the least, if not also Treason. Which Points the *Jesuit* cannot prove to have been positively maintained by any one Divine in the Church of England; and yet those foolish men began to phancy such a misconstruction of that Ingenuity and Moderation which they found in some Professors of our Religion, whom they affirmed to be of greatest Worth, Learning, and Authority, as to conceive that we were coming towards an Agreement with them, even in those Superstitions and Idolatries which made the first Wall of Separation between the Churches. Upon which hope (as weak and foolish as it was) the late Archbishop of *Canterbury* was no sooner dead, but one of their Party came to *Laod*, whom they looked upon as his Successor, seriously



seriously tendred him the offer of a *Cardinals Cap*, and avowed Ability to perform it; to whom he presently returned this Answer, *That somewhat dwelt within him which would not suffer him to accept the Offer; till Rome were otherwise than it was*: And this being said, he went immediately to his Majesty, acquainting him both with the Man, and with his Message, together with the Answer which he made unto it. The like he also did when the same Offer was reinforced a fortnight after; upon which second Refusal, *the Tempter left him*, and that not only for that time, but for ever after.

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1633.

Breviate, p.

18.

But to proceed: To welcom him to his new great Charge, he received Letters from his Majesty, dated upon the very day of his Confirmation, upon this occasion. It had been ordered by the ancient Canons of the Church, "That none should be admitted Deacon or Priest, who had not first some certain place where he might use his Function. And it was ordered by the Canons of the year 1603. in pursuance of the said old Canons, "That no person should be admitted into Sacred Orders, except he shall at that time exhibit to the Bishop, of whom he desireth Imposition of Hands, a Presentation of himself to some Ecclesiastical Preferment then void in that Diocese; or shall bring unto the said Bishop a true and undoubted Certificate, That either he is provided of some Church within the said Diocese, where he may attend the Cure of Souls, or of some Ministers Place vacant, either in the Cathedral Church of that Diocese, or of some other Collegiat Church therein also situate, where he may execute his Ministry; or that he is a Fellow, or in right as a Fellow, or to be a Conductor or Chaplain in some Colledge in either of the Universities; or except he be a Master of Arts of five years standing, that liveth in either of them at his own charge. And hereunto was added this Commination, "That if any Bishop shall admit any person into the Ministry, that hath none of these Titles as is aforesaid, then he shall keep and maintain him with all things necessary, till he do prefer him to some Ecclesiastical Living; and on his refusal so to do, he shall be suspended by the Archbishop, being assisted with another Bishop; from giving of Orders by the space of a year. Which severe Canon notwithstanding, some Bishops of the poorer Sees, for their private benefit, admitted many men promiscuously to Holy Orders, so far from having any Title, that they had no Merit: By means whereof the Church was filled with indigent Clerks, which either thrust themselves into Gentlemens Houses to teach their Children, and sometimes to officiate Divine Service at the Tables end; or otherwise to undertake some Stipendary Lecture, where-soever they could find entertainment, to the great fomenting of Faction in the State, the Danger of Schism in the Church, and ruine of both. It had been formerly ordered by his Majesties Instructions of the year 1629. "That no private Gentleman, not qualified by Law, should keep any Chaplain in his House: Which though

Can. 33.



PART II. it were somewhat strictly inquired into at the first, yet not a few of  
*Anno Dom.* them retained their Chaplains, as before : For remedy whereof for  
 1633. the time to come, it was thought fit to tie the Bishops from giving  
 Orders unto any which were not qualified according to the foresaid  
*Canon* ; which was conceived to be the only probable means of diminishing the number both of such petit Lecturers, and such Trencher-Chaplains ; the *English* Gentry not being then come to such wild extremities, as to believe that any man might exercise the Priests Office, in ministering the Sacraments, Praying, Preaching, &c. which was not lawfully Ordained by some Bishop or other. Now his Majesties Letter to this purpose was as followeth.

## CHARLES REX.

**M**ost Reverend Father in God, Right Trusty and Right Entirely-beloved Counsellor, We greet you well. There is nothing more dear to us than the preservation of true Religion, as it is now settled and established in this Our Kingdom, to the Honour of God, the great Comfort of Our Self and Our Loyal People : and there can nothing more conduce to the Advancement thereof, than the strict observations of such Canons of the Church as concern those who are to take Orders in their several Times ; more especially of keeping that particular Canon which enjoins, That no man be made a Priest without a Title : For we find, that many not so qualified, do by favour or other means procure themselves to be Ordained, and afterwards for want of Means wander up and down, to the scandal of their Calling ; or to get Maintenance, fall upon such Courses as were most unfit for them, both by humouring their Auditors, and other ways altogether unsufferable. We have therefore thought fit, and we do hereby straightly command, require, and charge you, to call such Bishops to you as are now present in or near Our City of London, and to acquaint them with this Our Resolution. And further, That you fail not in the beginning of the next Term, to give notice of this Our will and Pleasure openly in Our High-Commission Court ; and that you call into your said Court every Bishop respectively, that shall presume to give Orders to any man that hath not a Title, and there to censure him as the Canon aforesaid doth enjoin (which is, to maintain the Party so Ordered till he give him a Title) and with what other Censure you in Justice shall think fit. And Our further will is, That nothing shall be reputed a Title to enable a man for Orders, but that which is so by the Ancient Course of the Church, and the Canon-Law, so far forth as that Law is received in this our Church of England. And as you must not fail in these our Directions, nor in any part of them ; so we expect that you give us from time to time a strict Account of your Proceedings in the same.

Given under Our Signet at Our Palace of Westminster, Septemb.  
 19. in the ninth year of Our Reign. 1633.

On



On the Receipt of these Letters, which himself had both advised and digested, he called such of his Suffragan Bishops who were then about *London* to come before him, acquaints them with the great scandal which was given the Church, the danger of Schism and Faction which might thence arise, and the more than ordinary displeasure which had been taken by his Majesty and the Lords of his Council, at such unlawful and uncanonical *Ordinations*; he required them therefore to be more careful for the time to come, and not to give the like offence to his Sacred Majesty, who was resolved to see the Canons of the Church in that particular more punctually observed than they had been formerly, and to call all such to an account who should presume hereafter to transgress therein: Which said, he gave to each of them a Copy of his Majesties Letters, and sent the like Copies unto all the rest of his Suffragan Bishops, inclosed in Letters of his own; in which Letters having declared unto them as much as he spake unto the rest, touching his Majesties pious Care to redress that Mischief, he requires them and every one of them, "That at all times of *Ordination* they be very careful to admit none into *Holy Orders*, but such men as for Life and Learning are fit, and which have a *Title* for their maintenance, according to the Laws and the ancient Practice of the Church, assuring them that his Majesty had commanded him to let them know, That he would not fail to call for an account of those his Letters, both from him and them; and therefore, That he did not doubt but that they would have a special care both of the good of the Church, and his Majesties Contentment in it. The like Letters were sent from his Majesty, by his procurement, to the Archbishop of *York*, who was as sensible of the inconvenience as himself could be. And though nothing was required in either of the said Letters, but what had been provided for in the Canon of 1603. yet was it as much inveighed against as if it had been a new device, never heard of formerly. The reason was, because that neither any Lecture, nor any possibility of being entertained as a Chaplain in the Houses of Noblemen, or others of the inferiour Gentry, could be allowed of for a *Title*, and consequently no *Orders* to be given hereafter under those Capacities. But notwithstanding those Reproaches, the Archbishops so bestirred themselves, and kept such a strict eye on their several Suffragans, that from henceforth we hear but little of such vagrant Ministers and Trencher-Chaplains (the old brood being once worn out) as had pestred and annoyed the Church in those latter Times.

It is to be observed, That the Archbishops Letter to his several Suffragans bears date on the eighteenth of *October*, which day gives date also to his Majesties Declaration about *Lawful Sports*, concerning which we are to know, That the Commons in the first Parliament of his Majesties Reign had gained an Act, That from thenceforth there should be no Assembly or Concourse of People out of their

L. B. IV.

Anno Dom.

1633.

Bibl. Regia,

sect. 3. c. 11.

p. 332.



PART II. own Parishes on the Lords day, or any Bull-baiting, Bear-baiting, Enterludes, Common Plays, or any other unlawful Exercises or Pastimes in their own Parishes on the same: Which being gained, they obtained another in the third Parliament, for inhibiting all Carriers, Waggoners, Drovers, Pack-men, for Travelling on the said day with their Horses, Waggon, Packs, &c. As also, That no Butcher should from thenceforth kill or sell any Victual upon that day, either by himself or any other, under the several Penalties therein contained. And though it was not his Majesties purpose in those Acts to debar any of his good Subjects from any honest and harmless Recreations, which had not been prohibited by the Laws of the Land; or that it should not be lawful for them, in case of necessity, to buy a piece of Meat for the use of their Families, the Butchers Shop not being set open as on other days: yet presently some Publick Ministers of Justice began to put another sense upon those Acts, than ever came within the compass of his meaning. For at the Summer Assizes held in *Exon*, Anno 1627. an Order was made by *Walter* then Chief Baron, and *Denham* one of the puisne Barons of the Court of Exchequer, for suppressing all Revels, Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, which had been used upon that day; requiring the Justices of the Peace within the said County to see the same put in execution; and that every Minister in his Parish-Church should publish the said Order yearly, on the first Sunday in February. The like Order made in the same year also for the Counties of *Somerset* and *Dorset*, and probably enough for some of the other Counties of that *Western Circuit*; none of them in those squeasie and unsettled Times being questioned for it. And then in reference to the Statute of the Third of this King, a Warrant is granted in the Month of April 1629. by *Richard Dean* then Lord Mayor of *London*, for apprehending all Porters carrying Burthens, or Water-men plying at their Oars, all Tankerd-bearers carrying Water to their Masters Houses, all Chandlers and Hucksters which bought any Victualls on that day of the Country-Carriers, all Vinteners, Alehouse-keepers, Strongwater-men, and Tobacco-sellers, which suffered any Person to sit drinking on that day (though possibly they might do it only for their honest necessities). In which as *Dean* out-went the Statute, so *Raynton* in the same Office, Anno 1633. over-acted *Dean*, prohibiting a poor woman from selling Apples on that day in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, within which place he could pretend no Jurisdiction, and for that cause was questioned and reproved by *Laud* then Bishop of *London*.

But none so lustily laid about him in this kind, as *Richardson* the Chief Justice of his Majesties Bench, who in the *Lent-Assizes* for the County of *Somerset*, Anno 1631. published the like Order to that which had been made by *Walter* for the County of *Devon*; not only requiring that the Justices of the Peace in the said County should see the same to be duly put in execution: but also (as the other had done before) that publication should be made thereof in the

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Cant. Doom,  
p. 153.

p. 132.



the Parish-Churches by all such Ministers as did Officiate in the same; with which encroachment upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in imposing upon men in Holy Orders the publishing of Warrants and Commands from the Secular Judges, *Land* being then Bishop of *London*, and finding his Majesties Affairs in a quieter condition than they had been formerly, was not meanly offended, as he had good reason so to be, and made complaint of it to the King, who thereupon commanded *Richardson* to revoke the said Order at the next Assizes. But *Richardson* was so far from obeying his Majesties Command in that particular, that on the contrary he not only confirmed his former Order, but made it more peremptory than before: Upon complaint whereof by Sir *Robert Philips*, and other chief Gentlemen of that County, his Majesty seemed to be very much moved, and gave Command to the Bishop of *London* to require an Account from the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* then being, how the said *Feast-days*, *Church-Ales*, *wakes*, or *Revels*, were for the most part celebrated and observed in his Diocess. On the Receipt of which Letters the Bishop calls before him 72 of the most Orthodox and ablest Clergy-men amongst them, who certified under their several hands, "That on the *Feast-days* (which commonly fell upon the *Sunday*) the Service of God was more solemnly performed; and the Church "was better frequented both in the forenoon and afternoon, than "upon any *Sunday* in the year; That the People very much desired "the continuance of them; That the Ministers in most Places did "the like, for these Reasons specially; *viz.* For preserving the memorial of the Dedication of their several Churches; For civilizing the People; For composing Differences, by the mediation "and meeting of Friends; For encrease of Love and Unity, by "those Feasts of Charity; For Relief and Comfort of the Poor " (the Richer part in a manner keeping open House), &c. On the Return of which Certificate, so seasonably seconding the Complaint and Information of the Gentry, *Richardson* was again convented at the Council-Table, and peremptorily commanded to reverse his former Orders at the next Assizes for that County; withal receiving such a rattle for his former Contempt by the Bishop of *London*, that he came out blubbering and complaining, *That he had been almost choaked with a pair of Lawn Sleeves.*

Whilst these things were thus in agitation, one *Brabourne* a poor School-master in the Diocess of *Norfolk*, being seduced and misguided by the continual inculcating of the Morality of the *Lords-day-Sabboth* from the Prefs and Pulpit, published a Book in maintenance of the *Seventh-day-Sabboth*, as it was kept amongst the *Jews*, and prescribed by *Moses*, according to Gods Will and Pleasure signified in the Fourth Commandment. This Book at the first not daring to behold the Light, went abroad by stealth; but afterwards appeared in publick with an open confidence, an Epistle Dedicatory to his Majesty being placed before it. His Majesty ex-

L I  
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p. 142.



## PART II.

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tremely moved with so lewd an impudence, and fearing to be thought the Patron of a Doctrine so abhorrent from all Christian Piety, gave Order for the Author to be Censured in the *High-Commission*. *Bra-bourne* being thereupon called into that Court, and the Cause made ready for an Hearing, his Errour was so learnedly confuted by the Bishops and other judicious Divines then present, that he began to stagger in his former Opinion; which hint being taken by their Lordships, he was admonished in a grave and Fatherly manner to submit himself unto a Conference with such Learned men as should be appointed thereunto; to which he chearfully consented, and found such benefit by that Meeting, that by Gods Blessing he became a Convert, and freely conformed himself to the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of *England*, concerning the *Sabboth* and *Lords-day*: Which Tendencies of some of the People to downright *Judaism*, grounded upon the Practices and Positions of the *Sabbatarians*, and seconded by the petulancy of some Publick Ministers of Justice, in debarring his good Subjects in keeping the ancient Dedication-Feast of their severall Churches, occasioned his Majesty to think of the reviving of his Royal Fathers Declaration about *Lawful Sports*; To which end he gave Order to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to cause the same to be re-printed, word for word, as it had issued from the Press in the time of his late Royal Father, *Anno 1618*. at the end whereof he caused this Declaration of his own sense to be super-added; that is to say:

*Now out of a like Pious Care* (saith his Sacred Majesty) *for the Service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose the Truth, and for the ease, and comfort, and recreation of Our well-deserving People, we do Ratifie and Publish this Our Blessed Fathers Declaration; the rather, because of late in some Counties of Our Kingdom we find, that under pretence of taking away Abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called Wakes. Now Our express Will and Pleasure is, That these Feasts with others shall be observed, and that our Justices of the Peace in their severall Divisions shall look to it, both that all Disorders there may be prevented or punished; and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises be used. And we further command Our Justices of Assize in their severall Circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of Our loyal and dutiful People, in or for their Lawful Recreations, having first done their Duty to God, and continuing in Obedience to Us and Our Laws. And of this we command all Our Judges, Justices of the Peace as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other Officers, to take notice, and to see observed as they tender Our displeasure. And we further will, That Publication of this Our Command be made by Order from the Bishops, thorow all the Parish Churches of their severall Diocesses respectively. Given at our Palace at Westminster, Oct. 18. in the ninth year of Our Reign, 1633.*

His



His Majesty had scarce dried his Pen, when he dipt it in the Ink again, upon this occasion: The Parishioners of *St. Gregories* in *St. Pauls* Church-yard had bestowed much cost in beautifying and adorning their Parish Church; and having prepared a decent and convenient Table for the holy Sacrament, were ordered by the Dean and Chapter of *St. Pauls*, as being *Ordinaries* of the place, to dispose of it in such a Posture, in the East end of the Chancel, as anciently it had stood, and did then stand in the Mother Cathedral. Against this some of the Parishioners (not above five in number) appeal unto the Dean of the Arches, and the Dean and Chapter to the King. The third day of *November* is appointed for debating the Point in controversie before the Lords of the Council; his Majesty sitting as chief Judge, accompanied with *Laud Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, Lord *Keeper*, Lord *Archbishop* of *Torke*, Lord *Treasurer*, Lord *Privy Seal*, Lord *Duke* of *Lenox*, Lord *High Chamberlaine*, Earle *Marshal*, Lord *Chamberlaine*, Earle of *Bridgewater*, Earle of *Carlisle*, Lord *Cottingham*, Mr. *Treasurer*, Mr. *Comptroller*, Mr. *Secretary Cooke*, Mr. *Secretary Windebanke*. The cause being heard, and all the Allegations on both sides exactly pondered, his Majesty first declared his dislike of all Innovations, and receding from ancient Constitutions, grounded upon just and warrantable reasons, &c. And afterwards gave Sentence in behalf of the Dean and Chapter. But because this Order of his Majesty in the case of *St. Gregories* was made the Rule, by which all other *Ordinaries* did proceed, in causing the Communion Table to be placed *Altarwise* in the Churches of their severall and respective Diocesses, I will subjoyn it here *verbatim* as it lies before me.

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1633.

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At Whitehall, Novem<sup>r</sup>. 3. 1633.

This day, was debated before his Majesty sitting in Council the question and difference which grew about the removing of the Communion Table in *St. Gregories* Church, near the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, from the middle of the Chancel to the upper end, and there placed *Altarwise* in such manner as it standeth in the said Cathedral and Mother-Church, (as also in other Cathedrals, and in his Majesties own Chappel) and as is consonant to the practice of approved Antiquity; which removing and placing of it in that sort was done by order of the Dean and Chapter of *St. Pauls*, who are *Ordinaries* thereof, as was avowed before his Majesty by Doctor *King*, and Doctor *Montfort*, two of the Prebends there. Yet some few of the Parishioners, being but five in number, did complain of this act by appeal to the Court of Arches, pretending that the Book of Common Prayer, and the 82 Canon, doe give permission to place the Communion Table where it may stand with most fitness and convenience. Now his Majesty having heard a particular relation, made by the Counsell of both parties, of all the carriage and proceedings in this cause, was pleased to declare his dislike of all in-

L1 2

novation



PART II. *novation and receding from ancient Constitutions, grounded upon just Anno Dom. and warrantable reasons, especially in matters concerning Ecclesiastical*  
 1633. *Orders and Government, knowing how easily men are drawn to affect*  
 ~~~~~ *Novelties; and how soon weak Judgments in such cases may be overtaken*  
*and abused. And he was also pleased to observe, that if those few Pa-*  
*rishioners might have their wills, the difference thereby from the fore-*  
*said Cathedral Mother-Church, by which all other Churches depending*  
*thereon ought to be guided, would be the more notorious, and give more*  
*subject of discours. and disputes that might be spared, by reason of the*  
*nearness of St. Gregories standing close to the wall thereof. And like-*  
*wise, for so much as concerns the Liberty by the said Common Book or*  
*Canon, for placing the Communion Table in any Church or Chappel*  
*with most conveniency, that liberty is not so to be understood, as if it were*  
*ever left to the discretion of the Parish, much less to the particular*  
*fancy of any humorous person, but to the judgment of the Ordinary, to*  
*whose place and Function it doth properly belong to give direction in that*  
*point, both for the thing it self, and for the time, when, and how long,*  
*as he may find cause. Upon which consideration his Majesty declared*  
*himself; that he well approved and confirmed the Act of the said Ordi-*  
*nary, and also gave commandment, that if those few Parishioners be-*  
*fore mentioned, do proceed in their said Appeal, then the Dean of the*  
*Arches ( who was then attending at the hearing of the cause ) should*  
*confirm the said Order of the aforesaid Dean and Chapter.*

Of this last Declaration there was no great notice took at first, the danger being remote, the case particular, and no necessity imposed of conforming to it. But the other was no sooner published then it was followed and pursued with such loud outcries as either the Tongues or Pens of the *Sabbatarians* could raise against it. Some fell directly on the King, and could find out no better names for this Declaration, than a *Profane Edict*, a *maintaining of his own honour*, and a *Sacrilegious robbing of God*. A *Toleration for prophaning the Lords day*. Affirming, That it was impossible that a spot of so deep a dye should be emblanched, though somewhat might be urged to qualifie and alleviate the blame thereof. Others, and those the greatest part, impute the Republishing of this Declaration to the new Archbishop, and make it the first remarkable thing which was done presently after he took possession of his *Graceship*, as *Burton* doth pretend to wit it in his *Pulpit Libell*. And though these Books came not out in Print till some years after, yet was the clamour raised on both at the very first, encreasing every day more and more as the reading of it in their Churches had been pressed upon them. To stop the current of these clamours, till some better course might be devised, one who wist well both to the Parties and the Cause, fell on a fancy of Translating into the *English Tongue* a *Lecture* or *Oration* made by *Dr. Prideaux* at the Act in *Oxon. Anno 1622*. In which he solidly discoursed both of the *Sabbath* and *Sunday*, according to the judgment of the  
 ancient



ancient Fathers, and the most approved Writers of the Protestant and Reformed Churches. This Lecture thus translated was ushered also with a *Preface*: In which there was proof offered in these three Propositions, First, *That the keeping holy of one day of seven is not the moral part of the fourth Commandment.* Secondly, *That the alteration of the day is only an humane and Ecclesiastical Constitution.* Thirdly, *That still the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to some other.* Which as they are the general *Tendries* of the Protestant, Lutheran, and Calvinian Writers beyond the Seas, so were they briefly touched at and maintained in the Doctors Lecture; which came out thus translated in the next *Candlemas* Term, under the Title of *The Doctrine of the Sabbath, delivered in the Act at Oxon. An. 1622.* By D. Prideaux, his Majesties Professor for Divinity in that University. The name of *Prideaux* was so Sacred that the Book was greedily bought up by those of the *Puritan* Faction, presuming they should find in it some invincible Arguments to confirm both the Party and the Cause. But when they found how much they had deceived themselves in that expectation, and that nothing could be writ more smartly against them and their *Lords-day-Sabbath*; as it did very much cool their courage, and abate their clamours: so did it no less tend to the diminution of that high esteem and veneration which before they had harboured of the man. What followed afterwards, when the reading of the book was pressed, and the clamours multiplied by such as refused to read it, future time shall shew.

LIB. IV.  
Anno Dom.  
1633.

These passages concerning *England* being laid together, we must look back into the North, which still took up a great part of his Majesties thoughts. He had observed how much his Fathers Pious Order for officiating by the *English Liturgie* in the Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, had been discontinued and neglected, imputing thereunto the opposition which he found amongst them at his late being there. And being resolved to pursue his said Fathers most Religious purpose of settling an uniformity of Divine Worship in all the Churches of these Kingdoms, he thought it most expedient to pursue the same Method also, to the end that the people being prepared by little and little might the more willingly admit of that, or some other Liturgie like unto it, when he should think it reasonable to commend it to them. In order whereunto he sends to *Ballentine*, then Bishop of *Dumblaine*, and Dean of the Chappel of that Kingdom, these Instructions following, to be observed in the Chappel Royal of *Holy Rood* house in the City of *Edinburgh*.

## CHARLES REX,

I. Our express Will and Pleasure is, That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and his Successors shall be assistant to the Right Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* at the Coronation so often as it shall happen.

Bibl Regia.  
sect. 11 D. 2.

11. That



PART II. II. That the Book of the Form of Our Coronation, lately used, be put  
Anno Dom. in a little Box, and laid into a Standard, and committed to the care of  
1633. the Dean of the Chappel successively.

III. That there be Prayers twice a day with the Choires as well in  
Our absence as otherwise, according to the English Liturgy, till some other  
course be taken for making one that may fit the Customes and Constitu-  
tions of that Church.

IV. That the Dean of the Chappel look carefully, that all that re-  
ceive the blessed Sacrament there, receive it kneeling; and that there  
be a Communion held in that Our Chappel the first Sunday of every  
Month.

V. That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and so successively, come  
duly thither to Prayers upon Sundaies, and such Holidiaies as the Church  
observes, in his Whites, and preach so whensoever he preach there; and that  
he be not absent thence but upon necessary occasion of his Diocesses or  
otherwise according to the course of his preferment.

VI. That these Orders shall be Our warrant to the Dean of Our  
Chappel, that the Lords of Our Privy Council, the Lords of the Sessi-  
on, the Advocate, Clerk, Writers to the Signet, and Members of Our  
Colledge of Justice, be commanded to receive the holy Communion once  
every year at the least in that Our Chappel Royal, and kneeling, for ex-  
ample sake to the Kingdom; and we likewise command the Dean afore-  
said, to make report yearly to Us how we are obeyed therein, and  
by whom, as also if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so,  
and why.

VII. That the Copes which are consecrated for the use of Our Chap-  
pel be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon Inventory by him, and in a  
Standard provided for that purpose, and to be used at the Celebration of  
the Sacrament in Our Chappel Royal. To these Orders we shall here-  
after add others, if we find others more necessary for the Service of God  
there.

Together with these directions, bearing date the eighth of Octo-  
ber, he sends a Letter of the same Date, to the said Bishop of Dum-  
blaine, requiring him to put them speedily in execution, and all  
things to be carefully performed by him as he was directed; com-  
manding also that he should certifie the Lords of the Council there,  
if any person, who had been formerly appointed to communicate  
in the said Chappel Royal, should either neglect or refuse confor-  
mity to his Majesties pleasure, to the end that the Council might  
take such further order in it, as had been directed by his Majesty in  
some former Letters. But knowing, or at the least suspecting, that  
Ballentine might have somewhat more of the Presbyter than the Bi-  
shop in him (as indeed he had) he gave a Warrant under his hand  
to his Grace of Canterbury, "Requiring him to hold corresponden-  
cy with the said Bishop of Dumblaine, that the said Bishop might  
from time to time receive his Majesties directions for ordering of  
such



“ such things as concerned his Service in that Chappel. He had before a *Primacy* in the Church of *England*, and a strong influence on the Government of the Church of *Ireland*. This Warrant gives him some just ground of a superintendency over the Kirk of *Scotland* also, which from henceforth was much directed by his power and wisdom, as will appear by that which follows in its proper place.

LIB. IV.

Anno Domini

1633.

Mean while we will behold such alterations as by his power were made in the Preferments of the Church of *England*; which in the beginning of this year lamented the death of Bishop *Godwin*, made Bishop of *Landaff* in the year 1601. from thence translated unto *Hereford*, Anno 1617. A man whose memory shall be precious in succeeding times for his indefatigable pains and travel in collecting the Catalogue of Succession of all the Bishops of this Church since the first planting of the Gospel amongst the *Saxons*, not pretermitt- ing such of the *Brittish* Church as by the care and diligence of preceding Writers, or any old Monument and Record, had been kept in memory. For his Successor in that See *Fuxon*, then Dean of *Worcester*, and Clerk of his Majesties Closet, as before was said, is recommended and elected. But before the business had proceeded to confirmation there was a *Supersedeas* to it by *Lands* preferment to the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*; who having a great confidence in him, and no less affection to his Person than confidence of his Wisdom and Moderation, commended him so efficaciously to his Majesties Favour, that he made him not only Bishop of *London*, but Dean of the Chappel Royal also. It had been *Lands* great care, as he grew into credit with his Majesty, to give a stop to such corruptions as had been used too frequently in the Court, about Church Preferments, which made him the less acceptable to many which were near the King in Place and Service, who formerly had been on the taking hand, and made a market of the Church as they had occasion. *Goodman* of *Glocester* having staid in that Diocess long enough to be as weary of them as they were of him, affected a remove to the See of *Hereford*, and had so far prevailed with some great Officer of State, that his Money was taken, his *Conge d'eslire* issued out, his Election passed. But the Archbishop coming opportunely to the knowledge of it, and being ashamed of so much baseness in the man, who could pretend no other merit than his money, so laboured the business with the King, and the King so rattled up the Bishop, that he was glad to make his peace, not only with the Resignation of his Election, but the loss of his Bribe. At last, that Church a third time vacant, that is to say, by the death of *Godwin*, the promotion of *Fuxon* and the Resignation of *Goodman*, was recommended to the Government of Dr. *Augustine Lindsel*, not long before made Bishop of *Peterborough*, and now succeeded in that See by *Francis Dee*, Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of *Chichester*. Now begins *Wren* to come in play, Chaplain to his Majesty when Prince of *Wales*, and chosen



PART II. chosen by King *James* to be one of the two which were to follow  
*Anno Dom.* him into *Spain* amongst the rest of his Retinue, as before was said. He  
 1633. had seen *Maw*, who went Chaplain with him into *Spain*, to be preferred first to the Mastership of *Trinity* Colledge, and afterwards to the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Anno* 1628. himself remaining in his place in *Peterhouse* as his highest dignity. In the year 1628. he was at the last made Dean of *Windsor*, and Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, in the place of *Beaumont*. And on that place he dwelt so long, that his well-willers gave it out, that *Land* was afraid of his abilities, and would not suffer him to rise, for fear that he might rise too high both in power and favour, and overtop him in the Court. But these surmises proved as groundless as they were unjust: For this year he was made Successor unto *Juxon* as Clerk of the Closet, a place of great nearness to the King, and being once on the *Ascendent* he went up apace, succeeding *Lindsell* in the See of *Hereford*, *Anno* 1634. and *Corbet* in the Church of *Norwich*, *Anno* 1635. When *Juxon* was advanced to the *Treasurers* Staff, he was made Dean of the Chappel in his place, *Anno* 1636. Successor unto *White* in the See of *Ely*, *Anno* 1638. and questionless had mounted higher had the times been favourable. Nor was he less fortunate in his Successors, leaving the Deanry of *Windsor* to Dr. *Christopher Wren* his younger brother; his Clerkship of the Closet to Dr. *Richard Steward*, Dean of *Chichester*; and the Mastership of *Peterhouse* to *John Cosens* of *Durham*.

We must conclude this year, and begin the next with some proceedings against *Prynne*, the Preparations to whose censure we have heard before. *Candlemas* Term brings him at last unto his tryal in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, being first pre-condemned by the Gentlemen of his own Profession, and afterwards sentenced by that Court. The Gentlemen of the four Societies presented their Majesties with a Pompous and Magnificent *Masque*, to let them see that *Prynnes* leaven had not sowed them all, and that they were not poisoned with the same infection. In which as they all joyned together to perform that Service, so gave they such contentment to his Sacred Majesty, that he desired them to make a Representation of it to the City of *London*: Which they accordingly performed with no less honour to themselves, and delight to the People, than shame and sorrow unto him who had given the occasion. But greater shame and sorrow fell upon him when he came to his Censure. *Richardson*, Chief Justice of his Majesties *Bench*, highly extolled his Majesties mercy in bringing him rather unto his triall in a *Criminal* than a *Capital* way; declaring openly, that if he had been turned over to his *Tribunal*, he must have put himself upon a *Jury*, of whom no mercy could be hoped for so great an Offendor. The Earl of *Dorset*, being Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, aggravated his offence in aspersing with such foul reproaches a Lady of such eminent Vertue and exemplary Piety, that her very dreams were more in heaven



heaven than most womens Prayers. The Archbishop having been bred in *St. Johns Colledge in Oxon.* where the younger Students used yearly to present some shew or other *Dramatick Exercise* to the University, spake much in commendation of *Academical Enterludes*, and the great benefit which redounded to the Actors in them; by training them in an Art of speaking, a modest confidence of Behaviour, the strengthening of the Memory in the repeating of their parts, and the enriching them with a stock of Latine Verses, out of one approved Author or other, which were their own for ever after. In fine, they generally concurred in this Censure of him, viz. "To be fined five thousand pound to the King; expelled the University of Oxon. and *Lincolns-Inn*; degraded and disabled from his Profession in the Laws; to stand in the Pillory, first in the *Palace yard* in *Westminster*, and three daies after in *Cheapside*, and in each place to lose an Ear, ( though this last part of his Censure was much moderated in the execution; ) to have his Book, called *Histrion-Mastix*, publickly burnt before his face by the hand of the Hangman, and remain prisoner during life.

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Anno Dom.  
1633.

Discovery of  
the Prelates  
Tyranny, p.  
119.

But all this was so far from working any remorse in him, that it rather hardened him in his waies. For in *June* following, as soon as he could provide himself of Pen, Ink and Paper, he writes a most sharp and Libellous Letter to the Lord Archbishop, touching his Censure in that Court, and that which the Archbishop in particular had declared against him. With this Letter the Archbishop acquaints his Majesty, and his Majesty commands him to refer it to Attorney Noy. Noy sends for Prynne, and demands of him whether the Letter were of his own hand-writing or not; to which Prynne cunningly replied, That he could make no answer to that demand, unless he saw the Letter, and might read the same. No sooner was the Letter put into his hands, and Noy's back turned a little toward him, but presently he tore it all to pieces, and flung the pieces out of the window, to the end it might not rise in judgment against him if the Attorney should proceed to an *Ore tenus*, as he meant to do. With this affront, and the principal passages of the Letter, the Attorney acquaints their Lordships in open Court, but there was no remedy. For being there was no proof of the misdemeanour but the Letter it self, and that the Letter could not be brought in evidence as it should have been, the Archbishop thought it a more noble Act to remit the crime than to trouble the Court, or any of his Majesties Ministers in the prosecution. But herein Prynne sped better than some others who had before been snarling at him, and laboured to expose him both to scorn and danger. No sooner had he mounted the Chair of *Canterbury*, but one Boyer, who not long before had broke prison, to which he had been committed for felony, most grossly abused him to his face, accusing him of no less than *High Treason*. For which being brought into the *Star-Chamber*, the next *Michaelmas* Term he was there censured by their Lordships as

1634.



PART II. the Crime deserved. And presently on the neck of this, one *Greene*  
*Anno Dom.* a poor decayed Printer, for whom his Grace then Bishop of *London*  
 1634. had procured a Pension of five pound *per Annum*, to be paid by the  
 Company of *Stationers* yearly as long as he lived, adventured into  
 the Court of *St. James's* with a great Sword by his side, desperately  
 swearing, That if the King did not do him Justice against the Arch-  
 bishop, he would take another course with him. For this commit-  
 ted unto *Newgate*; but how long he staid there, and what other  
 Punishment he suffered, or whether he suffered any other, or not,  
 let them seek that list.

And that the other Sex might wet their tongues upon him also,  
 the Lady *Davies*, the Widow of Sir *John Davies* Attorney-General  
 for King *James* in the Realm of *Ireland*; scatters a Prophecie against  
 him. This Lady had before spoken something unluckily of the Duke  
 of *Buckingham*, importing, that he should not live till the end of *Aug-  
 gust*, which raised her to the Reputation of a *Cunning Woman* amongst  
 the ignorant people: and how the Prophecies of the new Archbishop,  
 That he should live but few days after the fifth of *November*; for  
 which, and other Prophecies of a more mischievous nature, she was  
 after brought into the Court of *High-Commission*; the Woman be-  
 ing grown so mad, that she phancied the Spirit of the Prophet *Daniel*  
 to have been infused into her Body: And this she grounded on an  
*Anagram* which she made of her Name, viz. *ELEANOR DAVIES,  
 REVEAL O DANIEL*: And though the *Anagram*  
 had too much by an *L*, and too little by an *S*; yet she found *Daniel*  
 and *Reveal* in it, and that served her turn. Much pains was taken  
 by the Court to dispossess her of this Spirit; but all would not do,  
 till *Lamb* then Dean of the *Arches* shot her through and through,  
 with an Arrow borrowed from her own Quiver: For whilst the Bi-  
 shops and Divines were reasoning the Point with her out of Holy  
 Scripture, he took a Pen into his hand, and at last hit upon this ex-  
 cellent *Anagram*, viz. *DAME ELEANOR DAVIES,  
 NEVER SO MAD A LADIE*: Which having proved to  
 be true by the Rules of Art, *Madam*, said he, *I see you build much  
 on Anagrams, and I have found out one which I hope will fit you*;  
 This said, and reading it aloud, he put it into her hands in Writing,  
 which happy Phansie brought that grave Court into such a laughter,  
 and the poor Woman thereupon into such a confusion, that after-  
 wards she grew either wiser, or was less regarded. This ended as  
 succesfully as he could desire: but he sped worse with another of  
 his Female Adversaries. The Lady *Purbeck*, Wife of *John Villers*  
*Viscount Purbeck*, the elder Brother by the same Venter to the Duke  
 of *Buckingham*, had been brought into the *High-Commission*, Anno  
 1627. for living openly in Adultery with Sir *Robert Howard*, one of  
 the younger Sons of *Thomas* the first Earl of *Suffolk* of that Family.  
 Sentenced among other things to do Penance at *St. Paul's Cross*, she  
 escaped her Keepers, took Sanctuary in the *Savoy*, and was from  
 thence



thence conveyed away by the *French* Ambassador. The Duke being dead, all further prosecution against her died also with him; which notwithstanding, the proud woman being more terrified with the fear of the Punishment, than the sense of the Sin, vented her malice and displeasure against the Archbishop (who had been very severe against her at the time of her Trial) when he was come unto his Greatness; spending her tongue upon him in words so full of deep disgrace and reproach unto him, that he could do no less than cause her to be laid in the *Gatehouse*: But being not long after delivered thence by the Practice of *Howard* afore-mentioned, *Howard* was seized upon, and laid up in her place; which Punishment (though it was the least that could be looked for) he so highly stomach'd, that as soon as the Archbishop was impeach'd by the House of Commons, and committed to Custody by the Lords (which hapned on *Fryday December 18. 1640.*) he petitioned for Relief against the Archbishop, and some other of the *High Commissioners* by whom the Warrant had been signed. The Lords upon the reading of it imposed a Fine of 500*l.* on the Archbishop himself, and 250*l.* apiece upon *Lamb* and *Duck*, and pressed it with such cruel rigour, that they forced him to sell his Plate to make payment of it; the Fine being set on *Munday the 21. of December*, and ordered to be paid on the *Wednesday* after.

But these Particulars have carried me beyond my year: I return therefore back again; and having shewed what Actings had been set on foot both in *England* and *Scotland*, must now cross over into *Ireland*, where we find *Wentworth* made Lord Deputy in the place of *Faulkland*. We told you formerly of some deareness which was growing between him and *Laud* then Bishop of *London*, at his first Admission to the place of a Privy-Counsellor. Toward the latter end of *January, Anno 1630.* *Wentworth* being then Lord President of the Council established for the Northern Parts, bestowed a Visit on him at *London-House*, where they had some private Conference touching the better Settlement of Affairs both in *England* and *Ireland*, of which Kingdom *Wentworth* not long after was Created Lord Deputy. He staid somewhat longer from his Charge than he would have done, to be present at the Censure of *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, informed against in the *Star-Chamber* by his Majesties *Attorney-General*, for some dangerous and disgraceful words which he was reported to have spoken of his Majesties Government, and revealing some Secrets which his Majesty had formerly committed to his Trust as a Privy-Counsellor: But *Williams* found so many shifts to put off the Trial, that the Deputy was fain to leave him in the same estate in which he found him, and hoised Sail for *Ireland*. Scarce was he settled in his Power, but he began to reform some things which he beheld as blemishes in the face of that Church. In the Chappel of the Castle of *Dublin*, the chief Seat of his Residence, he found a fair large Pue at the end of the Chaire, erected for the

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1634.

Hist. K. C.

F. 141.

Cant. Dooms,

p. 82.



PART II. use of his Predecessors in that place; the Communion-Table in the  
*Anno Dom.* mean time being thrust out of doors. This Pue he commands to  
 1634. be taken down, and the Holy Table to be restored to its ancient  
 place, where the Altar formerly had stood. In *Christ-Church* the  
 Cathedral of that City, to which the Lord Deputies repair on *Sun-*  
*days* and *Holydays* for Gods Publick Worship, he found the Holy  
 Table scituated in the middle of the Choire or Chancel, and day  
 by day profaned by Boys and Girles, who sate upon it: This Table  
 he caused to be removed also, as he did the other. And whereas  
 the Earl of *Cork* had built a stately Monument for his Wife and  
 some of her Ancestors, but chiefly for himself and his own Poster-  
 ity, at the East end of the Choire in *St. Patrick's Church*, being the  
 second of that City, the Lord Deputy required him to take it  
 down, or otherwise to satisfie the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the  
 standing of it.

Of all these things he gave Order to his Chaplain *Bramhall* to  
 give the Archbishop an Account, which *Bramhall* did accordingly  
 in his Letters of the tenth of *August* 1633. In which Letters he  
 gave this testimony also of the Deputies Care, *That it was not pos-*  
*sible for the Intentions of a mortal Man, to be more serious and sincere in*  
*those things that concerned the good of the Irish Church, than his Lord-*  
*ships were.* And that he might lay a sure foundation to proceed up-  
 on, he procured the University of *Dublin* to make choice of *Land*,  
 then being Lord Elect of *Canterbury*, for their Lord and Chancellor.  
 To this they chearfully assented, passed the Election on the fourteenth  
 of *September*, *Anno* 1633. being but six days before his actual Con-  
 firmation into the Metropolitcal and Supream Dignity of the  
 Church of *England*. Nor was it long before they found on what a  
 gracious Benefactor they had placed that Honour: He had been told  
 by *Ryves*, his Majesties Advocate (who formerly had exercised that  
 Office in the Realm of *Ireland*) of the deplorable condition of that  
 Church in the respect of Maintenance. Most of the Tythes had  
 been appropriated to Monasteries and Religious Houses, afterwards  
 vested in the Crown, or sold to private Subjects, and made *Lay-Fees*;  
 The Vicaridges for the most part Stipendary, and their Stipends so  
 miserable sordid, that in the whole Province of *Connaught* most of  
 the Vicars Pensions came but to 40 *s. per Annum*, and in many pla-  
 ces but 16. The Bishopricks at that time were many in number,  
 but of small Revenue, having been much dilapidated in the change  
 of Religion, some of them utterly unable to maintain a Bishop,  
 and no good Benefice near them to be held *in Commendam*. This  
 had been certified unto him by Letters from the Lord *Primate* about  
 three years since; and it had been certified also by *Beadle* Bishop of  
*Killmore*, That the Churches were in great decay, and that some  
 men of better quality than the rest were possessed of three, four, five,  
 or more of those Vicaridges, to the great disservice of the Church,  
 and reproach to themselves.

*Cant. Doem,*  
*p. 104.*

These



These things he could not chuse but look on as great discouragements to Learning, and such as could produce no other effects than Ignorance in the Priest, and Barbarism in the People. Scandalous Benefices make for the most part scandalous Ministers, as naked Walls are said in the *English* Proverb to make giddy Housewives. Where there is neither Means nor Maintenance for a Learned Ministry, what a gross night of Ignorance must befall those men who were to hold forth the Light to others? And if the Light itself be Darkness, how great a Darkness must it be, which doth follow after it? That Observation of (e) *Panormitan*, That poor Churches will be filled with none but ignorant Priests, being as true as old, and as old as lamentable. For remedy whereof, he took an opportunity to move his Majesty to restore all such Improvements to the Church of *Ireland*, as were then vested in the Crown. The Exchequer was at that time empty, the Revenue low, which might seem to make the Proposition the more unseasonable: But so great was his Majesties Piety on the one side, the Reasons so forcible on the other, and the Lord Deputy of that Kingdom so cordially affected to advance the Work, that his Majesty graciously condescended to it, and found his Ministers there as ready to speed the business, as either of them could desire. Encouraged by which Royal Example, the Earl of *Cork*, who from a very small beginning had raised himself to a vast Revenue in that Kingdom, Re-built some Churches, and Repaired others; restored some of his Improvements to those several Churches; and doubtless had proceeded further, if a difference had not hapned betwixt the Lord Deputy and him, about the removing of the Monument which he had erected for himself and his Posterity, in one of the principal Churches of the City of *Dublin*, as before was said. And as for the improving of the Bishopricks, as *Ossory* and *Kilkenny*, *Killmore* and *Ardagh*, *Down* and *Connor*, and possibly some others had before this been joined together; so was it advised by the *Primate*, That *Kilsenore* should be joined unto that of *Killaloe*, lying contiguous to each other; Both which being joined by a perpetual union, were thought sufficient to make an indifferent Competency for an *Irish* Bishop.

But all this Care had been to little or no purpose, if some course were not also taken to preserve Religion, endangered on this side by *Popery*, and on that by *Calvinism*; each side unwillingly contributing to the growth of the other. The perverse oppositions of the *Calvinist*, made the *Papist* obstinate; and the insolencies of the *Papists*, did both vex and confirm the *Calvinists*. Betwixt them both, the Church of *England* was so lost, that there was little of her genuine and native Doctrine to be found in the Clergy of that Kingdom. The *Papists* being first suppressed, it was conceived to be no hard matter to reduce the *Calvinians* to Conformity; and to suppress the *Papists*, it was found expedient, That the standing Army should be kept in continual Pay, and that Monies should be levied on the

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(e) *Ad tenuitatem beneficiorum necessario sequitur ignorantia Sacerdotum. Panor.*

*Papists*



PART II. *Papists* themselves for the payment of it: In order whereunto, the  
*Anno Dom.* Bishop of *Killmore* before-mentioned, had given an Account unto  
 1634. his Grace then Bishop of *London*, touching the dangerous condition  
 of that Church by the growth of *Popery*; and now he finds it ne-  
 cessary to give the like Account unto the new Lord Deputy. Him  
 therefore he informs by Letters dated *November 5. 1633.* (which  
 was not long after he had personally assumed the Government, and  
 received the Sword) to this effect; viz. "That in that Crown the  
*Cant. Doom,* "Pope had a far greater Kingdom than his Majesty had; That the  
 P. 437. "said Kingdom of the Pope was governed by the new Congregation  
 "de *propaganda Fide*, established not long since at *Rome*; That the  
 "Pope had there a Clergy depending on him, double in number to  
 "the *English*, the Heads of which were bound by a corporal Oath  
 "to maintain his Power and Greatness against all Persons whatsoe-  
 "ver; That for the moulding of the People to the Popes Obedi-  
 "ence, there was a great rabble of *Irregular* Regulars, most of  
 "them the younger Sons of Noble Houses, which made them the  
 "more insolent and uncontrollable; That the Pope had erected an  
 "University in *Dublin*, to confront his Majesties Colledge there,  
 "and breed up the Youth of the Kingdom to his Devotion, one  
 "Harris being Dean thereof, who had dispersed a Scandalous  
 "Pamphlet against the Lord *Primates* Sermon preach'd at *Wansstead*  
 "(one of the best Pieces that ever came from him) *Anno 1629.* That  
 "since the Dissolving of their new *Frieries* in the City of *Dublin*,  
 "they had Erected them in the Country, and had brought the Peo-  
 "ple to such a sottish negligence, that they cared not to learn the  
 "Commandments as God spake and left them; but flocked in  
 "Multitudes to the hearing of such Superstitious Doctrines as some  
 "of their own Priests were ashamed of; That a *Synodical* Meeting of  
 "their Clergy had been held lately at *Drogheda* in the Province of *Ul-*  
 "ster, in which it was decreed, That it was not lawful to take the Oath  
 "of *Allegiance*; And therefore, That in such a conjuncture of Affairs  
 "to think that the bridle of the Army might be taken away, must be  
 "the thought not of a Brain-sick, but of a Brainless man: which  
 "whosoever did endeavour, not only would oppose his Majesties  
 "Service, but expose his own neck to the Skenes of those *Irish* cut-  
 "throats. All which he humbly refers to his Lordships seasonable  
 Care and Consideration. Upon this Information, the Deputy ob-  
 tains his Majesties leave to hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which  
 he managed with such notable dexterity, that he made himself Ma-  
 ster of a Power sufficient to suppress the Insolencies of the *Papists*,  
 and yet exceedingly prevailed upon their Affections. From which  
 time forwards the *Popish Recusants* in that Kingdom were kept in  
 stricter duty, and held closer to loyal Obedience, for fear of irrita-  
 ting so severe a Magistrate, than ever they had been by any of his  
 Predecessors.

This Parliament brought with it a Convocation, as a thing of  
 course;



course ; and in that somewhat must be done to check the spreading of *Calvinism* in all parts of that Church. The Articles of Religion agreed upon in Convocation *Anno 1615*. were so contrived by *Usher* the now Lord *Primate*, " That all the *Sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Rigours were declared therein to be the Doctrines of that Church ; " Most grievous Torments immediately in his Soul affirmed to be " endured by Christ, which *Calvin* makes to be the same with his " *descent into Hell* ; The abstenencies from eating Flesh upon certain " days, declared not to be Religious Fasts : but to be grounded only upon Politick Ends and Considerations ; All Ministers adjudged to be Lawfully called, who are called unto the Work of the " Ministry by those that have Publick Authority given them in the " Church (but whether they be Bishops or not, it makes no matter, " so that he be Authorized unto it by their several Churches) : The " Sacerdotal Power of Absolution made *declarative* only, and consequently quite subverted ; No Power ascribed unto the Church " in Ordaining *Canons*, or censuring any of those who either carelessly " or maliciously do infringe the same ; the *Pope* made *Antichrist*, " according to the like Determination of the *French Hugonots* made " at *Gappe* in *Dauphine* : And finally, such a silence concerning the " Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops (expressly justified and " avowed in the *English* Book) as if there were not a different Order " from the Common *Presbyters*. All which, being *Usher's* own Opinions, were dispersed in several places of these Articles for the Church of *Ireland*, approved of in that Convocation, and finally confirmed by the Lord Deputy *Chichester* in the Name of King *James*. By means whereof these two great mischiefs did ensue ; First, A great matter of division which it caused to the *Priests* and *Papists* of the Realm, that in three Kingdoms, under the Obedience of one Sovereign Prince, there should be three distinct and contrary Professions, and yet pretending every one to the same Religion. And secondly ; Whensoever the Points were agitated here in *England* against the *Sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Rigours, the Disputants were forthwith choaked by the Authority of these Articles, and the infallible Judgment of King *James*, who confirmed the same. If therefore the Archbishop meant to have Peace in *England*, the Church of *Ireland* must be won to desert those Articles, and receive ours in *England* in the place thereof.

This to effect, it was not thought expedient by such as had the managing of that design, to propose any abrogation or repealing of the former Articles, which had so many Friends and Patrons in that Convocation, that it was moved severally both in the House of the Bishops, and in that of the Clergy, to have them ratified and confirmed in the present Meeting. And questionless it had been carried in that way, if it had not seasonably been diverted by telling the Promoters of it, That those Articles had already received as much Authority as that Church could give them, and that by seeking to procure

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PART II. procure any such Confirmation, they would weaken the Original  
*Anno Dom.* Power by which they stood. This blow being thus handsomly broken, their next work was to move the *Primate*, That for the avoiding of such scandal which was given the *Papists*, and to declare the Unity in Judgment and Affections between the Churches, a *Canon* might be passed in approbation of the Articles of the Church of *England*. To this the Prelate being gained, the *Canon* was drawn up and presented to him; and being by him propounded, was accordingly passed, one only man dissenting when it came to the Vote, who had pierced deeper into the bottom of the Project than the others did. It was desired also by *Bramhall*, not long before the Lord Deputies Chaplain, but then Bishop of *Derrie*, That the whole Body of *Canons* made in the year 1603, might be admitted in that Church: But the *Primate* was ever so afraid of bowing at the Name of *JESUS*, and some other Reverences required in them, which he neither practised nor approved, that he would by no means hearken to it, which bred some heats between him and *Bramhall*, ending at last in this Temperament, That some select *Canons* should be taken out of that Book, and intermingled with some others of their own composing. But for the *Canon* which approved and received the Articles of the Church of *England*, it was this that followeth; viz.

*Of the Agreement of the Church of England and Ireland  
 in the Profession of the same Christian Faith.*

FOR the manifestation of our Agreement with the Church of *England*, in the Confession of the same Christian Faith, and Doctrine of the Sacraments, We do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergie, in whole Convocation holden at London, Anno Dom. 1562. for the avoiding of diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm, That any of those Articles are in any part Superstitious and Erroneous, or such as he may not with a good Conscience Subscribe unto, Let him be Excommunicated, and not Absolved before he make a publick Revocation of his Error.

Such was the *Canon* passed in this Convocation, for the approbation and reception of the Articles of the Church of *England*: Which *Canon* was no sooner passed, confirmed, and published, but the *Primate* and his Party saw the danger which they had cast themselves into by their inadvertency; and found too late, That by receiving and approving the *English* Articles, they had abrogated and repealed the *Irish*. To salve this sore, it concerned them to bestir themselves with their utmost diligence, and so accordingly they did.

For



For first the *Primate*, and some Bishops of his opinions, required *Subscription* to the Articles of both Churches of all such as came to be ordained at the next *Ordination*. But it went no further than the next, for if the Papists made it a matter of Derision to have three Confessions in the three Churches of his Majesties Kingdoms; How much more matter must it give them of scorn and laughter, that there should be two different Confessions in the same Church, and both subscribed unto, but as one and the same.

The Primate next applies himself to the Lord Deputy, beseeching him that the former Articles might receive a new Ratification by Act of Parliament for preventing all innovations in the Religion there established: But he found but little comfort there, the Lord Deputy threatening to cause the said Confession to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; if at the least the *Scots* Commissioners may be believed; amongst whose Articles against him I find this for one. Finding no better hopes on that side of the Sea, he dispatcheth his Letters of Advice to his Friends in *England*, one to an Honourable Person amongst the rest, assuring them that though by a Canon passed in that Convocation they had received and approved the Articles of *England*; yet that the Articlars of *Ireland* were ever called in, might well be reckoned for a fancy. The like affirmed in a Certificate made by *Bernard*, and *Pullen*, two Members of the Lower House in this Convocation, where it is said, *That whosoever do aver that the said Articles were abolished, are grossly mistaken and have abused the said Convocation in delivering so manifest an untruth.* And to back this, another Certificate must be gained from one who comes commended to us under the Title of a most eminent, judicious, and learned person, who having considered of the matter, *Conceives that both Confessions were consistent; and that the Act of the Synod was not a Revocation of the Irish Articles, but an approbation of the English, as agreeing with them.*

But all this would not serve the turn, or save those Articles from being brought under a *Repeal* by the present Canon. For first, it appeareth by the Canon, *That they did not only approve, but receive the Articles of the Church of England.* Their approbation of them, had they gone no further, had been a sufficient manifestation of their agreement with the Church of *England* in the Confession of the same Protestant Religion: But their receiving of the same doth intimate a superinducing of them upon the other, and is equivalent both in Fact and Law to the *Repealing* of the old. For otherwise *St. Paul* must needs be out in the Rules of *Logick* when he proved the *Abrogating* of the old *Covenant* by the superinduction of a new; For having affirmed, that God by speaking of a *New Covenant*, had (d) antiquated and made void the first, (or made the first old as our English read it;) he adds immediatly, *That that which is old, decayeth, and is ready to vanish away*; that is to say, as *Diodati* descants on it, The old being disannulled by the new, there must necessarily follow

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Judgment  
of the Lord.  
Primate,  
p. 121.

Judg. L. Pri.

Ibid. 112.

Obs. observ.  
p. 42.

Judg. of L.  
Pri. p. 121.

(d) Dicenda  
autem no-  
vum, vete-  
ravit prim.  
&c.  
Heb. 8 13.



PART II. the abolishment of its use and practice. Nor find they any other  
*Anno Dom.* abrogation of the *Jewish Sabbath* then by the superinducing of the  
 1634. *Lords day for the day of worship*. By means whereof the Sabbath was  
 lessened in authority and reputation by little and little, and in short  
 time was absolutely laid aside in the Church of Christ; the fourth  
 Commandement, by which it was at first ordained, being still in  
 force. So then according to these grounds the Articles of *Ireland*  
 were *virtually*, though not formally, abrogated; or else it must be  
 granted, that there were two Confessions in the same one Church,  
 different both in form and matter, and contrary in some points unto  
 one another, which would have been so far from creating an unifor-  
 mity between the Churches in the concernments of Religion, that it  
 would have raised a greater disagreement within *Ireland* it self than  
 was before between the Churches of both Kingdoms. And certain-  
 ly the gaining of this point did much advantage the Archbishop,  
 conducing visibly to the promotion of his ends and Counsels in ma-  
 king the Irish Clergy subject to the two Declarations, and account-  
 able for their breaking and neglect thereof, that is to say, his Ma-  
 jesties Declaration about Lawful Sports, and that prefixt before the  
 book of Articles for appeasing Controversies. Take for a farewell  
 this acknowledgment of a late Historian, speaking as well the sense  
 of others as his own, "A Convocation (concurrent with a Parlia-  
 "ment) was called (saith he) and kept at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, where-  
 "in the thirty nine Articles of the Church of *England* were recei-  
 "ved in *Ireland*, for all to subscribe unto. It was adjudged fit, seeing  
 "that Kingdom complies with *England* in the Civil Government, it  
 "should also conform thereunto in matters of Religion. And  
 thereupon he thus concludes, "That in the mean time the  
 "*Irish* Articles concluded formerly in a Synod, 1616. (mistaken  
 for 1615.) (wherein *Arminianism* was condemned in *terminis termi-*  
 "nantibus, and the observation of the *Lords day* resolved *Jure divi-*  
 "no) were utterly excluded.

ch. Hist. B.  
 11. p. 128.

But leaving *Ireland* to the care of the Lord Deputy, and the Bi-  
 shop of *Derry*, who under him had the chief managing of the affairs  
 of that Church; let us see how the new Archbishop proceeds in  
*England*, where he had so many plows going at once, too many, as  
 it after proved, to work well together. For not thinking he had done  
 enough in order to the peace and uniformity of the Church of *Eng-*  
*land*, by taking care for it here at home, his thoughts transported  
 him with the like affection to preserve it from neglect abroad. To  
 which end he had offered some considerations to the Lords of the  
 Council, as before was said, *Anno* 1622. relating to the regulation  
 of Gods publick Worship amongst the *English Factories*, and Regi-  
 ments beyond the Seas, and the reducing of the *French* and *Dutch*  
 Churches, settled in divers parts of this Realm, unto some confor-  
 mity. In reference to the first, he had not sate long in the Chaire  
 of *Canterbury* when he procured an Order from the Lords of the  
 Coun-



Council, bearing date *Octob. 1. 1633.* By which their *English* Churches and Regiments in *Holland* (and afterwards by degrees in all other Foreign parts and plantations) were required strictly to observe the *English* Liturgie with all the Rites and Ceremonies prescribed in it. Which Order contained the sum and substance of those considerations which he had offered to the Board touching that particular. With which the Merchant Adventurers being made acquainted, with joynt consent they made choice of one *Beaumont* (reputed for a learned, sober, and conformable man) to be Preacher to their Factory residing at *Delf*, *Forbes*, a *Scot* by birth, who formerly had been Preacher to the Society, being either dead, or otherwise departed to avoid conformity. And that this man might be received with the better welcome a Letter is sent with him to the Deputy Governour, subscribed by the Archbishop himself, in which he signifieth both to him and the rest in his Majesties name, "That they were to receive him with all decent and courteous usage fitting his person and calling, allowing him the ancient Pension which formerly had been paid to his Predecessors. Which said in reference to the man, he lets them know that it was his Majesties express command, that both he, the Deputy, and all and every other Merchant, that is or shall be residing in those parts beyond the Seas, do conform themselves to the Doctrine and Discipline settled in the Church of *England*: and that they Frequent the Common-Prayer with all Religious duty and reverence at all times required, as well as they do Sermons; and that out of their company they should yearly about *Easter*, as the Canons prescribe, name two Church-Wardens, and two Sides-men, which may look to the Orders of the Church, and give an account according to their office. It was also required that these present Letters should be registred and kept by them, that they which come after might take notice what care his Majesty had taken for the well ordering of the said Company in Church affairs; and that a Copy of the same should be delivered to the said *Beaumont*, and to every Successor of his respectively, that he and they might know what his Majesty expected of them, and be the more inexcusable if they disobey it. With this Dispatch, bearing date the seventeenth of *June*, this present year 1634. away goes *Beaumont* into *Holland*, taking with him these Instructions for his own proceedings; that is to say, "That he should punctually keep and observe all the Orders of the Church of *England*, as they are prescribed in the *Canons* and the *Rubricks* of the *Liturgie*; and that if any person of that Company shall shew himself refractory to that Ordinance of his Majesty, he should certifie the name of any such offender, and his offence to the Lord Bishop of *London* for the time being, who was to take order and give remedy accordingly. Which Order and Instructions given to *Beaumont* in private, were incorporated also in the Letter, least otherwise he might be thought to act any thing in

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Cant. Dooms,

p. 407.



PART II. it without good Authority. And he accordingly proceeded with such  
*Anno Dom.* honest zeal, and was so punctual in observing his Majesties pleasure  
 1634. and commands, that for a reward of his good service he was preferred unto a Prebends place in the Church of *Canterbury*, though by the unhappy change of times, it brought more reputation than advantage with it.

And now at last we have the face of an *English Church* in *Holland*, responsal to the Bishops of *London* for the time being, as a part of their Diocess, directly and immediately subject to their Jurisdiction. The like course also was prescribed for our Factories in *Hamborough*, and those further off, that is to say, in *Turky*, in the *Moguls Dominions*, the *Indian Islands*, the Plantations in *Virginia*, the *Barbadoes*, and all other places where the English had any standing Residence in the way of trade. The like done also for regulating the Divine Service in the Families of all Ambassadors, residing in the Courts of Foreign Princes for his Majesties Service; as also in the *English Regiments*, serving under the States. The superinspection of which last was referred to *Boswel* his Majesties Resident at the *Hague*, and his Successors in that place; as he and all the rest of the Embassadors, in what place soever, were to be ordered by the care of the Lords of the Council; and they to be accountable therein to his Sacred Majesty, as the Supream Ordinary. The English Agents and Ambassadors in the Courts of Foreign Princes had not been formerly so regardful of the honour of the Church of *England*, as they might have been, in designing a set Room for religious uses, and keeping up the Vestments, Rites and Ceremonies, prescribed by Law in performance of them. It was now hoped that there would be a Church of *England* in all Courts of *Christendom*, in the chief Cities of the *Turk*, and other great *Mahometan* Princes, in all our Factories and Plantations in every known Part of the world, by which it might be rendred as diffused and *Catholick*, as the Church of *Rome*.

In reference to the regulating of the *French* and *Dutch Churches* here amongst our selves, he conceived himself in a capacity of putting his own Counsels in execution, either as Bishop of the Diocess, or Archbishop of the Province of *Canterbury*. He had considered of the dangers which those Foreign Churches drew on this, by standing divided and dismembred from the rest of the body; and of the countenance and encouragement which was given to the *Puritan* Faction in the promoting of Schism. There was no *Traverse* to be made to this *Dilemma*, but either they were or were not of the same Religion with the Church of *England*. If they were not of the same Religion why should they, being strangers, borne in other Countries, or descending from them, expect more Liberty of Conscience than the Papists had, being all Natives, and descending from English Parents? If of the same, why should they not submit to the Government and Forms of Worship, being the outward acts and exercises of



of the Religion here by Law established? It was now as when they first fled into this Land from the Fire and Faggot; from which their own Countries having felt no Persecution for forty or fifty years last past, were at this time freed: And therefore if they did not like the Terms of their staying here, they might return from whence they came, in peace and safety, with thanks to God and the good English Nation, for the long and comfortable Entertainment they had found amongst them. Upon these grounds, and such Considerations as had before been offered to the Lords of the Council, before he had sate a whole year in the Chair of Canterbury, he caused these three Articles to be tendred to the French Congregation in that City, and the two Dutch Congregations in Sandwich and Maidston, Apr. 14. 1634.

1. *What Liturgie do you use? or whether you have not the Dutch or French in use?* 2. *Of how many Descents for the most part they were born Subjects?* 3. *whether such as are born Subjects, will conform to the Church of England?* For Answer to the Articles (after some fruitless Pleas touching their Exemptions) they obtained time till the fifth of May; against which time, with the consent of their several Churches, they prepared these several Answers. To the first it was answered, *That they had that Liturgie which all the Churches of the French Tongue (both in France, and in the United Provinces of the States) have had since the blessed Reformation, and which their Churches (refuged here) have had this sixty or seventy years, or more: That the English Liturgie was Translated into French, but that they used it not; and that they knew not whether it were Translated in Dutch or not.* To the second it was answered, *That the greatest part of the Heads of the Families were not born here, but about a third part; because that the greatest part of the old ones were Strangers born, and many others are newly come since a few years.* But to the third they desired to be excused from making any Answer at all, foreseeing (as it was pretended) a dissipation of their Churches, in reference to the maintenance of their Ministry and relief of their poor, if such Conformity should be pressed, which they endeavoured to avoid by all means imaginable. But before these Answers were returned, it was thought fit to consult with the *Cetus* (as they style it) of the French and Dutch Churches in London, who were concerned as much as they, and who by reason of their wealth and number governed all the rest; by whom they were advised to suppress those Answers, and to present their *Declinator*, fixing themselves upon their Privileges, and challenging the Exemption granted them by King Edward vi. confirmed by several Acts of Council in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and his Sacred Majesty.

This *Declinator* no way satisfied his Grace of Canterbury. He knew, none better, That Acts of Council were not like the Laws of the Medes and Persians, but might be changed and varied as occasion served; That the Letters Patents granted by King Edward vi. to the first Congregation of Strangers under John A Lasco (by which they were

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PART II. were Licenced to use their own Forms both of Worship and Government, without any disturbance) were vacated by the departure of the said Congregation in the time of Queen Mary; and that the French and Dutch Churches now in England, could pretend no succession unto that in the time of King Edward vi. And therefore as soon as Brent returned from his Visitation (of which we shall hear more anon) and had a while reposed himself after that long Journey, he was dispatched to Canterbury with these Injunctions, viz. 1. That all the Natives of the Dutch and Walloon Congregations in his Graces Diocese, are to repair to their several Parish Churches where they inhabit, to hear Divine Service and Sermons, and perform all Duties and Payments required in that behalf: And 2. That all the Ministers, and all other of the same Walloon or French Congregations, which are Aliens born, shall have and use the Liturgie used in the English Churches, as the same is or may be faithfully Translated into French or Dutch. These two Injunctions being given on the nineteenth of December, with time for conforming thereunto till the first of March, were presently communicated by the Kentish to the London Churches, and by those of London to the rest in the Province of Canterbury, requiring them to send their Deputies to consult together with them in this Common Danger. There were at that time ten Churches of Strangers in this Province; that is to say, two in London, two in Norwich, and one apiece in Canterbury, Sandwich, Maidstone, Southampton, Colchester, and Yarmouth, who were to send their sufficient Deputies, consisting of Ministers and Lay-Elders, to make this Synod. But because the time might be elapsed before these Deputies from so many Places could meet together, and resolve upon any Conclusion, it was determined by the Cetus, that those of Kent, whom it most immediately concerned, should address themselves to the Archbishop, and desire his favour for the enjoying of their Privileges, as in former times; whose Propositions being heard, and their Reasons pondered, he answered, That it was his purpose to make a General Visitation of all his Province, and that he would begin at home; That he did nothing but what had been communicated to the King, and resolved by the Council; That neither the Letters Patents of King Edward vi. nor any Reasons by them alledged, should hinder him from proceeding in the said Injunctions; That their Churches were nests and occasions of Schism, which he would prevent in Kent as well as he could; That it were better there were no Foreign Churches nor Strangers in England, than to have them thereby to give occasion of prejudice or danger to the Church-Government of it; That they endeavoured to make themselves a State in a State, and had vaunted, That they feared not his Injunctions; but, That he hoped the King would maintain him in it, as long as he Governed by the Canons; That the dissipation of their Churches, and maintenance of two or three Ministers, was not to be laid in the same Balance with the Peace and Happiness of the Church of England; That their ignorance in the English Tongue,



Tongue, ought not to be used for a pretence for their not going to their Parish Churches, considering that it was an affected Ignorance, and they might avoid it when they would: And finally, That he was resolved to have his Injunctions put in execution, and that they should conform to them at their peril by the time appointed. LIB. IV.  
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Finding no hope of Good this way, they expect the Sitting of the Synod on the fifth of February; to which the Deputies made a Report of their ill Successes; and thereupon it was resolved, That a Petition in the name of all the Foreign Churches, should be presented unto the King; which way they found as unsuccessful as the other was: For his Majesty having read the Petition, delivered it to the Earl of Pembroke, commanding him to give it to one of the Secretaries. And though Pembroke, either out of love to the Cause, or hate to the Archbishops Person, chose rather to deliver it to Cooke than Windesbank; yet neither Cooke himself, nor Weckerly his chief Clerk (a Walloon by birth) who had very much espoused the Quarrel, could do any thing in it. The next course was to back that Petition with a Remonstrance, containing the chief Reasons which they had to urge in their own behalf; and that Remonstrance to be put into his Majesties hands by the Duke of Soubize, a Prince of great Descent in France, and a chief stickler in the Wars of the Hugonots against their King: In which Reasons, when they came to be examined more particularly, there was nothing found material, but what had formerly been observed and answered; except it were the fear of a Persecution to be raised in France, when it should there be known, how much the French Churches in this Kingdom had been discountenanced and distressed. And this they after aggravated by some fresh Intelligence which they had from thence, by which they were advertised of some words of the great Cardinal Richelieu, to this effect, viz. That if a King of England, who was a Protestant, would not permit two Disciplines in his Kingdom, why should a King of France, a Papist, permit two Religions? Great workings had been in the Court upon this occasion; though all which was effected by it, was but the present qualification of the second Injunction; His Majesty on good Reason of State insisting so strongly on the first, that it could not be altered. But as for the second Injunction, it was qualified thus, viz. That the Ministers, and all others of the French and Dutch Congregations, which are not Natives, and born Subjects to the Kings Majesty, or any other Stranger that shall come over to them, while they remain Strangers may have and use their own Discipline, as formerly they have done; yet it is thought fit that the English Liturgie should be Translated into the French and Dutch, for the better fitting of their Children to the English Government. But before the Injunction thus qualified could be sent to Canterbury, the Mayor and Brethren of that City were put upon a Petition in their behalf, insisting, amongst other things, on the great Charge which would fall upon them, if the relief of the poor French, which formerly had been maintained on the common Purse



PART II. Purse of that Church, should be cast upon the several Parishes; and  
*Anno Dom.* the great want of Work which would happen to their own Poor in  
 1634. that City, if the Manufactures of the *French* should be discontinued. To which Petition they received a favourable Answer in respect  
 of themselves; but without any alteration of his Graces purpose in  
 such other points of it as concerned those Churches. A Tempera-  
 ment was also used in regard of the Ministers which did Officiate in  
 those Churches; it being condescended to on the suit of their De-  
 puties, That such of their Ministers as were *English* born should  
 continue in their Place and Ministry, as in former times: but that  
 hereafter none should be admitted to be Ministers in their Congre-  
 gations, but such as were Strangers. Which Condescensions not-  
 withstanding, It was directed by the *Cetus* of the *London* Churches,  
 That by no means the *Kentish* Foreigners should publish the said *In-*  
*junctions* in their Congregations; and that if the prosecution of  
 them should be strictly urged, they would then think upon some  
 other course to bear off that blow. And by this Tergiversation they  
 gained so much time, that the final Decree was not passed upon  
 them till the 26th of *September* 1635. when to the former *Injunction*  
 they found this Clause or *Proviso* added, viz. *That the Natives*  
*should continue to contribute to the maintenance of their Ministry, and*  
*the Poor of their Church, for the subsisting thereof; and that an Order*  
*should be obtained from his Majesty, if it were desired, to maintain*  
*them in their Manufactures, against all such as should endeavour to mo-*  
*lest them by Informations.* Some time was spent about the publishing  
 of this Decree, the Ministers and Elders of those Churches refusing  
 to act any thing in it: But at the last it was published in the *French*  
 Church at *Canterbury* by one of their *Notaries*, and in *Sandwich* by  
 the *Chanter* or Clerk of the Congregation, with Order to the Mi-  
 nisters and Churchwardens of the several Parishes, to take notice  
 of such of the Natives as resorted not diligently to their Parish  
 Churches.

This proved a leading Case to all the other *French* and *Dutch* Churches on this side of the Seas, though they opposed it what they could. For no sooner was the News of these *Injunctions* first brought to *Norwich*, when a Remonstrance was presented to *Corbet* (who was then Bishop of that Diocese) and by him transmitted to the Archbishop; in which they had expressed such Reasons against the tenour of the same, as we have met with formerly in this Narration. But the Archbishops Visitation of that Diocese in the year next following, *Anno* 1635. put an end to that business; the *Injunction* being published in the Churches of Strangers in that City, before any publication of them had been made in *Canterbury*. Nor was the like done only in all the Churches of Strangers in the Province of *Canterbury*, but in those of *York*, where the Archbishop kept them to a harder Diet; for having seen what had been done by *Brent* in his Visitation, and having no such powerful Solicitors as the *Cetus* of the *London* Churches



Churches to take off his edge, he denied them the Exercise of any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of their own; enjoins them the use of the *English Liturgie* in the *French* Tongue, with Obedience to all the Laws and Ordinances of the Church of *England*; to receive the Sacrament once a year in the Church of the Parish where they dwell, and to perform all their Christenings, Marriages, and Burials there, or else none of their Congregations to be permitted. But notwithstanding all this care of the *Metropolitans*, the business went forward more or less, as the Ministers and Church-wardens stood affected in their several Parishes. And in most Parishes the Ministers and Church-wardens were so well pleased with that indecency which they had amongst them, in respect of any Superiors in Church-concernments, to whom they might be made accountable for Life or Doctrine, that generally they wish'd themselves in the same condition: And being freed from their greatest fear, of having the Poor of those Churches cast upon them in their several Parishes, they seem'd not much solicitous whether they came to the Church or not, to hear the Sermons, receive the Sacraments, or perform any other part of Publick Worship; especially if they were not scrupulous in paying to the Minister his accustomed Dues, and yielding to such Rates and Taxes as the Church-wardens laid upon them for Parochial uses. If any Minister began to look too strictly to them, they would find some means to take him off by Gifts and Presents, or by some powerful Letter from some of the Grandees residing in *London*, and sometimes from a neighbouring Justice, whose displeasure must not be incurred. And that they might not want encouragement to stand it out as long as they could, the leading men of the *Genevian* Faction in most parts of the Realm, did secretly solicit them not to be too forwards in conforming to the said *Injunctions*, assuring them of such Assistances as might save them harmless, and flattering them with this Opinion of themselves, That the Liberty of the Gospel, and the most desirable Freedom of the Church from Episcopal Tyranny, depended chiefly on their Courage and Resolution. What was done afterwards in pursuance of the said *Injunctions*, shall be told elsewhere: all which Particulars I have laid together, that the Proceedings of his Grace in this weighty business (so much calumniated and defamed) might be presented to the Reader without interruption.

It was once said by *Telesinus* to *Caj. Marius*, That he did well to scour the Country; but Italy would never want wolves, so long as Rome continued so fit a Forest to afford them shelter. In like manner the Archbishop knew full well how small a Progress he should make in his Reformation, for reducing the *French* and *Dutch* to a Communion with the Church of *England*, and the Church of *England* to it self, if *London* were not brought to some Conformity. Which City having a strong influence on all parts of the Kingdom, was generally looked on as the Compass by which the lesser Towns and Corporations



PART II. tions were to steer their Course, the practice of it being pleaded  
*Anno Dom.* upon all occasions, for Vestries, Lectures, and some other Innova-  
 1634. tions in the State of the Church. And to this nothing more concur-  
 red, than that the Beneficed Clergy being but meanly provided for,  
 were forced to undertake some Lectures, or otherwise to connive at  
 many things, contrary to their own Judgment and the Rules of the  
 Church; in hope that gaining the good will thereby of the Chief  
 of their Parishes, they might be gratified by them with Entertain-  
 ments, Presents, and some other helps to mend their Maintenance.  
 The Lecturers in the mean time, as being Creatures of the People,  
 and depending wholly on the Purse of the wealthier Citizens, not  
 only overtopped them in point of Power and Reputation, but gene-  
 rally of Profit and Revenue also. Not that these Lecturers were  
 maintained so much by the Zeal and Bounty of their Patrons, as by  
 a general Fraud, which for many years last past had been put upon  
 the Regular Clergy; by the diminishing of whose just Dues in  
 Tythes and Offerings, such Lecturers and Trencher-Chaplains had  
 been fed and cherished. For the better understanding whereof, we  
 are to know, That in the year 1228. *Roger Niger* Bishop of *London*.  
 ordained by a Synodical Constitution, *That the Citizens should pay*  
*of every pounds Rent by the year, of all Houses, Shops, &c. the Sum of*  
*3 s. 4 d. as time out of mind had formerly been paid.* Which 3 s. 4 d.  
 did arise from the Offerings upon every Sunday and thirty of the  
 principal Holydays in the same year, after the Rate of one halfpenny  
 for every twenty shillings Rent of their Houses, Shops, &c. This  
 Order of *Roger Niger* remaining in force till the year 1397. and the  
 Clergy being kept to such Rates for the Rents of Houses, as at the  
 first making of the same, it was decreed by *Thomas Arundell* then  
 Bishop of *Canterbury*, *That as the Rent increased, so the Offerings or*  
*Tythes should increase also; That the said Order should be read in*  
*every Parish-Church four times in the year, and a Curse laid upon all*  
*those who should not obey it.* Confirmed by Pope *Innocent viii.* and  
*Nicholas iv.* with a *Proviso*, *That the said Oblations should be paid ac-*  
*cording to the true yearly value of the Shops and Houses.* It so remain-  
 ed until the twenty fifth year of *Henry viii.* at what time many of the  
 former Holydays being abrogated by the Kings Authority, the year-  
 ly Profit of the Clergy found a great abatement; the greater, in re-  
 gard of the variances which arose betwixt them and their Parishio-  
 ners, about the payment of their Dues; the People taking the ad-  
 vantage of some Disorders which the Clergy at that present had  
 been brought unto, by acknowledging the King for the Supream  
 Head of the Church of *England*. Upon this variance a Complaint  
 is made unto the King, who refers the whole matter to *Cranmer*  
*Archbishop of Canterbury*, *Audley* Lord Chancellor, *Gardiner* Bishop  
 of *Winton*, *Cromwell* Chief Secretary of Estate, *Fitz-James* and *Nor-*  
*wich* Chief Justices of the several Benches, by whom it was con-  
 cluded, *That from thenceforth 2 s. 9 d. only should be paid out of*  
*every*



every pound for the Rents of Houses, Shops, &c. And to this Order the Citizens did not only consent, as they had good reason, but bound themselves by an Act of Common Council to perform the same; the said Decree confirmed by Act of Parliament in the twenty seventh, and afterwards in the thirty seventh of that King, with a power given to the Lord Mayor to commit to Prison every person whatsoever who should not pay his Tythes and Dues according to that Proportion.

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But contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said Decrees, and the several Acts of Parliament which confirmed the same, the covetous and unconscionable Landlords, who had the Fee-simple, or some long Leases at the least, of such shops and houses, devised many base and fraudulent waies to put a cheat upon the Law, and abuse the Clergie; reserving some small sum in the name of a Rent, and covenanting for other greater Sums to be paid quarterly or half yearly in the name of Fines, Annuities, Pensions, Incomes, Interest money, &c. Finding these Payments so conditioned and agreed upon to be too visible a cheat, some were so wise as to take their Fines in gross, when they sealed their Leases, some inconsiderable Rent being charged upon them; others so cunning as to have two Leases on foot at the same time, one at a low contemptible Rent to gull the Incumbent of his dues, the other with a Rent four or five times as great to keep down the Tenant; and some by a more cleanly kind of conveyance (reserving a small Rent as others did) caused their Tenants to enter into several bonds for the payment of so much money yearly with reference to the term which they had in their Leases. By which Devises and deceits the house-Rents were reduced to so low a value, that some Aldermen, who do not use to dwell in Sheds and Cottages, could be charged with no more than twenty shillings for a whole years Tythe; the Rent reserved amounts after that proportion but to seven pounds yearly. The Clergie by the Alteration of Religion had lost those great advantages, which had before accrued unto them by *Obits, Mortuaries, Obventions* to the Shrines and Images of some special Saints, Church Lands, and personal Tythes according to mens honest gain, which last was thought to have amounted to more than the Tythe of houses. Being deprived of the one, and abused in the other, they were forced in the sixteenth of King James, Anno 1618. to have recourse to the Court of Exchequer, by the Barons whereof it was declared, that according to the true intent of the said Acts the Inhabitants of *London* and the Liberties thereof ought to pay the Tythe of their houses, shops, &c. after the rate of two shillings nine pence in the pound proportionable to the true yearly value of the Rent thereof. In order whereunto it was then ordered by the Court, that a Shed, which had been built and made a convenient dwelling house, should pay twenty four shillings nine pence yearly in the name of a Tythe, as was afterwards awarded by Sir Henry Telverton, upon a reference made unto him,



PART II. that one *Rawlins*, who paid forty shillings yearly to his Landlord in the name of a Rent, and twelve pound by the name of a fine, should  
*Anno Dom.* from thenceforth pay his Tythe to the Incumbent of the Parish in which he dwelt, after the rate of fourteen pound yearly.

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This and the like Arbitrements about that time gave them some hope of finding more relief from the Court of Exchequer than they could expect from the Lord Mayor; who being at the first made Judge in the business for the ease of the Clergy, carried himself rather like a party concerned in it than an equal Umpire. But there was no contending with the Purse of the City; For though the proceedings of the City Landlords were declared to be unjust and Sacrilegious under the hands of many Bishops, and most of the Heads of Houses in both Universities, *Anno 1620.* yet the business going on from bad to worse, they were necessitated to cast themselves at the feet of King *Charles*, and to petition for a remedy of these growing mischiefs, which otherwise in some tract of time might become insupportable. Which Petition being taken into consideration by his Sacred Majesty, he was graciously pleased to refer the same to the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, the Earl Marshal, the Lord Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Cottingham*, Mr. Secretary *Windebank*, and Chief Justice *Richardson*, or any five, or three of them, of which the Lord Archbishop to be alwaies one, requiring, and thereby authorizing to call before them all parties concerned in the business, and after a full hearing and examination thereof, to end if they could, or otherwise to report to his Majesty where the Impediment lay, that so his Majesty might take such further order therein as in his Princely wisdom he should think most meet. Which reference, being made the fifteenth of *May* of this present year, was carried on with such equality, and moderation, that the rich Landlords had no reason to complain of any obliquity or partiality in the conduct of it; But having been accustomed to feed on the Churches Bread, and to have the poor Clergie obnoxious to them, they could with no patience entertain the thoughts of relinquishing their former dyet, or suffer a deserving Clergy to enjoy their own. Nothing more feared, than that the Clergy by this means would grow too rich; They who conceived two thousand pound of yearly Rent not enough for an Alderman, think one hundred pound *per annum* (as was affirmed by one of that number) to be too much for a Minister. And should the Clergy once grow rich they would become more absolute, and independent, not so obsequious to them as they had been formerly, and consequently more apt to cross them in their opposition or neglect of established Orders. And in this state the business stood when *Juxon* the Bishop of *London* was advanced to the Treasurers Staff in the end of *March 1635.* which much encreased the hopes of the one, and the fears the other. Some of the Clergie had the hap to better their condition, and improve their Benefices by the appearing of so many powerful



powerful persons in their behalf; and possible enough it is that some expedient would have been resolved on by the Referrees to the general content of both parties (his Grace of *Canterbury* being very sollicitous in behalf of the Clergy) if the troubles which brake out soon after in *Scotland*, and the preparations for the War, which ensued upon it, had not put the business to a stand, and perswaded both the King and Council to an unprofitable compliance with that stubborn City, from which he reapt nothing in conclusion but neglect and scorn. So frequently have the best designs been overthrown, not so much by the puissance and might of the adverse party, as through defect of Constancy and Resolution to go through with them.

LIB. IV.

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Mention was made in the Narrative of our Archbishops late proceeding against the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch*, of somewhat which was done in order to it, in the *Metropolitica* Visitation of the Province of *Canterbury*. Concerning which we are to know, that in the beginning of the year 1634. he resolved upon that Visitation. And having some distrust of *Brent* his Vicar General, he prepared one of his Confidants to be a joynt Commissioner with him, that he might do no hurt, if he did no good. But afterwards, being more assured of *Brent* than before he was, he resolved to trust him with himself, and not to fetter him with any such constant Overseer to attend his actings. The Articles for his Visitation, Printed for the use of Churchwardens and Sides-men in their several Parishes, had little in them more than *ordinary*. But he had given directions to his Vicar General to enquire into the observation of his Majesties Instructions of the year 1629. to command the said Churchwardens to place the Communion Table under the Eastern Wall of the Chancel, where formerly the Altar stood; to set a decent Raile before it to avoid profaneness; and at the Raile the Communicants to receive the blessed Sacrament. It had been signified to the Archbishop, that a Dog in one place or other (but I remember not the name) had run away with the Bread appointed for the holy Communion; and that the Communion Wine had been brought unto the Table in many places, in Pint-pots and Bottles, and so distributed to the people. The placing of a Raile before the Table would prevent all infamies of the first sort, and he hoped the Ministers would take order to reform abuses of the last. *Williams*, at that time Bishop of *Lincoln*, had placed the Table of his own Chappel in the state of an Altar, and furnished it with Plate and other costly Utensils, beyond most others in the Kingdom. The Table stood in the same posture in the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, of which he was both Bishop and Residentiary; and in the *Collegiate* Church of *Westminster*, whereof he was Dean. The Chancel of *St. Martins* Church in the Town of *Leicester* had been made a Library, which he when he was in his good humours perswaded the people to remove, to trim and prepare the said Choire with Railes and such other Ornaments

Cant. Doors,  
p. 92.



## PART II.

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ments as were fitting for it, and then to place therein their Communion Table, all which they accordingly performed. But understanding of the Order of the third of November, made by his Majesty and the Lords of his Council in the Case of St. Gregories, he untwisteth all this Line again. For a Certificate being presented to him by the Vicar, Church-wardens, and some others of the Parish, *That the place where the Table stood before, was far more fit, by reason of the more capacity to receive the Communicants, and the more audibleness of the Ministers voice, and the Proximity of it to the place where Morning and Evening Prayer had been appointed to be read, than the Chancel was;* he gave them leave to remove the Communion Table to the place where it formerly stood, especially at such times as they received the Communion. All which by his Letters of the nineteenth of December 1633. he signifies to Burden, one of Lambs Surrogates in the Archdeaconry of Leicester, requiring him not to be troublesome or molestfull to the said parties in any thing concerning the Premises. Which Letter Burden sends to Lamb, and Lamb communicates to his Grace of Canterbury; who thereupon resolves to make that Diocess the Scene of his first Visitation.

The Diocess of *Lincoln* was anciently larger than it is, the Bishoprick of *Ely* being taken out of it in the Reign of King *Henry* the First, Anno 1109. and those of *Oxon.* and *Peterborough* by King *Henry* the Eighth, Anno 1541. But as it is, it is the largest of the Kingdom, both for the quantity of ground, and the number of Parishes, containing in it the whole Counties of *Lincoln, Leicester, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntington,* and that part of *Hertfordshire* which belonged to the Kingdom of *Mercia*. In which Counties are contained 1255 Parishes divided (though not equally) between six Archdeacons, that is to say, the Archdeacons of *Lincoln, How, Leicester, Buckingham, Bedford, and Huntingdon;* each of them having his several Commissaries, and every Commissary one or more Surrogates, to officiate under him in times of necessary absence. Within this great Diocess he begins, first laying a Suspension on the Bishop and the six Archdeacons, by which they were inhibited from the exercise of their Jurisdiction, as long as that Visitation lasted. And after sending out a Citation to all the Ministers and Churchwardens of that Diocess, he required them to appear at certain times and places before his Vicar General and the rest of the Commissioners authorized for the several Archdeaconries of the same. But the Bishop was too stout to yield at the first assault, pretending an exemption from such Visitations by old *Papall Bulls*. The Archbishop being herewith startled, was not long after very well satisfied in that particular, by a Paper which was tendred to him, asserting his Metropolitan Right against those Pretences, collected out of Histories and old Records. Which being compared with the Originals, and found to contain nothing but undoubted truths, the Bishop is commanded to appear before the Lords of the Council, where his

Papall



*Papal Bulls* were so well baited by the Archbishop and his Counsel, that not being able to hold any long play, they ran out of the Field, leaving the Bishop to shift for himself as well as he could. This Bar removed, the *Vicar-General* proceeds to the Visitation, and in all places gives command to the Church-wardens, not only to return their Presentments, according to the Articles of the Visitation; but to transpose the Communion Table to the East end of the Chancel, and to fence it with a decent Rail, to avoid prophaneness, according unto such Directions as he had received from the Lord Archbishop. He further signified, That they were to take especial care of certifying the names of all the *Lecturers* in their several and respective Parishes; as also, Whether the said *Lecturers*, and all other Preaching Ministers within that Diocese, did carefully observe his Majesties Instructions published in the year 1629. Their knowledge in which Particulars, with a Certificate of their doings about the removing of the *Communion Table*, together with their Presentments to the several Articles which were given them in charge, to be returned unto him by a time appointed. Which Charge thus given, and the Visitation carried to another Diocese, he leaves the prosecution of it (as afterwards in all other places) to the care of the Bishop. But the Bishop having other designs of his own, was no sooner discharged of that Suspension which was laid upon him, but he resolves to visit his Diocese in person, to shew himself to those of his Clergy, and gain the good affections of those especially who adhered to *Calvin* and *Geneva*: Insomuch that meeting in the Archdeaconsry of *Buckingham*, with one Doctor *Bret*, a very grave and reverend man, but one who was supposed to incline that way, he embraced him in his Episcopal Arms with these words of *St. Augustine*, viz. *Quamvis Episcopus major est Presbytero, Augustinus tamen minor est Hieronymo*: Intimating thereby, to the great commendation of his modesty amongst those of that Faction, That the said *Bret* was as much greater than *Williams*, as the Bishop was above a Priest. And in compliance with that Party, he gave command for Railing in the Communion Table (as appears by the Extract of his Proceedings in the Archdeaconsry of *Leicester*) not placed at the East end of the Chancel, with a Rail before it: but in the middle thereof, as it stood before, with a Rail about it. And by that kind of half-compliance, as he retracted nothing from his own Opinion, in his Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*; so he conceived, That he had finely frustrated the design of his Metropolitan, and yet not openly proceeded against his Injunction.

The Visitation thus begun, was carried on from year to year, till it had gone over all the Diocesses in the Province of *Canterbury*. In the prosecution whereof, the *Vicar-General* having given the Charge, and allowed time to the Church-wardens to return a Certificate of their doings in pursuance of it, the further execution of it was left to the Bishops in their several Diocesses; in which it went forwards

more

L I B. IV.

Anno Dom.

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1635.



## PART II.

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more or less, as the Bishops were of spirit and affection to advance the Work, either in reference to the transposing of the Table, or the observation of his Majesties *Instructions* above-mentioned, which had not the least place in the business of this Visitation. *Wright* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* having given order by his Chancellor for the transposing of the Tables in most parts of his Diocess, began at last to cast his eyes on the Churches of the *Holy Trinity* and *St. Michael the Archangel* in the City of *Coventry*; concerning which he prescribed these Orders: 1. *That the Ground at the upper end of the Chancels be handsomely raised by three steps, that the Celebration of the Sacrament may be conspicuous to all the Church.* 2. *That the Ground so raised at both Churches, the Communion-Table should be removed close to the East-wall of the Chancels.* 3. *That in both Churches all new Additions of Seats in the Chancels be taken away, and the Pews there reduced as near as may be to the ancient form.* But the Citizens of *Coventry* found a way to take off his edge, notwithstanding that he had received not only his Majesties Command, but encouragements also in pursuance of it (his Majesty spending at the least a fortnight in that Diocess, in the year 1636. at such time as the Bishop came to wait upon him in *Tutbury Castle*): For they so far prevailed upon him at his being in *Coventry*, that in the presence of the Mayor and some others of the Fraternity, he appointed, That the Communion-Table should be removed from its ascent of three Steps, unto the Body of the Chancel, during the Administration of the Blessed Sacrament, commanding *Bird*, who had the Officiality of the place, not to trouble them in it. *Bird* not being well pleased with so much levity in the Bishop, gives notice of it unto *Latham* the Bishops Register in *Lichfield*, by whom it was signified to *Lamb*, by *Lamb* to the Archbishop, and by him to the King; from whom it is to be supposed that the Bishop could receive small thanks for his disobedience. In *Essex* the business met with a greater difficulty. *Aylet* Official there under the Chancellor of *London*, had caused many of the Communion Tables within the verge of his Jurisdiction to be transposed and railed in, and the People to come up and kneel and receive at the Rail. Opposed at first in some of the greater Towns, because they found it otherwise in the Churches of *London*, whose example they conceived might be a sufficient warrant for them in that particular: But much more were they moved to stand out against him, upon sight of one of the Articles for the Metropolitcal Visitation, by which they conceived that they had leave to remove their Table at the time of Celebration, and place it as it might be most convenient for the Parishioners to come about it and receive the Sacrament. *Aylet* complains of this to *Lamb*, finding himself thereby under an imputation of crossing the Article delivered by his Graces Visitors, and following after his own Inventions, without any Authority. For remedy whereof, and to save all that he had done from returning back again to the same estate in which



which he found it, he desires to know his Graces Pleasure and *Lamb's* LIB. IV.  
 Directions. More constantly, and with better fortune, is the business Anno Dom.  
 carried on by *Pierce* in his Diocess of *Bath and Wells*. No sooner had 1635.  
 his Majesty signified his Pleasure in the Case of *St. Gregories*, but he  
 issueth out a Commission to some of his Clergy, to inquire into the  
 State of all the Parish Churches within that Diocess; and on the  
 return of their Account, gives Order for the rectifying of such  
 things as they found amiss, especially in the posture of the Holy Ta-  
 ble. And that it might be seen, that his Commands were not only  
 countenanced by Power, but backed by Reason, he prepares certain  
 Motives and Considerations to perswade Conformity; as, viz.  
 1. That it was Ordered by the *Queens* Injunctions, That the Com-  
 munion Table should stand where the Altar did. 2. That there  
 should be some difference between the placing of the Lords Table in the  
 Church, and the placing of a Mans Table in his House. 3. That it  
 was not fit the People should sit above Gods Table, or be above the  
 Priest when he Consecrateth. 4. That when the Communion Table  
 stands thus, the Chancel would be the fairer, and so there would be more  
 room for the Communicants. 5. That the Table standing thus, the  
 face of the Minister would be better seen, and his voice more audibly  
 and distinctly heard, than if it stood upon a Level in the midst of the  
 Chancel. And 6. That it was expedient that the Daughters should be  
 like their Mother, and that the Parochial Churches should conform  
 themselves in that particular to their own Cathedrals. But that  
 which seemed to be the most popular Argument to perswade Obe-  
 dience, was the avoiding of those Prophanations which formerly  
 the Holy Table had been subject to; For should it be permitted to  
 stand as before it did, Church-wardens would keep their Accounts on  
 it, Parishioners would dispatch the Parish business at it, School-Masters  
 will teach their Boys to write upon it, The Boys will lay their Hats,  
 Sachels, and Books upon it, Many will sit and lean irreverently against  
 it in Sermon time, The Dogs would piss upon it and defile it, and Glas-  
 ers would knock it full of Nail-holes. By which means he prevailed  
 so far, that of 469 Parishes which were in that Diocess, 140 had  
 conformed to his Order in it, before the end of the *Christmas* Holy-  
 days in this present year, Anno 1635. without any great reluctancy  
 in Priest or People. The first strong Opposition which he found in  
 the business, came from a great and populous Parish called *Beck-  
 ington*; where *Hewish* Incumbent of the place, was willing of him-  
 self to have obeyed his Directions in it: but the Church-wardens of  
 the Parish were determined otherwise. For this being sent for by the  
 Bishop, he gave them Order by word of mouth, to remove the  
 Table to the East end of the Chancel, and to place a decent Rail be-  
 fore it: Which they refusing to perform, were cited to appear in  
 the Bishops Court, before *Duck* the Chancellor of that Diocess, on  
 the ninth of *June*, by whom they were commanded to remove such  
 Seats as were above the Communion Table, to obey the Bishops



PART II. former Directions, and to return a Certificate of all that they had  
*Anno Dom.* done therein by the sixth of *October* then next following : and for  
 1635. default thereof, were on the same day Excommunicated by the Bishop in person. But the Church-wardens being rich, well-backed, and disaffected to the Service, appealed from their Diocesan to the Dean of the *Arches* ; at whose request, upon some hope given of their Conformity, they were absolved for a Month, and admonish'd to submit to that which had been enjoined them. Continuing in their obstinacy, he Excommunicates them again, and they again appeal to the Dean of the *Arches* ; where finding no Relief, they presented a Petition to the Archbishop, with no less than a hundred hands unto it, and afterwards to the King himself, but with like success. *Pierce* had done nothing in that case, but what he had been warranted to do by their Authority, and therefore was by their Authority to be countenanced in it. There is an ancient Priviledge belonging to the Church of *England*, *That he who standeth obstinately Excommunicated for forty days, upon Certificate thereof into the Court of Chancery, shall be attached with a writ De excommunicato capiendo, directed to the Sheriff, for his Apprehension ; by him to be committed to Prison without Bail or Mainprise (as our Lawyers call it) till he conform himself, and seek Absolution.* By virtue of this Writ these obstinate persons were laid up in the Common Gaol, after they had remained Excommunicate above a twelvemonth ; which shews with how great patience they had been forborn. And then at last, perceiving what ill counsel they had followed, and into what perplexities they had cast themselves, they made their submission to their Bishop, by whom they were enjoined to do Penance for their Contempt, and obstinate standing out against the Sentence of the Court, in a form prescribed : The Penance to be done in the great Church of *Bath*, their own Parish Church at *Beckington*, and in the Parish Church of *Frome-Selwood* the next Market-Town adjoining to it ; and thereupon the Parties to be Absolved. Which Opposition thus suppressed, prepared the People in most other places of that Diocess for a more ready conformity, than otherwise the *Diocesan* might have found amongst them : So true is that of the Historian, *That the Resistancies of the Subject being once suppressed, add strength to that Authority which they sought to crush.* How he behaved himself in reference to his Majesties *Instructions*, we shall see hereafter, when he is brought upon the stage on that occasion ; and we shall see hereafter also, how much or how little was done in order to the purpose of this *Visitation*, by the rest of the Bishops.

Nor was there only care taken for rectifying such things as were found amiss in *Parochial* Churches : but to inquire also into the State and Actions of the Mother *Cathedrals*, by which all other Churches which depended on them, were to be regulated and directed. And they found work enough in many of them ; especially in those wherein there was a want of Statutes for the Common Government.



ment. There are in *England* twenty six *Cathedral* or Episcopal Sees, of which thirteen are reckoned of the old foundation, and the other moyety of the new; those of the old foundation such as anciently had been founded in *Secular Canons*, as they still continue. Of which sort are the Churches of *S. Paul* in *London*, together with those of *Chichester*, *Salisbury*, *Wells*, *Exeter*, *Lincoln*, *Lichfield*, *Hereford*, and the four *Welsh* Bishopricks, in the Province of *Canterbury*, and none but the Metropolitcal See of *York* in the other Province, all of which had their ancient Statutes, and required no alteration in them except *Hereford* only. Those of the new foundation (as they commonly called them) were such as had been founded on *Monastick* Orders, which being dissolved by King *Henry* the Eighth, he founded them a new in a Dean and Chapter of *Secular* Priests, of which sort were the Churches of *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Rochester*, *Norwich*, and the four new Bishopricks by him founded in the Abbeys of *Oxon*, *Peterborough*, *Glocester*, and *Bristol*, together with those of *Durham*, *Carlisle*, and *Chester*, (this last of his foundation also) in the other Province. For each of which Churches there was made a draught of Statutes, but never perfected or confirmed; and therefore either kept or broken at the Deans discretion, as it conduced most to his advantage from time to time; which proved the unavoydable occasion of many differences between the Deans and *Prebendaries* of those several Churches; the Deans affecting an arbitrary and absolute Government, and the *Prebends* looking on themselves as Brethren, not as Subjects to him. The perfecting of these Statutes to serve as a standing Rule to both for the times succeeding, took up much of his thoughts, and certainly he had effected it for all those Churches in convenient time, if the disturbances which hapned in *Scotland* first, and in *England* afterwards, had not diverted and disabled him from that performance.

He began first with *Canterbury* his own *Cathedral*, where he found the Table placed at the East end of the *Choire* by the Dean and Chapter, and Adoration used toward it by their appointment; as was attested upon Oath by *Dr. Blechinden*, one of the *Prebends* of that Church at the time of his Trial. Which having found in so good order, he recommended to them the providing of *Candlesticks*, *Basons*, *Carpet*, and other Furniture for the adorning of the *Altar*, and the more solemn celebrating of the blessed Sacrament. And that these things might be perpetual to succeeding Ages, he composed a new body of Statutes for the Government of that Cathedral, which was sent thither under the Great Seal, with his own hand subscribed to every leaf. In which there was this Statute amongst the rest, (which the Deans, *Prebends*, and Officers there were bound by Oath to observe) That at their coming in and going out of the *Choire*, and all approaches to the *Altar*, they should by bowing toward it, make due reverence to Almighty God. The like he did at *Winton* also, in this

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Cant. Doom,  
p. 79.

Summa Re-  
verentia ad  
rare Deum  
versus Al-  
present tare.



PART II. present year, where he required them by *Brent* his Vicar General, Anno Dom. to provide four Copes, to raile in the Communion Table and place it 1635. Altarwise, to bow towards it, and dayly to read the Epistles and Gospels at it; the said Epistles and Gospels to be read by none but such as were in holy Orders, contrary to the late practice of that Church; where the said Office was performed by their lay Vicars at the will and pleasure of the Dean. To bind them to it for the present, certain *Injunctions* were left with them by *Brent* under the Seal of his Office. And that they might not fall again to their old confusions, a Book of *Statutes* was composed also to the use of that Church, for the rectifying of such disorders as had grown therein under the Government of *Abbot, Morton, and Young* the present Dean thereof a Scot by Nation, and one that never rightly understood the Constitution of the Church of *England*. The like *Injunctions* given by *Brent* to the Church of *Chichester*, to provide Copes by one a year for Gods publick Service, till they were sufficiently furnished with them; with the like Adorations toward the Communion Table, as before at *Winchester*. The Statutes of *Hereford* being imperfect, he caused to be cast in a new mold, and sent them thither under the Broad Seal for their future Reglement to be there sworn to and observed. In which it was required, First, That every Residentiary should officiate twice every year under the pain of paying forty shillings to be laid out on Ornaments of the Church. Secondly, That they should officiate on Sundaies and Holidais in their Copes. Thirdly, That they should stand up at the Creeds and Gospel, and Doxologies, and to bow so often as the name of Jesus was mentioned, and that no man should be covered in the Church. Fourthly, That every one should bow toward the Altar. Fifthly, That the Prayer afore their Sermons should be made according to the 55 Canon, which as it shews to what disorders they were grown in point of practice, and how they had deviated from the Rules of the Church; so may it serve to verifie that old Observation, (1) "That many times corrupt Manners and evill Customs do beget good Laws. At *Worcester* *Manwaring*, who succeeded *Juxon* in that Deanry, prevented *Brent*, and acted many things of himself without any *Injunction*; For having erected a fair Table of Marble, standing on four well-fashioned Columns, he covered the Wall behind the same with Hangings of Azure-coloured Stuff, having a white silk Lace upon every Seam, and furnished it with Palls and Fronts, as he had observed in his Majesties and some Bishops Chappels; and ordered the Kings Scholars, being forty in number, who formerly used to throng tumultuously into the Choire, to go in Rank, by two and two, and make their due obeisances at their coming in. Such Copes as belonged anciently to that Church, which had been lent many times unto common Actors, or othetwise Sacrilegiously profaned, he caused to be burned, the Silver extracted out, and laid up in the Treasury, toward the buying of new ones, as more money came in.

(1) Ex malis  
moribus bone  
nascuntur  
leges. Adag.

*Lid.* p. 80.



In many other Churches the *Deans* and *Prebends* had been contented to put that money into their Purfes, which might better have been expended on some publick Ornaments. And that he might proceed to a Reformation on the better grounds, he took order to be furnished with a juſt account of their preſent condition, what Veſtments, and Utenſils they had, and what they wanted. From *Lincoln* it was certified, *That the Communion Table was not very decent, and the Raile before it worſe; that the Organs were old and naught, and that the Copes and Veſtments were imbezeled, and none remained.* From *Norwich*, *That the Hangings of the Choirs were old, and the Copes fair, but wanted mending.* From *Gloceſter*, *That there wanted Copes, and that many things were grown amiſs ſince he left that Deanry.* From *Lichfield*, *That the Furniture of the Altar was very mean, care therefore to be taken in it for more coſtly Ornaments.* The like account from other places, which drew on by degrees ſuch Reformation in Cathedral Churches that they recovered once again their ancient ſplendour, and ſerved for an example to the Pariſh Churches which related to them. Nor did the Archbiſhop ſtand alone in point of judgment as to theſe particulars. He had therein the teſtimony and aſſent of two ſuch Biſhops then which there could be none more averſe from Popery, or any thing that tended to it. A difference hapning between the Miniſter and Church-wardens in a Pariſh of *Wiltſ*, about the placing of the Table, which the Miniſter deſired to tranſpoſe to the end of the Chancel, and the Church-wardens to keep it as it ſtood before, the buſineſs was referred to *Davenant*, then Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who on a full conſideration of the matter, declared in favour of the *Incumbent*, and by a Decree under his Episcopall Seal ſettled the Table in the place where the Altar ſtood, as the Miniſter deſired to have it. In which Decree there are theſe two paſſages to be obſerved; Firſt, *That by the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth, and by Canon 32 under King James, the Communion-Tables ſhould ordinarily be ſet and ſtand with the ſide to the Eaſt wall of the Chancel.* And ſecondly, *That it is ignorance to think that the ſtanding of the holy Table in that place doth reliſh of Popery.* This for the placing of the Table. And then as for the bowing and adoring toward it, we have this Authority from the Pen of *Morton*, then Biſhop of *Durham*, in a Book by him written of the *Romiſh Sacrifice*. “The like difference (ſaith he) may be diſcerned between their manner of Reverence in bowing towards the Altar for adoration of the *Eucharift* only, and ours in bowing as well when there is no *Eucharift* on the Table as when there is, which is not to the Table of the Lord, but to the Lord of the Table, to teſtifie the Communion of all the faithful Communicants therewith, even as the people of God did in adoring him before the *Arke his footſtoole*, *Pſalm 99*. And here we alſo may obſerve, that though *Davenant* made not his Decree till the ſeventeenth of *May 1637*. when the buſineſs of the Table had been ſettled in moſt parts of the

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Ibid. p. 81.

Archb. Sp.

June 16.

1637.



PART II. the Kingdom, yet *Mortons* book came out this year, *Anno 1635.*  
*Anno Dom.* at the first breaking out of those oppositions which were made  
 1635. against it.

Yet did not the Archbishop think he had done sufficiently if he should leave the case to be ruled only by Injunctions and Decrees, unless he added vigour to them by his own example. When he was Bishop of *S. Davids*, he built a new Chappel to his House of *Aberguilly*, and furnished both the Chappel and the Altar in it with *Hangings, Palls, Fronts, Plate*, and other Utensils, to a very great value. According unto which beginning he continued till the end of his Race. When he came first to *Lambeth-house*, where he found the Chappel lye so nastily, (as his own words are) the Windows so defaced, and all things in it so disordered, that he was much ashamed to see it, and could not resort unto it without disdain; the Images in the Windows being broken in many places, and most deformedly patcht up with ordinary Glasse, he caused to be repaired, and beautified according to their former Figure, his Glasiere Bill amounting to no less than 148 li. 7 s. 6 d. With like care, but with far less Charges, he repaired the ruined Windows in the Chappel of his house in *Croyden*, where he spent the greatest part of his Summers, and whither he retired at other times for his ease and privacy. And as for the Communion Table, which he found standing in the middle of the Chappel, a very sorry one in it self, he ordered it to be removed to some other Room, and caused a new one to be made, placed where the Altar sometimes stood, shadowed over-head with a very fair Fricze, and fenced with a decent and costly Raile, the guilding of the one, and the curious workmanship of the other, together with the Table it self, amounting to 33 pounds, and upwards; *Copes, Altar-cloaths, Plate*, and other necessaries which belonged to the adorning of it he had been Master of before in his other Chappels, and therefore was it the less charge in compleating this. He put himself to some cost also in repairing and beautifying the Organs, which he found very much out of tune, and made great use of them in the celebrating of Divine Service on Sundaies and Holidiaies, when his leisure could permit him to be present at it; some Gentlemen of his Majesties Chappel assisting many times to make up the Confort when the solemnity required it. According unto which example of their Lord, and Chancellor, the principal Colledges in *Oxon.* beautified their Chappels, transposed their Tables, fenced them with Railes, and furnished them with Hangings, Palls, Plate, and all other necessaries. Yet neither his own Example, nor the Authority of the said two Bishops, nor practice of the Deans and Chapters in so many Churches, or the Governours of those principal Colledges, so stopt the mouths of divers railing *Rabshakehs* of the Puritan Faction, as not to spit their venome and reproaches on them. Witness for all, that scurrilous passage of *H. B.* in his seditious Sermon, called, *For God and the King*; *How then* (saith he) *will our*  
 new

*Cant. Doom,*  
*p. 462.*

p. 66.

p. 163.



new Masters, our Innovators, make good the bringing in of these things afresh into Cathedrals, and forcing all petty Churches to conform thereunto? Would the Prelates thus make the Mother Cathedrals (thus by themselves made and adopted Romes daughters) their Concubines, whereon to beget a new bastard Generation of sacrificing, idolatrous, Mass-Priests throughout the Land, which our good Laws, and all our learned and pious Divines have proclaimed illegitimate? So he. More of this foul stuff might be found elsewhere, but that I hate the raking in such dirty puddles.

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The business of the Table going on in so good a way, that of the Declaration about Lawful Sports seemed to be at a stand. Such Ministers as had readily obeyed the Mandates, and published the several Orders of the secular Judges in their several Churches, did obstinately refuse the publishing of this Declaration, when required to do it by their Bishops; and that they might not be thought to stand out against them without some good ground, they alledged some reasons for themselves, which when they came to be examined, had no reason in them. First, they alledged, That there was no express order in the Declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be prest to the publishing of it. But then withall they should consider, that the Bishops were commanded to take order for the publishing of it in their several Parishes; and whom could they require to publish it in the Parish Churches but the Ministers only? Bound to them by an Oath of *Canonical obedience* at their admission to their Cures. So that the Bishops did no more than they were commanded in laying the publication of this Declaration on the back of the Ministers; and the Ministers by doing less than they were commanded infringed the Oath which they had taken, rendring themselves thereby obnoxious to all such Ecclesiastical Censures as the Bishops should inflict upon them. It was alledged secondly, That the publishing of this Declaration was a work more proper for the Constable or Tything-man, or the Church-wardens at the least, than it was for the Ministers: But then it was to be considered, that the *Constable* or *Tything-man* were Lay-officers meerly, bound by the Law to execute the Warrants of the Judges and Justices, but not the Mandates of the Bishops, so far from being *Proper Instruments* in such a business, that none of the Judges thought it fit to command their Service in publishing their Orders against *Ales* and *Revels*. And though the Church-wardens had some relation to Church-matters, and consequently to the Bishop in the way of Presentments; yet was he not bound to execute any such Commands, because not tyed by an Oath of Canonical obedience, as the Ministers were. Or were it otherwise, yet doth it happen many times in Country Villages, that the Church-wardens cannot read, and therefore not to be employed in publishing such Declarations, which require a more knowing man than a silly Villager. And last of all it was alledged, that the Ministers of all others were



PART II. were most unfit to hold the Candle for lighting and letting in such  
*Anno Dom.* a course of licentiousness, as was indulged on the Lords day, by  
 1635. the said Declaration. But then it was to have been proved, that  
 any of the Sports allowed of in it, might have been brought within  
 the compass of such Licentiousness, which neither the Word of  
 God, nor the Canons of the Christian Church, nor any Statutes  
 of the Realm had before forbidden. Or had it been as they pretended,  
 that the Command was contrary to the Law of God, and  
 could not be obeyed with a safe conscience; yet this was only a pre-  
 tence, their reading of the Book being no more an argument of  
 their approbation of any thing therein contained, than when a com-  
 mon Crier reads a Proclamation, the Contents whereof perhaps he  
 likes not.

The Business being at this stand, it was thought fit that the  
 Bishops should first deal with the Refusers in a Fatherly and gentle  
 way, but adding menaces sometimes to their persuasions if they  
 saw cause for it; and that in the mean season some discourses should  
 be writ and published to bring them to a right understanding of the  
 truth, and their several duties: which burden being held of too  
 great weight for any one to undergo, and the necessity of the work  
 requiring a quick dispatch, it was held fit to divide the employment  
 betwixt two. The Argumentative and Scholasticall part referred  
 to the right learned Dr. *white*, then Bishop of *Ely*, who had given  
 good proof of his ability in Polemical matters in several Books and  
 Disputations against the Papists. The Practical and Historical, by  
*Heylyn* of *Westminster*, who had gained some reputation for his Stu-  
 dies in the ancient Writers by *Asserting* the History of *S. George*, mali-  
 ciously impugned by those of the *Calvinian* Party upon all occasions.  
 Both of them, being enjoined their tasks, were required to be ready  
 for the Press against *Michaelmas* Term; at the end whereof both  
 books came out, The Bishops under the Title of *A Treatise of the*  
*Sabbath day, containing a defence of the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the*  
*Church of England against Sabbatarian Novelty*. The other called,  
*The History of the Sabbath*, was divided into two Books or Parts;  
 The first whereof began with the Creation of the World, and car-  
 ried on the Story till the destruction of the Temple; The second, be-  
 ginning with our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, was drawn down  
 to the year 1633. when the publishing of this Declaration was re-  
 quired. But going different waies to work they did not both en-  
 counter the like success. The Bishops Book had not been extant  
 very long, when an Answer was returned unto it by *Eyfield* of *Surrey*,  
 which Answer occasioned a *Reply*, and that *Reply* begat a *Rejoynder*.  
 To *Heylyn's* Book there was no Answer made at all, whether be-  
 cause unanswerable, or not worth the Answering, is to me unknown.  
 And though it is not to be doubted, but that the Arguments of the  
 one, and the Authorities of the other, prevailed with some to lay  
 aside their former obstinacy and averfeness; yet did there still  
 remain



remain too many, who stopp'd their ears, like the *deaf Adder* in the *Psalmist*, and would not hear the voice of the *Charmers*, charmed they never so sweetly. By which it did appear too plainly, That there was some *Association* had and made amongst them, to stand it out to the last, and put some baffle or affront upon their Superiors, by whose Command the reading of the Book was imposed upon them. And thereupon it was resolved, That the Bishops in their several Diocesses should go to work more roundly with them, and either bring them to Conformity, if it might be done; or otherwise, to proceed against them by *Ecclesiastical Censures*.

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1635.

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But whilst these things were acting on the Stage of *England*, the Bishops of *Scotland* were as active in drawing of a Book of *Canons*, and framing a Publick *Liturgie* for the use of that Church. Both Undertakings warranted by the Act of a *General Assembly* held at *Aberdeen*, Anno 1616. and the one brought to a good forwardness before the death of King *James*: But being discontinued by the Accidents and Debates before-remembred, it pleased his Majesty at the last to yield unto the importunity of the *Scottish* Bishops, in having a *Liturgie* of their own, differing in some things from that of the Church of *England*, to shew the independency and self-subsistence of their *Kirk*; but agreeing with it in the main, to testifie the Conformity between the Churches: Which being thus condescended to, they were ordered to proceed with all speed and diligence, which they did accordingly. But the *Canons* being the shorter work, were first brought to an end; for the compiling whereof, his Majesty gives these Reasons in his large Declaration. First, *That he held it but exceeding necessary, that there should be some Book extant to contain the Rules of the Ecclesiastical Government; so that as well the Clergy as the Laity might have one certain standing Rule, to regulate the Power of the one, the Obedience and Practise of the other.* Secondly, *That the Acts of General Assemblies were written only, and not Printed; and therefore could not come to the knowledge of many: So large and voluminous, that it was not easie to Transcribe them, inso-much that few of the Presbyters themselves could tell which of them were authentical, which not: So unsafely and uncertainly kept, that they knew not where to address themselves for consulting with them: That by reducing those numerous Act, (and those not known unto themselves) to such a paucity of Canons, published and exposed to the publick view; no man should be insnared by ignorance, or have just reason to complain of their multiplicity.* And finally, *That not one in all that Kingdom did either live under the Obedience of the Acts of those General Assemblies, or did know what they were, or where to find them.* Upon which grounds, the Book of *Canons* being drawn up and presented to him, he gave a Warrant under his Hand to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, requiring him, together with the Bishop of *London*, to peruse the same, to see that they were well fitted to the Church-Government, and as near as conveniently might be to the *Canons* of



PART II. the Church of *England*; giving them, and either of them full power to alter any thing in the said *Canons*, as they found most fitting. Anno Dom. 1635. Which being done as he commanded, and the Book made ready for the Press, he pass'd his Royal Confirmation of it, under the Great Seal of the Kingdom, in this manner following.

## CHARLES REX.

WE out of Our Royal Care for the Maintenance of the present Estate and Government of the Church of Scotland, have diligently and with great content considered all the Canons and Constitutions after following; and finding the same such as we are perswaded will be profitable, not only to our whole Clergy, but to the whole Church of that our Kingdom, if so they be well observed, Have for Us, Our Heirs, and Lawful Successors, of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, given, and by these presents do give Our Royal Assent unto all the said Canons, Orders and Constitutions, and to all and every thing in them contained, as they are afterwards set down.

And further, we do not only by Our Prerogative Royal, and Supreme Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, Ratifie and Confirm by these Our Letters Patents the said Canons, Orders and Constitutions, and all and every thing in them contained: But likewise we command by Our Authority Royal, and by these Letters Patents, the same to be diligently observed and executed by all Our Loving Subjects of that Our Kingdom, both within the Province of St. Andrews and Glascow; in all points wherein they do or may concern every or any of them, according to this Our will and Pleasure hereby expressed and declared. And for the better observation of them, we straightly Charge and Command all Our Archbishops, Bishops, and all others that exercise any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within that Our Realm, to see the same Canons, Orders and Constitutions to be in all points duly observed; not sparing to execute the Penalties in them severally mentioned, upon any that shall willingly break or neglect to observe the same, as they tender the Honour of God, the Peace of the Church, the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and their Service and Duty to Us their King and Sovereign.

Given at Our Mannor of Greenwich, 23 May 1635.

These Canons when they came abroad, were presently quarrelled with and disclaimed by the *Scottish Presbyters*: Quarrelled in reference to the subject matter comprehended in them: Disclaimed, because imposed upon them without their own approbation and consent. The points most quarrelled at, were these. I. That whosoever should affirm, That the Kings Majesty had not the same Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, that the Godly Kings had among the Jews, or the Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church; or impugn in any part his Royal Supremacy



premacie in Causes Ecclesiastical, was to incur the Censure of Excommu-  
 nication. 2. The like Censure to be inflicted on those who should affirm,  
 That the worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and Admi-  
 nistration of the Sacraments (though at the making of these Canons  
 there was no such Book of Common Prayer recommended to them);  
 or, That the Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, or the  
 form of Making and Consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, &c. did  
 contain any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or was corrupt, supersti-  
 tious, or unlawful in the Service and worship of God. 3. That the  
 Ordinations were restrained to four times in the year; that is, the  
 first weeks of March, June, September, and December. 4. That  
 every Ecclesiastical Person at his Admission should take the Oath of Su-  
 premacy, according to the form required by Parliament; and the like  
 Oath for avoiding Symonie, required in the Book of Consecration.  
 5. That every Presbyter shall either by himself, or by another Person  
 lawfully called, read or cause Divine Service to be done, according to  
 the form of the Book of that Common Prayer, before all Sermons;  
 and that he should Officiate by the said Book of Common Prayer, in all  
 the Offices, Parts and Rubricks of it (when as yet none of them had  
 seen the said Book or Liturgie). 6. That no Preacher should impugn  
 the Doctrine delivered by another in the same Church, or any neer ad-  
 joining to it, without leave from the Bishop; which they conceived to  
 be the way to pin their whole Religion on the Bishops Sleeves. 7. That  
 no Presbyter should hereafter become Surety or Cautioner for any Per-  
 son whatsoever, in Civil Bonds and Contracts, under pain of Suspension.  
 8. That whatsoever remained of the Bread and wine prepared for the  
 Communion, should be distributed to the poorer sort which receive that  
 day, to be eaten and drunken of them before they go out of the Church.  
 9. That Presbyters are enjoined to Minister the Sacrament of Baptism  
 in private Houses, and upon every day alike, in case of infirmity; and  
 that the People were required not to receive the Sacrament of the Lords  
 Supper but upon their knees. 10. That in all Sentences of Separation  
 a Thoro & Mensa, there shall be a Caution inserted (and given ac-  
 cordingly) That the Persons so separated should live continently and  
 chastly, and not contract Marriage with any Person, during each others  
 life (which seemed to put the innocent Party into as bad a condition  
 as the guilty, contrary to the Judgment of the Reformed Churches).  
 11. That no private Meeting be kept by Presbyters, or any other Per-  
 sons whatsoever, for expounding Scripture, or for consulting upon mat-  
 ters Ecclesiastical: Such matters to be handled only in the Lawful Sy-  
 nodes held by Bishops. 12. That under pain of Excommunication, no  
 Presbyter or Layman, jointly or severally, make Rules, Orders, or  
 Constitutions in Causes Ecclesiastical; or to add or detract from any Ru-  
 bricks or Articles, or other things now established, without the Authori-  
 ty of the King or his Successors. 13. That National or General Assem-  
 blies were to be called only by the Kings Authority; That the Decrees  
 thereof should bind as well the Absent as the Present in Matters Eccle-  
 siastical;

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1635.





PART II. *fiastical; and, That it should not be lawful for the Bishops themselves, Anno Dom. in such Assemblies, or otherwise, to alter any Articles, Rubrick, Canon*  
 1635. *Doctrinal or Disciplinary whatsoever, without his Majesties leave first had and obtained.* 14. That no man should cover his Head in time of Divine Service, except with a Cap or Night-coife in case of infirmity; and that all Persons should reverently kneel when the Confession and other Prayers were read, and should stand up at the saying of the Creed. 15. That no Presbyter or Reader be permitted to conceive Prayers extempore, or use any other form in the Publick Liturgie or Service, than is prescribed, under the pain of Deprivation from his Benefice or Cure. 16. That by this Prohibition the Presbyters seemed to be debarred from using their own Prayers before their Sermons, by reason that in c. 3. num. 13. it is required, That all Presbyters and Preachers should move the People to join with them in Prayer, using some few and convenient words, and should always conclude with the Lords Prayer (which in effect was to bind them to the form of bidding Prayer, prescribed in the 55th. Canon of the Church of England). 17. That no man should Teach either in Publick School or Private House, but such as shall be allowed by the Archbishop of the Province, or Bishop of the Diocese, under their Hand and Seal; and those to Licence none but such as were of good Religion, and obedient to the Orders of the Church. 18. That none should be admitted to read in any Colledge or School, except they take first the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. 19. That nothing be hereafter Imprinted, except the same be seen and allowed by the Visitors appointed to that purpose; the Penalty thereof (as in all like Cases in which no Penalty is expressed) being left to the discretion of the Bishops. 20. That no Publick Fast should be appointed upon Sundays (as had been formerly accustomed) but on the week-days only; and them to be appointed by none but His Majesty. 21. That for the Ministring of the Sacrament of Baptism, a Font should be prepared, and placed somewhat near the entry of the Church, as anciently it used to be, with a Cloth of fine Linnen, which shall likewise be kept all neatly. 22. That a comely and decent Table for Celebrating the Holy Communion should be provided, and placed at the upper end of the Chancel or Church, to be covered at the times of Divine Service with a Carpet of decent Stuff, and at the time of Ministration with a white Linnen Cloth; And that Basons, Cups, or Chalices of some pure Metal shall be provided, to be set upon the Communion Table, and reserved to that only use. 23. That such Bishops and Presbyters as shall depart this life, having no Children, shall leave their Goods or a great part of them to the Church and Holy Uses; and that notwithstanding their having Children, they should leave some Testimony of their love to the Church and advancement of Religion. 24. That no Sentence of Excommunication should be pronounced, or Absolution given by any Presbyter, without the leave and approbation of the Bishop: And no Presbyter should reveal or make known what had been opened to him in Confession, at any time, or to any Person whatsoever, except the Crime be such as by the Laws of the Realm



*Realm his own Life may be called in question for concealing the same.* LIB. IV.  
25. *And finally, That no Person should be received into Holy Orders, nor suffered to Preach, Catechise, Minister the Sacraments, or any other Ecclesiastical Function, unless he first subscribe to be obedient to these present Canons, Ratified and Approved by his Majesties Royal warrant, and Ordained to be observed by the Clergy, and all others whom they concern.* Anno Dom. 1635.

These were the matters chiefly quarrelled in this Book of *Canons*, visibly tending (as they would make the World believe) to subject that Kirk unto the Power of the King; the Clergy to the command of their Bishops; the whole Nation, to the Discipline of a Foreign Church; and all together by degrees, to the Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Pope of *Rome*. But juster cause they seemed to have for disclaiming the said Book of *Canons*, because not made nor imposed upon them by their own approbation and consent, contrary to the usage of the Church in all Times and Ages. Had his Majesty imposed these Orders on them by the name of *Injunctions*, according to the example of King *Henry viii.* Anno 1536. of King *Edward vi.* Anno 1547. and of Queen *Elizabeth,* Anno 1559. he might perhaps have justified himself by that Supremacy which had been vested in him by the Laws of that Kingdom; which seems to have been the Judgment of King *James* in this very case. At his last being in *Scotland,* Anno 1617. he had prepared an Article to be passed in Parliament to this effect, viz. *That whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the External Government of the Church, with the advice of the Archbishop, Bishops, and a competent number of the Ministry, should have the strength of a Law.* History of Scot. Spots. 531.  
But understanding that a Protestation was prepared against it by some of the most Rigid *Presbyterians*, he commanded Hay the Clerk or Register, to pass by that Article, as a thing no way necessary; the Prerogative of his Crown giving him more Authority than was declared or desired by it. But as for Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, if they concerned the whole Church, they were to be advised and framed by Bishops, and other Learned men, assembled in a General Council, and testified by the Subscription of such Bishops as were then assembled. Or if they did relate only unto National Churches, or particular Provinces, they were to be concluded and agreed upon by the Bishops and Clergy; that is to say, so many of the Clergy as are chosen and impowered by all the rest for that end and purpose, assembled in a National or Provincial Synod. No Canons nor Constitutions Ecclesiastical to be otherwise made; or if made otherwise, not to bind, without a voluntary and free submission of all Parties to them. And though it could not be denied, but that all Christian Emperours, Kings, and Princes reserved a Power unto themselves of Ratifying and Confirming all such Constitutions as by the Bishops and Clergy were agreed on; yet still the said Canons and Constitutions were first agreed on by the Bishops and Clergy, before they were tendred to the Sovereign Prince for



PART II. for his Ratification. The *Scottish Presbyters* had formerly disclaimed  
*Anno Dom.* the Kings Authority either in calling their *Assemblies*, or confirming  
 1635. the Results and Acts thereof; which they conceived to be good and  
 valid of themselves without any additional power of his to add  
 strength unto them. And therefore now they must needs think  
 themselves reduced to a very great vassalage in having a body of Ca-  
 nons so imposed upon them, to the making whereof they were never  
 called, and to the passing whereof they had never voted. But as  
 they had broke the Rules of the Primitive Church in acting Sove-  
 raignty of themselves without requiring the Kings approbation and  
 consent in the times foregoing; so were they now upon the point of  
 having those old Rules broken on them by the King, in making Ca-  
 nons, and putting Laws and Orders on them for their future Go-  
 vernment, to which they never had consented. And therefore though  
 his Majesty had taken so much care (as himself observed) for faci-  
 litating and conveniencing their obedience, by furthering their  
 knowledge in those points which before they knew not; yet they did  
 generally behold it, and exclaimed against it, as one of the most grie-  
 vous burthens that ever had been laid upon them.

*Bibl. Regia,*  
 p. 120.

More clamour, but on weaker grounds, was made against the  
 Book of Common Prayer when it first came out, which was not  
 till the year 1637. and then we shall hear further of it. Mean while  
 we will return to *England*, and see what our Archbishop doth, as a  
 chief Counsellor and States-man in his Civil Actings. It was about  
 four or five years since, *Anno 1631*, that he first discovered how ill  
 his Majesties Treasury had been managed between some principal  
 Officers of his Revenue, to the enriching of themselves, to the im-  
 poverishing of their Master, and the no small amazement of all  
 good Subjects. But the abuses being too great to be long concealed,  
 his Majesty is made acquainted with all particulars, who there-  
 upon did much estrange his countenance from the principal of  
 them.

For which good service to the King none was so much suspected  
 by them as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, against whom they be-  
 gan to practise, endeavouring all they could to remove him from  
 his Majesties ear, or at the least to lessen the esteem and reputation  
 which his fidelity and upright dealing had procured of him. Facti-  
 ons are heightened in the Court. Private ends followed to the pre-  
 judice of Publick Service, and every mouth talkt openly against his  
 proceedings. But still he kept his ground, and prevailed at last,  
 appointed by his Majesty on the fifth of *February 1634*. to be one of  
 the great Committee for Trade and the Kings Revenue; and seeing  
*Westons* Glories set under a cloud, within few weeks after, *Weston*  
 being dead, it pleased his Majesty to commit the managing of the  
 Treasury by Letters Patents under the Broad Seal, bearing date on  
 the fourteenth day of *March*, to the Lord Archbishop, *Cottington*  
 Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Cooke* and *Windebank*, principal Se-  
 cretaries,



cretaries, and certain others; who with no small envy looked upon him as if he had been set over them for a Supervisor. Within two daies after his being nominated for this Commission, his Majesty brought him also into the Foreign Committee, which rendred him as considerable abroad as he was at home. This as it added to his power, so it encreased the stomach which was borne against him. The year 1635. was but new began, when clashing began to grow between him and *Cottington* about executing the Commission for the Treasury. And that his grief and trouble might be the greater, his old Friend *Windebank*, who had received his preferment from him, forsook him in the open field, and joyned himself with *Cottington* and the rest of that Party. This could not chuse but put him to the exercise of a great deal of Patience, considering how necessary a friend he had lost, in whose bosome he had lodged a great part of his Counsels, and on whose Activity he relied for the carrying on of his designs at the Council Table. But for all this he carries on the Commission the whole year about, acquaints himself with the Mysteries and secrets of it, the honest advantages which the Lord Treasurers had for enriching themselves (to the value of seven thousand pound a year and upwards, as I have heard from his own mouth) without defrauding the King, or abusing the Subject. He had observed, that divers Treasurers of late years had raised themselves from very mean and private Fortunes to the Titles and Estates of Earls, which he conceived could not be done without wrong to both; and therefore he resolves to commend such a man to his Majesty for the next Lord Treasurer, who having no Family to raise, no Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the Incomes of the Treasury to the Kings advantage than they had been formerly. And who more like to come into his eye for that preferment than *Fuxon*, his old and trusty Friend, then Bishop of *London*; a man of such a well tempered disposition as gave exceeding great content both to Prince and People, and one whom he knew capable of as much instruction as by a whole years experience in the Commission for the Treasury he was able to give him.

It was much wondred at, when first the Staff was put into this mans hand; in doing whereof the Archbishop was generally conceived neither to have consulted his own present peace, nor his future safety. Had he studied his own present peace, he should have given *Cottington* leave to put in for it, who being Chancellor of the Exchequer pretended himself to be the next in that *Ascendent*, the Lord Treasurers Associate while he lived, and the presumptive heir to that office after his decease. And had he studied his own safety and preservation for the times to come, he might have made use of the power by recommending the Staff to the Earles of *Bedford*, *Hartford*, *Essex*, the Lord *Say*, or some such man of Popular Nobility; by whom he might have been reciprocated by their strength and interests with the People in the change of times. But he preferred his

Majesties

L. J. B. W.

Act. 1. 1635.

1635.



PART II. Majesties Advantages before his particular concernments, the safety of the Publick before his own. Nor did he want some seasonable considerations in it for the good of the Church. The peace and quiet of the Church depended much on the conformity of the City of London, and London did as much depend in their trade and payments upon the Love and Justice of the Lord *Treasurer* of England. This therefore was the more likely way to conform the Citizens to the directions of their Bishop, and the whole Kingdom unto them; No small encouragement being thereby given to the London Clergy for the improving of their Tythes. For with what confidence could any of the old Cheats adventure on a publick Examination in the Court of Exchequer (the proper Court for suits and grievances of that nature) when a Lord Bishop of London sat therein as the principal Judge? Upon these Counsels he proceeds, and obtains the Staff, which was delivered to the Bishop of London on Sunday March 6. sworn on the same day Privy Counsellor, and on the first of the next Term conducted in great state from London House to Westminster Hall, the Archbishop of Canterbury riding by him, and most of the Lords and Bishops about the Town, with many Gentlemen of chief note and quality, following by two and two to make up the Pomp. It was much feared by some, and hoped by others, that the new *Treasurer* would have sunk under the burden of that place, as *Williams* did under the custody of the Seal: but he deceived them both in that expectation, carrying himself with such an even and steady hand, that every one applauded, but none envied his preferment to it; insomuch as the then Lord *Faulkland*, in a bitter Speech against the Bishops about the beginning of the Long Parliament, could not chuse but give him this faire Testimony, viz. *That in an unexpected place and power he expressed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the Crozier or White Staff.*

(a) p. 19.

The Queen about these times began to grow into a greater prevalency over his Majesties Affections than formerly she had made shew of: But being too wise to make any open alteration of the conduct of affairs, she thought it best to take the Archbishop into such of her Counsels as might by him be carried on to her contentment, and with no dishonour to himself, of which he gives this intimation in the *Breviate* (a) on the thirtieth of August 1634. viz. *That the Queen sent for him to Oatlands, and gave him thanks for a business which she had trusted him withall, promising him to be his Friend, and that he should have immediate access to her when he had occasion.* This seconded with the like intimation, given us May 18. 1635. of which he writes, that having brought his account to the Queen on May 18. *whitsunday*, the Court then at Greenwich, it was put off till the Sunday after, at which time he presented it to her, and received from her an assurance of all that was desired by him. *Panzani's* coming unto London in the Christmas holydaies makes it not improbable



bable that the facilitating of his safe and favourable reception was the great business which the Queen had committed to the Archbishops trust; and for his effecting of it with the King, had given him those gracious promises of access unto her, which the *Breviate* spake of. For though *Panzani* was sent over from the Pope on no other pretence than to prevent a Schism which was then like to be made between the *Regulars* and the *Secular* Priests, to the great scandal of that Church; yet under that pretence were muffled many other designs which were not fit to be discovered unto Vulgar eyes: By many secret Artifices he works himself into the favour of *Cottington*, *Windebank*, and other great men about the Court, and at last grew to such a confidence, as to move this question to some Court-Bishops, *viz. whether his Majesty would permit the residing of a Catholick Bishop of the English Nation to be nominated by his Majesty, and not to exercise his Function but as his Majesty should limit?* Upon which Proposition, when those Bishops had made this *Quere* to him, *whether the Pope would allow of such a Bishop of his Majesties nominating as held the Oath of Allegiance lawful, and should permit the taking of it by the Catholick Subjects*, he puts it off by pleading that he had no Commission to declare therein one way or other. And thereupon he found some way to move the King for the permission of an *Agent* from the Pope to be addressed to the Queen for the concerns of her Religion; which the King, with the Advice and Consent of his Council, condescended to, upon condition that the Party sent should be no Priest. This possibly might be the sum of that account which the Archbishop tendred to the Queen at *Greenwich* on the *Whitsontide* after *Panzani's* coming, which as it seems was only to make way for *Con* ( of whom more hereafter ) though for the better colour of doing somewhat else that might bring him hither, he composed the Rupture between the *Seculars* and the *Regulars* above-mentioned.

I cannot tell whether I have hit right or not upon these particulars: But sure I am, that he resolved to serve the Queen no further in her desires than might consist both with the honour and safety of the Church of *England*; which as it was his greatest charge, so did he lay out the chief parts of his cares and thoughts upon it. And yet he was not so unmindful of the Foreign Churches, as not to do them all good offices when it came in his way, especially when the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of *England* was not concerned in the same. For in the year 1634. having received Letters from the Queen of *Bohemia* ( with whom he held a constant course of Correspondence ) about the furtherance of a Collection for the exiled Ministers of the *Palatinate*; he moved the King so effectually in it, that his Majesty granted his Letters Patents for the said Collection to be made in all parts of the Kingdom; which Letters Patents being sealed and brought unto him for his further Direction in prosecution of the same, he found a passage in it which gave him no



PART II. small cause of offence, and was this that followeth; viz. "Whose  
*Anno Dom.* "cases are the more to be deplored, for that this extremity is fal-  
 1635. "len upon them for their sincerity and constancy in the true Religion  
 Cant. Dooms, "which we together with them professed, and which we are all  
 p. 392. "bound in conscience to maintain to the utmost of our powers;  
 "whereas these Religious and Godly persons being involved  
 "amongst other their Country-men might have enjoyed their Estates  
 "and Fortunes, if with other backsliders in the times of Trial they  
 "would have submitted themselves to the *Antichristian* Yoke, and  
 "have renounced or dissembled the Profession of the true Religion.  
 Upon the reading of which passage he observed two things: First,  
 That the Religion of the *Palatine* Churches was declared to be the  
 same with ours. And secondly, That the Doctrine and Government  
 of the Church of *Rome* is called an *Antichristian* Yoke; neither of  
 which could be approved of in the same terms in which they were  
 presented to him. For first he was not to be told, that by the Reli-  
 gion of those Churches all the *Calvinian* Rigors in the point of Pre-  
 destination and the rest depending thereupon were received as Or-  
 thodox; that they maintain a Parity of Ministers directly contrary  
 both to the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*;  
 and that *Pareus*, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Heydelberg*,  
 (who was not to be thought to have delivered his own sense only in  
 that point) ascribes a power to inferiour Magistrates to curb the  
 power, controule the persons, and resist the Authority of Sovereign  
 Princes, for which his Comment on the *Romans* had been publicly  
 burnt by the appointment of King *James*, as before is said. Which  
 as it plainly proves, that the Religion of those Churches is not al-  
 together the same with that of ours, so he conceived it very unsafe  
 that his Majesty should declare under the Great Seal of *England*, that  
 both himself and all his Subjects were bound in conscience to main-  
 tain the Religion of those Churches with their utmost power. And  
 as unto the other point he lookt upon it as a great Controversie, not  
 only between some Protestant Divines and the Church of *Rome*, but  
 p. 540. between the Protestant Divines themselves, hitherto not determined  
 in any Council, nor positively defined by the Church of *England*;  
 and therefore he conceived it as unsafe as the other, that such a  
 doubtful controversie, as that of the *Popes* being *Antichrist*, should  
 be determined Positively by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of  
*England*, of which there was great difference even amongst the  
 Learned, and not resolved on in the Schools. With these objecti-  
 ons against that passage he acquaints his Majesty, who thereupon  
 gave order that the said Letters Patents should be cancelled, and  
 new ones to be drawn, in which that clause should be corrected or  
 expunged; and that being done, the said Letters Patents to be new  
 sealed, and the said Collection to proceed according to the Arch-  
 bishops first desires and proposition made in that behalf.

But before this Collection was finished, and the money returned,  
*Charles*



Charles Lodowick, Prince Elector Palatine, eldest surviving Son of the Queen of Bohemia, comes into England to bestow a visit on his Uncle, and to desire his aid and counsel for the recovery of the Electoral Dignity and Estate which did of right belong unto him. On the twenty second of November this present year 1635. he comes to whitehall, graciously welcomed by the King, who assigned him for his quarters in the Court, the Lodgings properly belonging to the Prince his Son, where he continued whilst he made his abode in England, except such times as he attended his Majesty in his Summers Progress. Knowing how forward the Archbishop had expressed himself in doing all ready Services for the Queen his Mother, and the good offices which he had done for her sake to the distressed Ministers of his Dominions, on the 30 day of the same Month he crost over to Lambeth, and was present with the Archbishop at the Evening Prayer then very solemnly performed; and upon that day fortnight came unexpectedly upon him, and did him the honour to dine with him. And that he might the better endear himself to the English Nation by shewing his conformity and approbation of the Rites and Ceremonies here by Law established, he did not only diligently frequent the Morning and Evening Service in his Majesties Closet, but upon Christmas day received the Communion also in the Chappel Royal of whitehall. For whose accommodation, at the receiving of it, there was a Stool placed within the Traverse, on the left hand of his Majesty, on which he sate while the Remainder of the Anthem was sung, and at the Reading of the Epistle, with a lower Stool and a Velvet Cushion to kneel upon both in the preparatory Prayers, and the Act of Receiving, which he most reverently performed to the great content of all beholders. During his being in the Court he published two Books in Print by the advice of the King and Council, not only to declare his Wrongs, but assert his Rights. The first he called by the name of a PROTESTATION, against all the unlawful and violent proceedings and actions against him and his Electoral Family. The second, called the MANIFEST, concerning the right of his Succession in the Lands, Dignities, and Honours, of which his Father had been unjustly dispossessed by the Emperour Ferdinand the Second. After which Preparatory writings, which served to no other effect than to justify his own and the Kings proceedings in the eye of the world, he was put upon a course for being furnished both with men and money to try his fortune in the Wars, in which he wanted not the best assistance which the Archbishop could afford him by his Power and Counsels. But as he laboured to advance his interests in the recovery of his Patrimony and Estates in Germany, so he no less laboured to preserve the Interests of the Church of England against all dangers and disturbances which might come from thence. And therefore when some busie heads, at the time of the Princes being here, had published the Book entituled, *A Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies of the Palgrave Churches*,

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1635.



PART II. *Churches*; A course was took to call it in, for the same cause, and  
*Anno Dom.* on the same prudential grounds on which the Letters Patents before  
 1635. mentioned, had been stopt and altered. The Prince was welcome,  
 but the Book might better have stayed at home, brought hither in  
*Dutch*, and here translated into English, Printed, and exposed to the  
 publick view, to let the vulgar Reader see how much we wanted of  
 the Purity and simplicity of the *Palatine Churches*.

1636.

*Cont. Dom.*  
 P. 149.

But we must now look back on some former Counsels in bringing  
 such refractory Ministers to a just conformity in publishing his Ma-  
 jesties *Declaration* about lawful Sports, as neither arguments and  
 perswasions could prevail upon. And that the Suffragan Bishops  
 might receive the more countenance in it, the Archbishop means  
 not to look on, but to act somewhat in his own Diocese which might  
 be exemplary to the rest, some troublesome persons there were in it,  
 who publickly opposed all established orders, neither conforming to  
 his Majesties Instructions, nor the *Canons* of the Church, nor the  
 Rubricks in the publick Liturgy. *Culmer* and *Player*, two men of the  
 same affections, and such as had declared their inconstancy in for-  
 mer times, were prest unto the publishing of this *Declaration*;  
*Brent* acting in it as Commissary to the Bishop of the Diocese, (not  
 Vicar General to the Archbishop) of the Province of *Canterbury*.  
 On their refusal so to do, they were called into the Consistory and  
 by him suspended. Petitioning the Archbishop for a release from  
 that suspension, they were answered by him, *That if they knew not*  
*how to obey, he knew as little how to grant*. He understood them to  
 be men of *Factionous spirits*, and was resolved to bring them to a bet-  
 ter temper, or else to keep them from disturbing the publick peace.  
 And they resolving on the other side, not to yield obedience, conti-  
 nued under this suspension till the coming in of the *Scottish Army*,  
 not long before the beginning of the Long Parliament, *Anno 1640*.  
 which wanted little of four years before they could get to be relea-  
 sed. *Wilson*, another of the same Crew, was suspended about the same  
 time also, and afterwards severely sentenced in the *High Commission*, the  
 profits of his Living sequestred, (as the others were) and liberal  
 assignments made out of it for supplying the Cure. In which conditi-  
 on he remained for the space of four years, and was then released on  
 a motion made by *Dering* in the House of Commons, at the very open-  
 ing, in manner, of the Long Parliament; that being the occasion which  
 was taken by them to bring the Archbishop on the Stage, as they  
 after did. And though he suspended, or gave order rather for suspend-  
 ing of no more than these; yet being they were leading-men, and the  
 chief sticklers of the Faction in all his Diocese, it made as much  
 noise as the great Persecution did in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. By one of  
 which first County we are told in general, "That being promoted  
 "to this dignity, he thought he was now *Plenipotentiary* enough,  
 "and in full capacity to domineer as he listed, and to let his protest  
 "enemies feel the dint of his Spirit, but more particularly, that  
 "he



“ he caused the Book of Sports to be published, for no other rea-  
 “ son, than to gall and vex those Godly Divines, whose Conscien-  
 “ ces would not vail to so much impiety, as to promote the Work;  
 “ and finally, That thereupon many of the most sound and or-  
 “ thodox Belief, were compelled to desert their Stations, and  
 “ abandon their Livings, in which their livelihood consisted, rather  
 “ than to submit unto it. And here I had took my leave of *Kent*,  
 but that I must first pass thorow the Diocess of *Rochester*, where I  
 find one *Snelling* to have been both Suspended and Excommunicated  
 on the same account (some other Inconformities (as not bowing at  
 the Name of *JESUS*) being taken into the Reckoning) by *Wood*  
 then Chancellor of that Diocess under Bishop *Bowles*, and afterwards  
 Sentenced to a Deprivation on the ninth of *February 1637*.  
 (c. 151.)

But as for that great Persecution in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* (greater, if  
*Burton* were to be believed, than any which hapned to the Church in  
*Queen Maries* Days) we shall hear it thus Preach'd up in that sediti-  
 ous Sermon of his, which he was pleased to entitle *For God and the* H. B. p. 65.  
*King*; in which he telleth us, *That in those Counties they had made*  
*the greatest havock of good Ministers (and their Flocks now left desolate*  
*and exposed to the Wolves, as Sheep without their Shepherd) as our eyes*  
*had ever seen; That there were already threescore Ministers in that*  
*one Diocess Suspended, and between three and fourscore more had time*  
*given them till Christs-tide, by which time they must either bid their*  
*good Consciences farewell, or else their precious Ministry, and there-*  
*with their necessary Means: And finally, That in all Queen Maries*  
*Time there was not so great a havock made (in so short a time) of the*  
*faithful Ministers of God, in any part of, yea, in the whole Land.*  
*Wren* had not long before succeeded *Corbet* in the See of *Norwich*;  
 a man who very well understood his Work, and resolved to do it:  
 but finding himself more deeply galled with these Reproaches, than  
 he had deserved, he caused his Registers to be search'd, and the Acts  
 of his Court to be examined, out of which we may take this short  
 Account of his Proceedings; that is to say, 1. That the Clergie of  
 that Diocess, comprehending all that are in Spiritual Dignity or Office,  
 and all Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and School-Masters (taking in the Le-  
 cturers withal) amount unto the number of 1500, or thereabouts.  
 2. That there were not above thirty of all sorts involved in any Ecclesi-  
 astical Censure of what kind soever, and not above sixteen Suspended.  
 3. That of those sixteen, eight were then Absolved, for a time of fur-  
 ther trial to be taken of them, and two did voluntarily resign their Pla-  
 ces; so that there were but six Suspended absolutely, and persisting so.  
 4. That of the Residue, one was deprived, after notorious Inconformity  
 for twelve years together, and final Obstinacy after several Admoniti-  
 ons; eight Excommunicated for not appearing at the Court, and four  
 inhibited from Preaching; of which four, one by Trade had been a  
 Draper, another a Weaver, and a third a Tayler. 5. That for the  
 other number between sixty and eighty, which were Suspended upon



PART II. day till Christmas, upon the Examination of the Register there appear  
*Anno Dom.* but eight, and those not all Suspended neither, two being Excommuni-  
 1636. cated for not appearing in the Court. And 6. Taking it for granted,  
 That sixty of all sorts had been Suspended, as it was suggested in the  
 Libel; yet sixty in so great a number, comes to no more than four in  
 one hundred, which would not have been look'd upon as a Persecution in  
 Queen Maries days, nor in a time of better temper and more moderation  
 than the Libeller deserved to live in. And yet the Minister of Lincoln  
 Diocess, in his Holy Table, must needs fly out against this Bishop,  
 comparing him unto a Wren mounted on the wings of an Eagle, and  
 finding by the Index to the Acts and Monuments, That the Bishop of  
 Norwich sent out Letters of Persecution.

And yet it was not thought sufficient to justifie themselves in mat-  
 ter of fact, unless they Advocated for themselves, and the King  
 under whom they acted, by strong Reasons also. And first, it was  
 alledged in behalf of the King (who had commanded the said De-  
 claration to be published by Order from the Bishops, in all the  
 Churches of their severall and respective Diocesses) That all the  
 Commands of the King, which are not upon the first inference and  
 illation contrary to a clear passage in the Word of God, or to an  
 evident Sun-beam of the Law of Nature, are precisely to be obeyed.  
 2. That it was not enough to find a remote and possible Inconveni-  
 ence that might ensue therefrom; for every good Subject is bound  
 in conscience to rest assured, That his Prince, environed with such a  
 Council, will be able to discover, and as ready to prevent any ill se-  
 quel that may come of it, as himself possibly can be. And 3. That  
 we must not by disobeying our Prince, commit a certain Sin, in pre-  
 venting a probable but contingent Inconveniency. And then it was  
 alledged in behalf of themselves, That the Declaration was com-  
 manded to be published by Order from the Bishops in the Parish  
 Churches; That there were none on whom the Bishops could im-  
 pose the Publishing of it in the Churches of their severall Diocesses,  
 but the Ministers only; which was a sufficient warrant for them to  
 enjoin the Ministers to do it. And lastly, That though no Penalty was  
 prescribed in it to such as should refuse to publish the same, yet  
 that some Penalty was implied, or otherwise the Command had  
 been impertinent, and to no purpose and effect whatsoever. Finally,  
 it was alledged, in respect of those who were enjoined the publishing  
 of it, That there was nothing contained in the said Declaration,  
 which was either plainly contrary to the Word of God, or the Ca-  
 nons of the Church, or the Laws of the Land, or the Practice of  
 the Protestant or Reformed Churches in all parts of the World;  
 That if it should appear otherwise with some scrupulous men, yet  
 even those scrupulous men were bound to obey their Superiors, in  
 making publication of it (a), for fear of dissolving by their disobe-  
 dience the whole frame of Government; That if it should be law-  
 ful for particular Persons first to dispute, and afterwards to disobey  
 the

(a) Percunte  
 obsequio impe-  
 rium etiam in-  
 tercidit, Si ubi  
 imperatur, que-  
 rere singulis  
 liceat. Tacit.  
 Hist. l. i.



the Commands of those higher Powers, to which the Lord had made them subject, the Subject would seem to be in a better condition, and more absolutely at his own disposing, than the Sovereign was; That by the Laws a Sheriff is bound to publish his Majesties Proclamations, though tending to the Apprehension of his dearest Friends, or otherwise containing matter of dangerous consequence to the Publick Interest; That a Presbyter or Minister without any sin, may safely pronounce an Excommunication, legally delivered unto him, though in his own private conscience he be convinced, that the Party is unjustly excommunicated; That when the Jews commanded by *Antiochus*, gave up the Divine Books to his Officers to be destroyed, it was afterwards adjudged in favour of them by *Optatus* Bishop of *Milevis*, a right godly man, to be (a) sin rather in them that commanded, than of those who with fear and sorrow did obey their *Mandates*; That when the Emperour *Mauritius* had made an Edict, That no Souldier should be admitted into any Monastery, and sent it to be published by *Gregory* surnamed the Great, the Pope forthwith dispersed it into all parts of the Christian World, (b) because he was subject to his command; though in his own judgment he conceived the said Edict to be unlawful in itself, and prejudicial unto many particular persons, as well in reference to their spiritual as their temporal benefit; and finally, That it was resolved by St. *Augustine*, in his Book against *Faustus* the *Manichee*, cap. 75. That a Christian Souldier fighting under a Heathen Prince, may lawfully pursue the War, or exercise the Commands of his immediate or Superior Officers, in the course of his Service, though he be not absolutely assured in the justice of the one, or the expedience of the other. Such were the Reasons urged in behalf of all Parties concerned in this business; and such the Defences which were made for some of them in matter of fact: but neither the one nor the other could allay that storm which had been raised against him by the Tongues and Pens of unquiet Persons; of which more anon.

Nor was the Clamour less which was raised against such of the Bishops as either pressed the use of his Majesties Instructions, concerning Lecturers, and silencing the *Arminian* Controversies; or urged the Ministers of their severall and respective Diocesses, to use no other form of Prayer before their Sermons than that which was prescribed *Canon* 55. It had been prudently observed, That by suffering such long Prayers as had accustomably been used of late before the Sermons of most Preachers, the Publick Liturgie of the Church had been much neglected; That the *Puritan* Preachers for the most part had reduced all Gods Service in a manner to those Pulpit-Prayers; That the People in many places had forbore to go into the Church till the Publick Liturgie was ended, and these Prayers begun; That by this means such Preachers prayed both what they listed, and how they listed; some so seditiously, that their very Prayers were turned into Sin; others so ignorantly and impertinently,

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(a) Peccatum  
imperantis &  
minantis; non  
populi, cum do-  
lore & timore  
re secundantis.  
Optat. lib. 7.

(b) Quia erat  
sacerdos ejus  
jussione. ut.  
Greg. Mag.  
lib. 2 Ep. 61.



PART II. impertinently, that they dishonoured God and disgraced Religion. For remedy whereof, it was thought convenient by the Archbishop, and some other Prelates, to reduce all to the form of Prayers appointed in the *Canon* above-mentioned, according to the like form prescribed in the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth*, and before her time by King *Edward* the Sixth, and before his time also by King *Henry* the Eighth; practised accordingly in the times of their several Reigns, as appears by the Sermons of Bishop *Latimer*, Bishop *Gardiner*, Archbishop *Parker*, Bishop *Jewell*, Bishop *Andrews*, and generally by all Divines of the Church of *England*, till by the artifices and endeavours of the *Puritan* Faction, these long Prayers of their own making had been taken up, to cry down the *Liturgie*. Which being in charge in the Visitation, and afterwards in the Articles of several Bishops, made as much noise amongst ignorant and factious People, under colour of quenching the Spirit of God, expressed in such extemporary Prayers of the Preachers conceiving, as silencing the Doctrines of *Predestination*, changing the afternoons Sermons into Catechisings, and regulating the Extravagances of some of their Lecturers, under the colour of a Plot to suppress the Gospel.

In which last Calumny, as most of the Bishops had a share, so did it fall as heavy on *Pierce* of *Bath* and *Wells*, as on any other, though he did nothing in that kind, but what he was required to do by the Kings Instructions. His Crimes were, That he had commanded the Ministers in his Diocese to turn their afternoons Sermons into *Catechisings*, and those *Catechisings* to be made according to the Questions and Answers in the *Catechism* authorised by Law, and extant in the Book of Common Prayer; which some few absolutely refusing to conform unto; and others (contrary to the meaning of the said Instructions) taking some *Catechism*-point for their Text, and making long Sermons on the same, were by him suspended, and so continued till they found a greater readiness in themselves to obey their *Ordinary*. But the Great Rock of Offences against which they stumbled, and stumbling filled all places with their Cries and Clamours, was, That he had suppressed the *Lecturers* in most parts of his Diocese; and some report, That he proceeded so far in it as to make his brag (not without giving great Thanks to God for his good Success) *That he had not left one Lecturer in all his Diocese, of what sort soever, whether he Lectured for his Stipend, or by a voluntary combination of some Ministers amongst themselves.* Which if it should be true, (as I have some reason to believe it is not) ought to be rather attributed to some exiliency of humane frailty (of which we are all guilty more or less) than to be charged amongst his Sins. But for his Actings in this kind, as also for his vigorous proceedings in the Case of *Beckington*, he had as good Authority as the Instructions of the King, and the Directions of his Metropolitan could invest him in. And so far *Canterbury* justified him



him in the last particular, as to take the blame (if any thing were blame-worthy in it) upon himself, though then a Prisoner in the Tower, and under as much danger as the Power and Malice of his Enemies could lay upon him: For such was his undaunted Spirit, that when *Asb* a Member of the House of Commons, demanded of him in the Tower, Whether the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* had received his Directions from him in the Case of *Beckington*? he answered roundly, That he had; and that the Bishop had done nothing in it, but what became an obedient *Diocesan* to his *Metropolitan*. So careful was he of preserving those who had acted under him, that he chose rather to augment the number of his own misfortunes, then occasion theirs. If all the Bishops of that time had joined their hearts and hands together, for carrying on the work of Uniformity, as they were required, the Service might have gone more happily forwards, and the Envy would have been the less by being divided: but leaving the whole burden upon so few, and turning it over to their Chancellors and Under-Officers (if they did so much) they did not only, for as much as in them was, destroy the business, but expose such as took care of it, to the publick hatred. For such was their desire to ingratiate themselves amongst the People, that some of them being required to return the names of such Ministers as refused the reading of the Book, made answer, That they would not turn *Informers* against their Brethren, there being enough besides themselves to perform that Office. Others conceived, that they had very well performed their duty, and consulted their own peace and safety also, by waving all Proceedings against them in their own *Consistories*, wherein they must appear as the principal Agents, and turning them over to be censured by the *High-Commission*, where their Names might never come in question. The like done also in transposing the Communion Table; in which it was believed by many, that they had well complied with all expectations, if they did not hinder it, but left the Ministers to proceed therein as best pleased themselves; or otherwise, to fight it out with the Church-wardens, if occasion were.

And yet the fortune of the Church had not been so wretched, if none of that Order had pulled down more with one hand, than many of the rest had built up with both. The *Metropolitcal Visitation* being held in the Diocess of *Norwich*, Anno 1635. Order was given by *Brent*, as in other places, for Railing in the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel, and there to dispose of it under the Eastern Wall, with the ends of it North and South. In order whereunto, it was found necessary in many places to remove such Seats as had been built in that end of the Chancel, for the use and ease of private Persons. The Church-wardens of *St. Mary Tomres* in the Borough of *Ipswich*, a Town of great Wealth and Trade in the County of *Suffolk*, refusing to remove such Seats, and advance the Table in their rooms, were Excommunicated for their obstinacy

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Cant. Doom,

p. 100.



PART II. and contempt, by one of *Brent's* Surrogates for that *Visitation*. The  
*Anno Dom.* Church-wardens, animated by some of the Town, who had better  
 1636. Purfes than themselves, appeal unto the Dean of the *Arches*, and  
 after exhibited a Bill in the *Star-Chamber* against the Surrogate: but  
 without remedy from either. And on these terms the business stood,  
 when *Wren* succeeded *Corbet* in the See of *Norwich*; and looking  
 upon *Ipswich* as a place of great influence and example on the rest  
 of the Diocess, took up his dwelling in the same. It was not long  
 before he came to understand, that a great part of the opposition  
 which was made as well against himself, as the Vicar-General, about  
 the removing and failing in of the Holy Table, proceeded from a  
 Letter written from the Bishop of *Lincoln* to the Vicar of *Grantham*;  
 which though it was written some years since, and had long been  
 dead; yet now it was revived again, and the Copies of it scattered  
 in all parts of the Kingdom (the better to discourage or discounte-  
 nance the Work in hand): but no where more than in the Diocess  
 of *Norwich*, being next neighbour unto *Lincoln*, and under the in-  
 spection of a diligent and active Prelate. Some of them coming to  
 his Hand, and an Advertisement withall, That they were ordinari-  
 ly sold amongst the Booksellers in *Duck-lane* in written Copies, it  
 was thought fit that an answer should be made unto it; in which  
 the Sophistry, Mistakes, and Falshoods of that Letter, whosoever  
 was the Writer of it, might be made apparent: Which Answer  
 being made ready, approved, and licenced, was published about  
 the middle of *May*, under the Title of *A COAL from the AL-*  
*TAR*, or, *An Answer to a Letter not long since written to the Vicar*  
*of Grantham, against the placing of the Communion Table at the East-*  
*end of the Chancel, &c.* As it cooled the heat of some, so it infla-  
 med the hearts of others, not with Zeal, but Anger; the Book oc-  
 casioning much variety of Discourse on both sides, as men stood  
 variously affected in the present Controversie: But long it will not  
 be before we shall hear of a Reply unto it, a Rejoinder unto that  
 Reply, and other Writings *pro* and *con*, by the Parties interested.

But it had been to little purpose to settle a Conformity in Paro-  
 chial Churches, if Students in the Universities (the constant Semi-  
 naries of the Church) were not trained up to a good perswasion of  
 the Publick Counsels: Upon which ground it had been prudently  
 Ordained in the *Canons* of the year 1603. not only, *That the prescri-*  
*bed Form of Common Prayer should be used in all Colledges and Halls;*  
 but, *That the Fellows and Scholars of the said Houses should wear the*  
*Surplice at those Prayers on the Sundays and Holydays, the better to inure*  
*them to it, when they came to any Publick Ministry in their several*  
*Churches.* Many things had been done at *Cambridge* in some years  
 last past, in order to the Work in hand; as beautifying their Chap-  
 pels, furnishing them with Organs, advancing the Communion  
 Table to the place of the Altar, adorning it with Plate and other  
 Utensils for the Holy Sacrament, defending it with a decent Rail from  
 all



all prophanations, and using lowly Reverence and Adorations, both in their coming to those Chappels, and their going out: But in most Colledges, all things stood as they had done formerly; in some there were no Chappels at all, or at the best, some places used for Chappels, but never Consecrated. In *Sidney* Colledge the old Dormitory of the *Franciscans* (on the Site of which *Friery* the said Colledge was built) was after some years trimmed and fitted, and without any formal Consecration converted to a *House of Prayer*; though formerly, in the opinion of those who allowed thereof, it had been no better nor worse than a *Den of Thieves*. The Chappel of *Emanuel* Colledge, though built at the same time with the rest of the House, was both irregular in the situation, and never Consecrated for Divine and Religious uses. And what less could this beget in the minds of the Students of those Houses, than an Opinion touching the indifferency of such Consecrations, whether used, or not? and at the last a positive Determination, *That the continued Series of DIVINE DUTIES in a place set apart to that purpose, doth sufficiently Consecrate the same?* And what can follow thereupon in some tract of time, but the executing of all Divine Offices in Private Houses, the Ruine and Decay of Churches, the selling of their Materials, and alienating their Glebe and Tythes to the next fair Chapman? It is therefore thought expedient to carry on the Visitation to that University, and put such things in order there, as were found in this. But against this the University opposed, pretending an exemption from his Jurisdiction, by their ancient Privileges; and that they had no Visitor but his Majesty only. But *Canterbury*, who before had over-ruled the like Plea in the Bishop of *Lincoln*, would not give way to this of *Cambridge*, which caused the matter on both sides to be thorowly canvased: But neither yielding to the other, and the Earl of *Holland* sticking strongly for the University (of which he had the Honour to be chosen Chancellor on the death of the Duke) the deciding of the Controversie is referred to his Majesty. On *Tuesday June 21.* they both appear before the King at *Hampton-Court*, where the Counsel of both sides being heard, it pleased his Majesty to give Judgment for the Metropolitan, and to submit that University to his Visitation: But before any thing was done in it, the Troubles in *Scotland*, and the Disturbances at home, kept it off so long, that a greater Visitation fell upon the Visitor, than could have hapned unto them. Howsoever, the bare reputation of it did prevail so far, that many who were slack or fearful in embellishing their Chappels and publick Places of Divine Worship, went on more confidently then before; insomuch that not only in the Chappels of some private Colleges, but in *St. Maries* Church it self, being the Publick Church of that University, the Table was railed in like an Altar, towards which many of the Doctors, Scholars, and others usually bowed.

In *Oxon.* where he was more absolute, he found less comptroll.

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1636.



## PART II.

Anno Dom.

1636.

(a) *Inter orandum sitis memores mei peccatoris, &c.*

(b) *Ad sacram Eucharistiæ Mensam cum debita reverentia oblationes faciant.*

Chancellor of the University by their own Election, Visitor of the Colledges of *All Souls* and *Merton* in the right of his See, and such a Patron to the rest, that he could hardly recommend that Affair unto them, which they did not expedite. In many of their Letters and Addresses to him, they gave him the Title of *His Holiness*, and *most Holy Father*; which though appropriated to the Pope in the darker Times, were generally communicated to all Christian Bishops in the clear Sun-shine of the Gospel. And on the other side, in his Missives and Dispatches to them, he recommends himself unto their Devotions, beseeching them, That as often as they made their approaches toward the Altar, they would remember him in their Prayers (a) to Almighty God. He had his breeding (as before was said) in that University; and could not chuse but know, That many of the old Statutes were grown out of use by the change of Religion; others, by long neglect and discontinuance; some never rightly understood; and all so mingled and confounded, that it was very hard to say which of them were in force, which not; and yet all Students bound to keep them under corporal Oaths, if not at their first Matriculations, yet at their taking of Degrees. For remedy whereof, with great pains and judgment, he digested a new Body of Statutes, to serve as a perpetual standing Rule for their future Government, as well in commanding as obeying: Which being first sent down unto them, advisedly considered of, explained, corrected, and accommodated to their best advantages, were afterward revised by him, and upon full deliberation engrossed in Vellum, fairly bound up, confirmed by his most Sacred Majesty, and so obtained the strength of Laws: Received and published for such in the *Convocation*, on Wednesday June 22. being the morrow after the Judgment had passed on his side at *Hampton-Court*, for the Visitation at *Cambridge*. And in those Statutes, he took care that the *Vice-chancellor*, *Proctors*, and all *Proceeders*, year by year in their several *Faculties*, (b) should make their Offerings with that due and accustomed Reverence at the Holy Table. He procured also from his Majesty a Confirmation of their former Priviledges over the Town, and an enlargement of them also in respect of the *Londoners*: By which last they were enabled to Print all Books, which either his Majesties Printers or the Company of *Stationers* had engrossed to themselves, as Bibles, Common Prayer Books, Homilies, Grammars, &c. which brought them in a Composition of 200 *l. per Annum* for the times ensuing. Nor could his Care and Providence for the encouragement of Learning, be confin'd to this side of the Sea, the like course being taken by him shortly after, as well for revising and perfecting the broken Statutes of the Colledge neer *Dublin*, as the enlarging of the Priviledges of that University.

And yet he could not hold his hand, till he had added Bounty and Munificence to his former Cares. The University of *Oxon.* was long since honoured with the Title of *Generale Studium*,



*Studium* (a), conferred upon none else in the former times, but the Universities of *Paris* in *France*, *Bononia* in *Italy*, and *Salamanca* in *Spain*: In all which, by a Decree of Pope *Clement* the Fifth, in the Council of *Vienna* in *France*, Anno 1511. it was Ordained, That there should be Professors of the Hebrew, Greek, Arabick, and Chaldaean Languages: But it was only so Ordained, no execution following on it till some Ages after. The Arabick Tongue was known in *Spain*, by reason of the great Command which the Moors had in that Country: but never entertained in any of the other three. And as for the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee, those times were so extremely ignorant of them, that the Study of the Greek Tongue was sufficient to condemn a man of Heresie; and a small spattering in the Hebrew, made him subject unto some suspicion of Heretical Fancies. And so it stood till *Reuchlin* and *Budens* in *France*, *Erasmus* and *Paulus Fagius* in *England*, restored again the Greek and Hebrew to those several Nations. The Greek so courisly entertained in this University, whilst *Erasmus* taught it quietly enough at *Cambridge*, that when a (b) Learned young man began publickly to read the Greek Tongue there, he was encountred presently in a poor but popular declamation, with base and barbarous Revilings. But long it was not before Cardinal *wolfey* took a course to put this University into a way of Nobler Studies, founding therein two Publick Lectures for the Greek and Hebrew, with a liberal Salary (according to the Standard of that time) of 40 l. per Annum to either of them; which afterwards being confirmed by King *Henry* viii. continued without further encouragement and augmentation, till such time as *Laud* was come to his Ascendent; when by the Power and Favour which he had with his Majesty, a Canonry in *Christ-Church* was annexed perpetually to the Publick Professor for the Hebrew, Doctor *John Morris* being the first who enjoyed the benefit of that Grant: By means whereof, the Hebrew and Chaldaick Tongues, which few in *Oxon.* understood when I first came thither, became to be so generally embraced, and so chearfully studied, that it received a wonderful proficiency, and that too, in a shorter time than a man can easily imagine: So great a Spur the hope of Honour and Preferments, gives to Arts and Languages. But all this while, the Arabick was utterly laid aside in these parts of *Europe*; till, in conformity to the said Decree of the Council holden at *Vienna*, it came into our Archbishops mind to establish a Publick Lecture in that Language also; which having for a long time taken up his thoughts, was at last effected: The first Lecture in that Language, read publickly on the tenth of August in this present year; a Revenue of 40 l. per Annum settled upon the University for the maintenance of it; his first Professor in that Tongue being *Edward Pocock*, Fellow of *Corpus Christi* Colledge, one who had spent much time in the Factory of *Aleppo*, and other places of the East, returning home well studied in all the Languages of those Countries. And that Rhetorick might thrive as well under his Encouragements,

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(a) Hebraica, Chaldaica, Arabica, Graeca, Linguae Studium propagandae Fidei ergo in nobilissimis quatuor Europae Academicis instituitur, &c. Ex Angel. Recha, p. 214.

(b) Hist. of Cambridge, f. 88.



PART II. Encouragements, as Grammar and the Tongues were in a hopeful way to do, he obtained from his Majesty another *Canonry* in *Christ-Church*, to be annexed for ever to the Orators place, (whose yearly Pension till that time was but twenty Nobles.) Injoyed first by Dr. *William Strode*, admitted thereunto on the first of *July*, Anno 1638. and after his decease by Dr. *Henry Hammond*, Anno 1644.

Such were the benefits which the University received from him in this present year. And that he might both do himself and the University some honour in the eye of the Kingdom, he invites the King, the Queen, the Prince *Elect*or, and his Brother, to an Academical entertainment, on the twenty ninth day of *August* then next following, being the Anniversary day, on which the Presidentship of *St. Johns* Colledge was adjudged to him by King *James*. The time being come, and the University put into a posture for that Royal visit, their Majesties were first received with an eloquent Speech as he passed by the house, being directly in his way betwixt *Woodstock* and *Christ-Church*, not without great honour to the Colledge, that the Lord Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and one of the Proctors should be at that time of the same foundation. At *Christ-Church* his Majesty was entertained with another Oration by *Strode*, the University Orator; the University presenting his Majesty with a fair and costly pair of Gloves (as their custome was) the Queen with a fair English Bible, the Prince *Elect*or with *Hookers* Books of *Ecclesiastical Politie*, his Brother *Rupert* with *Cæsars* Commentaries in *English*, illustrated by the learned Explanations and Discourses of Sir *Clement Edmonds*. His Majesty was lodged in *Christ-Church*, in the great Hall whereof (one of the goodliest in the World) he was entertained, together with the Queen, the two Princes, and the rest of the Court, with an English *Comedy*, (but such as had more of the Philosopher than the Poet in it) called, *Passions Calmed*, or *the settling of the Floating Islands*. On the morrow morning, being *Tuesday*, he began with a Sermon, preacht before him in that Cathedral on these words of *St. Luke*, viz. *Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord, peace in heaven, and glory in the highest*, Luk. 19. 38. The Sermon being ended, the Archbishop, as Chancellor of the University, calls a Convocation, in which he admits the Prince *Elect*or, his Brother Prince *Rupert*, and many of the chief Nobility to the degree of *Masters of Art*; and that being done, attends the King and Queen to *St. Johns* Colledge. Where in the new Gallery of his own building, he entertains the King and Queen, the two Princes, with all the Lords and Ladies of the Court, at a stately and magnificent Dinner, the King and Queen sitting at one Table at the South end of the Room; the two Princes, with the Lords and Ladies, at a long Table, reaching almost from one end to the other; at which all the Gallantry and beauties of the Kingdom seemed to meet. Nor did he make Provision only for those two Tables, but every



every Office in the Court had their several diets, disposed of in convenient places for their reception with great variety of *Achates*, not only sufficient for contentment, but for admiration. After dinner he entertains his principal Guests with a pleasant Comedy, presented in the publick Hall; and that being done, attends them back again to *Christ-Church*, where they were feasted after Supper with another Comedy, called, *The Royal Slave*; the Enterludes represented with as much variety of Scenes and motions as the great wit of *Inigo Jones* (Surveyor General of his Majesties Works, and excellently well skilled in setting out a Court-*Masque* to the best advantage) could extend unto. It was the day of *St. Felix* (as himself observeth) and all things went happily. On *Wednesday* the next morning the Court removed, his Majesty going that same night to *Winchester*, and the Archbishop the same day, entertaining all the Heads of Houses at a solemn Feast; order being given at his departure, that the three Comedies should be acted again, for the content and satisfaction of the University in the same manner as before, but only with the Alteration of the Prologues and Epilogues.

But to return unto the publick. On the same day in which the new Statutes were received at *Oxon*. he procured a Supplement to be added to the old Statutes of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, touching the letting of their Lands. Some Informations had been given, that the *Deans* and *Prebends* of those Churches had enrich themselves, their Wives and Children by taking great Fines, for turning leases of twenty one years into leases for lives, leaving their Successors destitute of that growing means, which otherwise might come in to help them. This was the outside of the business, but the chief motive to it was, that the Gentry and Yeomanry (and some of the Nobility also) holding Lands of those Churches, might have a greater respect to the Church and Church-men, when they must depend upon them from time to time for renewing of their said Estates at the end of every ten or twelve years at the most. For though it be a like lawful by the Law of the Land, 13 *Eliz. c. 20.* to make Leases of three lives, or one and twenty years, at the pleasure of the Dean and Chapter; yet the difference is so great between them, that once a Tenant to my knowledge, after a Lease for three lives had continued 29 years in being, chose rather to give a Fine for the change of one life than to take a new Lease of 21 years without paying any thing. All which his Majesty taking into his Princely consideration, he caused Letters under his Royal Signature to be sent to all the Deans and Chapters of this Kingdom respectively, *Bibl. Regia, p. 268.*

“ Calling and commanding them upon pain of his utmost displeasure, that they presumed not to let any Lease belonging to their Church into lives, which was not in lives already; and further

“ that when any fair opportunity was offered (if any such be) they

“ fail not to reduce such as are in lives, into years; requiring further

“ that those his Majesties said Letters should be exemplified in the Register-

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PART II. "Register-books of the said Churches, and preserved in the Regi-  
*Anno Dom.* "stries of the Bishops of their several Diocess, to the end that the  
 1636. "said Bishop might take notice of their doing therein, and give his  
 "Majesty and his Successors notice thereof, if any presumed to dis-  
 "obey. And in regard that some of the Deans of the said Cathed-  
 "drals were a Corporation of themselves, and held their Lands dis-  
 "tinct from the rest of their Chapters; a clause was added to those  
 "Letters to preserve those Lands for the benefit of their Successors,  
 "as formerly in his Majesties Instructions for ordering and disposing  
 "the Lands of Bishops on the like occasions. His Majesty therefore  
 "first declares, "That he had taken order by his late *Instructions*, that  
 "no Bishop should let any Lease after they had been named to a  
 "better Bishoprick, but had not therein named the *Deans*, as he  
 "therein intended. And therefore secondly, that no Dean should  
 "presume from thenceforth, after his being named to a Bishoprick,  
 "or a better Deanry, to renew any Lease either into lives or years:  
 "His Majesty having well observed, that at such times of remove  
 "many men care not what or how they let their Estates, to the pre-  
 "judice of the Church and their Successors. Which Letters bear  
 "date at *Greenwich* in the twelfth year of his Reign, *June 27*.

Nor was he less careful to preserve the Parochial Clergy from be-  
 ing oppressed by their neighbours in rates and taxes than he had been  
 in maintaining the Estates of Capitular bodies, for the greater ho-  
 nour of those bodies at the present time, and the benefit of Succes-  
 sion for the time to come. During the Remiss Government of King  
*James*, his Majesties late embroyments with *France* and *Spain*, and  
 his entanglements at home, the *Hollanders* had invaded the Regality  
 of the Narrow Seas, and questioned the property of his Dominion  
 in the same; not only growing to such an height of insolency, as to  
 dispute their striking Sail in passing by any of his Majesties Ships:  
 but publishing a Discourse in Latine, called, *Mare Liberum*, in  
 defence thereof. These affronts occasioned *Noy*, the Atturney Gene-  
 rall, to put his Majesty in mind of setting out a strong power of  
 Ships for the recovery of his Rights against all pretenders. And the  
 better to enable him for it, adviseth him to set on foot the *old Naval*  
*Aide*, required of the Subject by his Predecessors. He was a man  
 extremely well versed in old *Records*, with which consulting fre-  
 quently in the course of his studies, he had excerpted and laid by  
 many notes and precedents for the Kings levying of such Navil Aide  
 upon the Subjects, by his own Authority, whensoever the prefer-  
 vation and safety of the Kingdom did require it of them, which  
 Notes and Precedents he had taken as they came in his way, in small  
 pieces of Paper (most of them no bigger than ones hand) he kept in  
 the Coffin of a Pye, which had been sent him by his Mother, and  
 kept there till the mouldiness and corruptibleness of it had perished  
 many of his Papers. And by these Notes it did appear, that many  
 times in the same years, wherein the Kings had received Subsidies  
 by



by way of Parliament, they levied this *Naval Aide* by their own sole power. For if (as he discoursed it to me at his house near *Brentford*) the King wanted money, either to support his own expences, or for the enlarging of his Dominions in Foreign Conquests, or otherwise to advance his honour in the eye of the World, good reason he should be beholden for it to the love of his People. But if the Kingdom was in danger, and that the safety of the Subject was concerned in the business, he might, and did raise such sums of money as he thought expedient for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publick safety of him and his Subjects. According to which precedents he prepares a Writ, by which his Majesty commandeth the Maritime Counties to provide a certain number of Ships for defence of the Kingdom, prescribing to each Ship its several burden, the number of Mariners, and great Pieces of Ordnance, with Victuals, Arms, and Ammunition thereunto proportioned. The Subject not daring at the first to dispute the Command, collected money for the Service according to the several rates imposed on them in their several Counties; but dealt so unmercifully with the Clergy in the levying of it, that they laid upon them generally the fifth or sixth part of the sum imposed. The Ice thus broken, and his Majesty finding that provision not sufficient to effect his purpose, issued out his Writs in the next year after *anno 1635.* into all the Counties of the Kingdom for preparing of a Royal Fleet to be in readiness against the beginning of this year, in which the Clergy were as like to suffer as before they did. But the best was, that they had not only a gracious Patron, but a very powerful Mediatour, Upon whose humble desire his Majesty was pleased to direct his Letters to all the Sheriffs in *England* respectively, requiring them that no Tax should be laid upon any Clergy-man, possessor of a Parsonage, above the tenth part of the Land-rate of their several Parishes; and that consideration should be had of the poor Vicars in their several Parishes, according to their small revenue, compared with the Abilities of the Parishioners amongst whom they lived. The whole Sum levied by this Tax amounted to 236000 *li.* or thereabouts, which comes not to 20000 *li.* a month; and being instead of all other payments, seemed to be no such heavy burthen as it was generally made by the Popular Party, many of which quarrelled and refused it.

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But his Majesty was too just a Prince to exact any thing by power, when he had neither Law nor Reason to make it good. And therefore as he had the opinion of all his Judges subscribed by their hands for justifying the Legality of this Naval Tax amongst the Subjects; so he thought fit to publish some defence of his Dominion, Right, and Sovereignty in the Narrow Seas for the satisfaction of his Neighbours. *John Selden* of the Inner Temple, a name that stands in need of no titles of honour, had written a Discourse in the time of King *James*, which (in answer to that of *Grotius*, called, *Mare Li-*

T t

berum)



PART II. *berum*) he intituled by the name of *Mare Clausum*. But stomacking  
*Anno Dom.* the submission and acknowledgment which he was forced to make in  
 1636. the *High Commission* for publishing his book of Tythes, and sensible  
 of the smart which he had found from the Pens of *Tilley*, *Montague*, and *Nettles*, in their Answers to him, he did not only suppress the Book which he had written in the Kings defence, but carried an evil eye to the Court and Church for a long time after. But being a man of great parts, and eminent in the retired walks of Learning, he was worth the gaining, which *Canterbury* takes upon him, and at last effecteth. By his perswasion he not only perfected, but published that laborious piece, which he dedicated to his Majesty, whose cause he pleaded. By whom it was so well approved, that he sent it by Sir *William Beecher* (one of the Clerks of his Council) to the Barons of the Exchequer in open Court, by them to be laid up as a most inestimable Jewel amongst the choice Records, which concerned the Crowns. In this book, which came out this year, he first asserts the Sovereignty or Dominion of the Brittain Seas to the Crown of *England*. And that being cleared, he proved by constant and continual practice, that the Kings of *England* used to levy money from the Subjects (without help of Parliament) for the providing of Ships and other necessities to maintain the Sovereignty which did of right belong unto them. This he brought down unto the times of King *Henry* the Second, and might have brought it nearer to his own times had he been so pleased, and thereby paved a plain way to the payment of *Ship-money*, as they commonly called it. But then he must have crost the proceedings of the House of Commons in the last Parliament, (wherein he was so great a stickler) voting down under a kind of *Anathema* the Kings pretensions of right to all help from the Subject, either in *Tunnage* or *Poundage*, or any other way whatsoever, the Parliament not cooperating and contributing towards it. Howsoever the Service was as grateful as the Author acceptable, from henceforth both a frequent and a welcome guest at *Lambeth* house, where he was grown into such esteem with the Archbishop, that he might have chose his own preferment in the Court (as it was then generally believed) had he not undervalued all other employments in respect of his Studies. But possibly there might be some other reason for his declining such employments as the Court might offer. He had not yet forgotten the affronts which were put upon him about his History of Tythes, (for in the notion of affronts he beheld them alwaies) and therefore did but make fair weather for the time, till he could have an opportunity to revenge himself on the Church and Church-men, the King being took into the reckoning. For no sooner did the Bishop begin to sink in power and credit under the first pressures of the late Long Parliament, but he published a book in Greek and Latine by the name *Eutychnus*, with some Notes upon it. In which he made it his chief business to prove, that Bishops did no otherwise differ from the rest  
 of



of the *Presbyters* than doth a Master of a Colledge from the rest of the Fellows, by consequents, that they differed only in *degree*, not order. And afterwards, when his Majesty began to decline in the love of the Parliament, and that the heats grew strong between them, he was affirmed to have written the Answer to his Majesties Declaration about the *Commission of Array*: Which in effect proved a plain putting of the Sword into the hands of the People. So hard it is for any one to discern the hearts of men by their outward actions, but the God that made them.

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1626.

Thus leaving *England* for a time we must go for *Scotland*, in which we find the Canons finished, and the Bishops busie and intent on a publick *Liturgie*. It was his Majesties first intent to introduce the *English Liturgie* amongst them; and to that end, had ordered that it should be daily read in his Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, as before was said. But *Ballentine*, the Bishop of *Dumblaine*, and Dean of the Chappel (to whom the care thereof had been recommended) was so negligent in it, that the Archbishop found it necessary to remove him to some other Bishoprick on the next avoydance. The See of *Aberdeen* proving vacant, he procured his translation thither, and preferred *Wederbourne*, a Scot by birth, but bread in *Cambridge*, beneficed in *Hampshire*, and made one of the *Prebends* of *Ely* by the learned *Andrews*, to be his Successor in those places; By this new Dean his Majesties design was followed with more care than ever; and possibly might have took effect, if the rest of the *Scottish* Bishops had been pleased therewith as well as this. But the *Scottish* Bishops having prevailed with his Majesty, as before was noted, to have a distinct *Liturgie* of their own, His Majesty commanded the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give them the best assistance he could in that way and work; which notwithstanding he delayed as long as he could, in hope to bring them in the end to a better perswasion. But finding them so resolved upon it, that they could not be altered he contributes his assistance to it, humbly intreated so to do by some Letters brought unto him by *Maxwell* (not long before made Bishop of *Ross*) bearing date April 2. 1635. and subscribed by the Archbishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, the Bishops of *Murrey*, *Dumblaine*, and *Brechine*. The Book being first hammered and prepared in *Scotland*, and from thence transmitted to the Court, his Majesty referred it to the consideration of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer *Juxon* Bishop of *London*, and *Wren* Bishop of *Norwich*: But the Lord Treasurer being taken up with other imployments the burden of the work remained on the other two. They found on the perusal of it that *Wederbourne* had followed such instructions as he had carried with him about the making of that book (if it must be made) in keeping so much in it of the *English Liturgie*, and they found also certain notes which he had sent together with it, to the end that as many of them as his Majesty liked, might be made use of in that book. Thus authorised and instructed



PART II. they proceed unto the making of such Alterations as were offered  
*Anno Dom.* to them, consisting for the most part in these Particulars : First,  
 1636. *That the Magnificat and the rest of the Hymns, together with the*  
 Epistles and Gospels, should be printed according to the last Translati-  
 on in the time of King James; conform therein to such Directions as  
 they had received for Printing the Psalms of David in the last Tran-  
 slation. Secondly, That for the better singing of those Psalms to the  
 Organ, a Colon should be made in the middle of every Verse, as it  
 was in the English. Thirdly, That they could not agree to any more  
 Emendations in the Creed of St. Athanasius, than they had noted in  
 that Book. Fourthly, That though the Bishops there desired some time  
 to consider further of the Holydays, yet it was never otherwise meant:  
 but that the Office appointed for every of them, should be kept in the Litu-  
 rgie; the Practice and Observation of them being respited for a time to their  
 further thoughts. Fifthly, That though they admitted of all the Sen-  
 tences which they found in the Offertory, yet they wished that some  
 which were in the English Book, might be added also. Sixthly, That  
 every Prayer or Action through the whole Communion, should be named  
 in the Rubrick before it, that it might be known to the People what it  
 is; as they should find done to their hands in the Prayer of Consecra-  
 tion, and the Memorial of Oblation next after following. Seventh-  
 ly, That the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Sentences, Prefaces,  
 and Doxologie, should be retained in the same place and order which  
 they had in the Liturgie of England; and that the Prayer of humble  
 Access to the Holy Table, would stand very well (as they conceived) be-  
 fore the very Act of Participation. Eighthly, and finally, That in  
 the Margin of the Prayer of Consecration, they should add some Note,  
 directing him that Celebrates, at what words he should take the Patin  
 with the Bread on it, and the Chalice with the wine in it, into his hands,  
 according to the Practice of the Church of England.

These Alterations being not only made by his Majesties Warrant,  
 and approved by him in a Memorial under his Hand, bearing date the  
 nineteenth day of April in this present year; but confirmed also with  
 the like Royal Signature as they stood in the Book: Of which Parti-  
 culars, and some others, the Bishop gives an account to *weder-*  
*bourne* by his Letters of the twentieth of April, being the morrow  
 after his Majesty had Signed the said Memorial. It seems that *we-*  
*derbourne* had given our Archbishop notice of some defects which  
 he had found in the Book of Consecration of Archbishops, Bishops,  
 &c. as it was then used amongst the Scots, viz. 1. That the Order of  
 Deacons was made but a Lay-Office at the best, as by that Book might  
 be understood. And 2. That in the Admission to the Priesthood, the  
 very essential words of conferring Orders were left out. With which  
 the King being made acquainted, he gave command to the Archbi-  
 shop to make known unto them, That he would have them either to  
 admit the English Book, or else to rectifie their own in those two  
 great oversights. After which, taking the whole business of that  
 Church



Church into his consideration, it pleased him to direct his *Further* L. B. IV.  
*Instructions* to the Archbishops and Bishops of it, bearing date on Anno Dom.  
the eighteenth of *October* following; In which he requires them to  
take care, "That the Proclamation to be made for Authorising the  
"*Service-Book*, should not derogate in any thing from his Royal Pre-  
"rogative. 2. That in their *Kalendar* they should keep such Ca-  
"tholick Saints as were in the *English*, such of the Saints as were  
"most peculiar to that Kingdom (especially those which were of  
"the Royal Blood, and some of the most holy Bishops) being ad-  
"ded to them: but that in no case *St. George* and *St. Patrick* be  
"omitted. 3. That in their Book of *Ordination*, in giving Orders to  
"*Presbyters*, they should keep the words of the *English* Book with-  
"out change, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* 4. That they should in-  
"sert among the *Lessons* ordinarily to be read in the *Service*, out of  
"the Book of *Wisdom* the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and  
"sixth Chapters; and out of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, the first,  
"second fifth, eighth, thirty fifth, and forty ninth Chapters. 5. That  
"every Bishop within his Family twice a day cause the *Service*  
"to be read; and that all Archbishops and Bishops make all Uni-  
"versities and Colledges within their Diocesses, to use daily twice  
"a day the *Service*. 6. That the Preface to the Book of *Common*  
"*Prayer*, Signed by his Majesties Hand, and the Proclamation for  
"Authorising the same, should be Printed, and inserted in the Book  
"of *Common-Prayer*. According to which *Instructions*, and the  
Corrections above-mentioned, this *Liturgie* at the last (after it had  
been twenty years in consideration) was fully finished and conclu-  
ded; and being thus finished and concluded, was Ratified and Con-  
firmed by his Majesties Royal Edict, as followeth, viz.

CHARLES By the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France,  
and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our Lovits

Messengers, Our Sheriffs in that part conjunctly and severally, specially  
constitute, Greeting. Forasmuch as we, ever since Our entry to the Im-  
perial Crown of this Our ancient Kingdom of Scotland, especially since  
Our late being here in the same, have divers times recommended to the  
Archbishops and Bishops there, the publishing of a Publick Form of Ser-  
vice in the worship of God, which we would have uniformly observed  
therein, and the same being now condescended unto: Although we  
doubt not but all our Subjects, both Clergie and others, will receive the  
said Publick Form of Service; yet thinking it necessary to make Our  
Pleasure known, touching the Authority thereof, Our will is, and we  
straightly command, That incontinent these Our Letters seen, you pass,  
and in Our Name and Authority command and charge all our Subjects  
both Ecclesiastical and Civil, by open Proclamation at the Market-Cros-  
ses of the Head Burroughs of this Our Kingdom, and other Places need-  
ful, to conform themselves to the said Publick Form of worship, which



PART II. *is the only Form which we (having taken the Counsel of Our Clergie)*  
*Anno Dom. think fit to be used in Gods Publick worship in this Our Kingdom: Com-*  
 1636. *manding also all Archbishops and Bishops, and other Presbyters and*  
*Church-men, to take a special care that the same be duly obeyed and ob-*  
*served, and the Contraveners condignly censured and punished; and*  
*to have special care, that every Parish betwixt this and Pasche next,*  
*procure unto themselves two at the least of the said Books of Com-*  
*mon-Prayer, for the use of the Parish; The which to do, we commit*  
*to you conjunctly and severally Our full Power by these Our Letters*  
*Patents, delivering the same to be by you duly executed, and endorsed*  
*again to be delivered to the Bearer.*

Given under Our Signet at Edenborough, 20 December, in the  
 Twelfth year of Our Reign, 1636.

*Hidd. Works,*  
*p. 155.*

Such was the form of Passing and Confirming the *Scottish Litur-*  
*gie*, never presented to that *Kirk*, nor tendred to the Approbation  
 of any *General Assembly*; as in the Restitution of Episcopal Govern-  
 ment, and Introduction of the five Articles of *Perth*, had been done  
 before. And this is that at which the *Scottish* Presbyters did seem  
 to be most offended; sufficiently displeased with any *Liturgie* at all,  
 but more in having such an one as either was so near the *English*, or  
 so different from it. Which fault, if any fault it were, is rather to  
 be charged upon the *Scottish* than the *English* Prelates. For when  
 the way of introducing it was in agitation, our Archbishop ever ad-  
 vised them, as well in his Majesties presence, as elsewhere, "To look  
 "carefully to it, and to be sure to do nothing in it but what should  
 "be agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom; and not to fail of ta-  
 "king the Advice of the Lords of the Council, and governing  
 "themselves according to it. But as it seems, those Bishops durst  
 not trust their Clergy, or venture the reception or refusal of it to the  
 Vote of a *General Assembly*, from which they could not promise  
 themselves any good success. So that the Case seems to be much  
 like that of *King Edward vi.* when the first *Liturgie* was Compos-  
 ed by some few of the Bishops, and other Learned men (not above  
 thirteen in number) especially thereto Authorised: Or unto that of  
*Queen Elizabeth*, when the second *Liturgie* of that King was fitted  
 and corrected by her appointment. Neither of which durst trust  
 their Clergy, but acted Sovereignly therein of their own Authority,  
 not venturing either of the said Books to their Convocations; but  
 only giving them the strength of an Act of Parliament; and then the  
 Point in issue will be briefly this, *viz. whether the King, consulting*  
*with a lesser part of the Bishops and Clergie, and having their consent*  
*therein, may conclude any thing in the way of a Reformation, the resi-*  
*due and greatest part not advised withal, nor yielding their consent in*  
*a formal way?* Now for my Answer, that it may be built upon the  
 surer grounds, it is to be considered, 1. Whether the *Reformation*  
 be in corruption of Manners, or abuses in Government? Whether  
 in



in matters *Practical*, or in points of *Doctrine*? 2. If in matters *Practical*, Whether such Practice have the Character of *Antiquity*, *Universality*, and *Consent* imprinted on it? or that it be the Practice of particular Churches, and of some *Times* only? And 3. If in Points of *Doctrine*, Whether such Points have been determined of before in a *General Council*, or in *Particular Councils* universally received and countenanced? or are to be defined *de novo* on emergent Controversies?

L. I. B. IV.

Anno Dom.

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And these Distinctions being thus laid, I shall Answer briefly.  
1. If the things to be reformed be either Corruptions in Manners, or neglect of Publick Duties to Almighty God, ; Abuses either in Government, or the Parties governing; the King may do it of himself, by his sole Authority: The Clergy are beholden to him, if he takes any of them along with him when he goes about it. And if the Times should be so bad, that either the whole body of the Clergy, or any (though the greatest) part thereof, should oppose him in it, he may go forwards notwithstanding, punishing such as shall gainsay him in so good a Work, and compelling others. And this I look on as a Power annexed to the Regal Diadem, and so inseparably annexed, that Kings could be no longer Kings, if it were denied them. And on the other side, if the Reformation be in Points of Doctrine, and in such Points of Doctrine as have not been before defined, or not defined in form and manner as before laid down, the King only, with a few of his Bishops and Learned Clergy (though never so well studied in the Point disputed) can do nothing in it. That belongs only to the whole body of the Clergy in their *Convocation* rightly called and constituted; whose Acts being Ratified by the King, bind not alone the rest of the Clergy, in whose name they Voted: but all the residue of the Subjects of what sort soever, who are to acquiesce in their Resolutions. But if the thing to be *Reformed* be a matter *practical*, we are to look into the usage of the *Primitive Times*: And if the *Practice* prove to have been both ancient, and universally received over all the Church, though intermitted for a *Time*, and by *Time* corrupted, the King, consulting with so many of his Bishops, and others of his most able Clergy, as he thinks fit to call unto him, and having their Consent and Direction in it, may in the case of *intermission* revive such *Practice*, and in the case of *corruption* and *degeneration*, restore it to its Primitive and Original Lustre. Now that there should be *Liturgies* for the use of the Church, And that those *Liturgies* should be Celebrated in a Language understood by the People, That in those *Liturgies* there should be some prescribed Forms, for Giving the Communion in both Kinds, for Baptizing Infants, for the reverent Celebration of Marriage, performing the last Office to the Sick, and the decent Burial of the Dead; as also, for set Fasts and appointed Festivals, hath been a thing of Primitive and General Practice in the best times of the Church: And being such, though *intermitted* and *corrupted* as before is said, the King advising with



PART II. with his Bishops and other Church-men (though not in a *Synodical*  
*Anno Dom.* way) may cause the same to be *revised* and *revived*; and having fit-  
 1636. ted them to Edification and encrease of Piety, either commend them  
 to the Church by his sole Authority, or else impose them on the

(a) *Sape Cœ-  
 lestæ Regnum  
 per Terrenum  
 proficit.*

People under certain Penalties, by his Power in Parliament. (a) *The Kingdom of Heaven* (said the Reverend *Isidore of Sevil*) doth many times receive increase from these *Earthly Kingdoms*; in nothing more, than by regulating and well ordering of Gods Publick Worship. Add hereunto what was before alledged, for passing the *Canons* in the same way; and then we have the sum of that which was, and probably might have been pleaded in defence hereof.

The prosecution of this *Liturgie* on the one side, and the exaction of those Publick Orders on the other, kindled such fires in the breasts of some of the *Puritan* Faction, that presently they brake out into open Flames. For first the *Scots* scattered abroad a virulent and seditious Libel in the year 1634. wherein the King was not only charged with altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very strong inclinations to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. The chief Abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Balmorino*; for which he was Legally convicted, and condemned of Treason: but pardoned by the Kings great Goodness, and by that Pardon kept alive for the mischiefs following. And as the *English* had *Scotized* in all their Practises (by railing, threatening, and stirring up of Sedition) for bringing in the *Genevian* Discipline in Queen *Elizabeths* Time; so they resolve to follow their Example now. *Bastwick* a Doctor of *Physick* (the second part of *Leighton*) first leads the Dance, beginning with a Pestilent Pamphlet called *Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium*, maliciously venomous against the Bishops, their Function, Actions, and Proceedings. But this not being likely to do much hurt amongst the People, because writ in *Latine*, he seconds it with another, which he called his *Litany*, in the *English* Tongue: A Piece so silly and contemptible, that nothing but the Sin and Malice which appeared in every line thereof, could possibly have preserved it from being ridiculous. *Prynne* follows next, and publisheth two Books at once (or one immediately on the other) one of these called *The Quench-Coal*, in answer unto that called *A Coal from the Altar*, against placing the Communion-Table *Altar-wise*: The other named *The Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus*, against the Apostolical Institution of *Diocesan Bishops*. But that which was entituled to him by the name of a Libel, was, *The News from Ipswich*; intended chiefly against *Wren* then Bishop of *Norwich*, who had taken up his dwelling in that Town, as before is said: but falling as scandalously foul on the Archbishop himself, and some of the other Bishops also, and such as acted under them in the present Service. For there he descants very trimly (as he conceived) on the Archbishop himself, with his *Arch-Piety*, *Arch-Charity*, *Arch-Agent for the Devil*; that *Beelzebub himself had been Archbishop*, and the like



like to those, a most triumphant Arch indeed to adorn his victories. With like reproach he falls on the Bishops generally, calling them *Luciferian Lord Bishops, execrable Traitors, devouring Wolves*, with many other odious names not fit to be used by a *Christian*; and more particularly on *Wren*, telling us, *That in all Queen Maries time no such havock was made in so short a time of the faithful Ministers of God in any part, nay, in the whole Land, than had been made in his Diocese.* And then he adds with equal Charity and Truth, *That Corbet, Chancellor to this Bishop, had threatned one or two godly Ministers with pistolling, and hanging, and I know not what, because they had refused to read his Majesties Declaration about lawful Sports.* More of this dish I could have carved, but that this may serve sufficiently for a taste of the whole.

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But the great Master-piece of mischief, was set out by *Burton* (so often mentioned before) who preaching on the fifth of *November*, in his own Parish Church of *St. Matthews* in *Friday Street*, took for his Text those words in the *Proverbs*, viz. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change,* Chap. 24. 22. In this *Sermon* (if I may wrong the Word so far as to give it to so lewd a Libel) he railes most bitterly against the Bishops, accuseth them of *Innovating* both in *Doctrine* and *Worship*, impeacheth them of exercising a *Jurisdiction* contrary to the *Laws* of the Land, 1 *Edw. 6. c. 2.* and for falsifying the *Records* of the Church by adding the first clause to the twentieth Article; arraigneth them for oppressing the Kings Liege people, contrary unto *Law* and *Justice*, exciting the people to rise up against them; magnifying those disobedient Spirits, who hitherto have stood out in defiance of them; and seems content in case the Bishops lives might be called in question, to run the hazard of his own. For this being taken and imprisoned by a warrant from the *High Commission*, he makes his appeal unto the King, justifies it by an *Apology*, and seconds that by an *Address* to the Nobility: In which last he requires all sorts of people, Noblemen, Judges, Courtiers, and those of the inferiour sort, to stand up stoutly for the Gospel against the Bishops. And finally Prints all together with an *Epistle Dedicatory* to the King himself; to the end that if his Majesty should vouchsafe the reading of it, he might be brought into an ill opinion of the Bishops and their proceedings in the Church. Whose actions tend only (as he telleth us) p. 74. to corrupt the Kings good peoples hearts, by casting into them fears and jealousies, and sinister opinions toward the King; as if he were the prime cause of all those *Grievances*, which in his name they oppress the Kings good Subjects withall. Thus also in another place, These Factors of *Antichrist* (saith he) practice to divide Kings from their Subjects, and Subjects from their Kings, that so between both they may fairly erect *Antichrists Throne* again. For that indeed, that is to say, the new building of *Bable*, the setting up again of the throne of *Antichrist*, the bringing in of *Popery* to subvert the Gospel, U u spell,

p. 75.



PART II. spell, is made to be the chief design of the Prelates and Prelatical  
*Anno Dom.* party; to which all innovations, usurpations, and more dangerous  
 1636. practices; which are unjustly charged upon them; served only as pre-  
 paratives and subservient helps.

Such being the matter in the *Libell*, let us next look upon the Ornaments and dressings thereof, consisting most especially in those infamous Attributes, which he ascribes unto the Bishops. "For *Fathers* he calls them *Step-fathers*; for *Pillars*, *Caterpillars*; their houses haunted, and their Episcopal Chairs poysoned, by the Spirit that bears rule in the air. They are (saith he) the Limbs of the Beast, even of Antichrist, taking his very courses to bear and beat down the hearing of the Word of God; whereby men might be saved, p. 12. Their fear is more toward an Altar of their own invention, towards an Image or Crucifix, toward the sound and syllables of *Jesus*, then toward the Lord *Christ*, p. 15. He gives then the reproachful Titles of *Miscreants*, p. 28. The trains and wiles of the Dragons doglike flattering tailes, p. 30. New *Babel builders*, p. 32. Blind Watchmen; dumb dogs, thieves and robbers of Souls, False Prophets, ravening Wolves, p. 48. Factors for *Antichrist*, p. 75. *Antichristian* Mushrumps. And that it might be known what they chiefly aimed at, we shall hear him say that they cannot be quiet, till (*res novas moliendo*) they set up *Popery* again in her full Equipage, p. 95. Tooth and naile for setting up *Popery* again, p. 96. Trampling under feet *Christs* Kingdom, that they may set up *Antichrists* Throne again, p. 99. According to the Spirit of *Rome* which breaths in them; by which they are so strongly *biassed* to wheel about to their *Roman* Mistress, p. 108. The *Prelates* confederate with the Priests and Jesuites for rearing up of that Religion, p. 140. Calling them upon that account in his Apology, *Jesuted Polipragmaticks*, and Sons of *Belial*. Having thus lustily laid about him against all in general, he descends to some particulars of most note and eminence, "Reviling *white of Ely*, with railing and perverting, in fighting against the truth, which he makes to be his principal quality, p. 127. and *Mountague of Chester* for a tried Champion of *Rome*, and the devoted Vorary to his Queen of heaven, p. 126. And so proceeding to the Archbishop (for of *Wren* he had spoke enough before) he tells us of him, That he used to set his foot on the Kings Laws, as the Pope did on the Emperors neck, p. 54. That with his right hand he was able to sweep down the third part of the Stars in heaven, p. 121. And that he had a *Papal* infallibility of Spirit, whereby, as by a divine Oracle, all Questions in Religion are finally determined, p. 132. These are the principal flowers of Rhetorick which grew in the Garden of *H. B.* sufficient questionless to shew how sweet a Champion he was like to prove of the Church and Gospel.

And yet this was not all the mischief which the Church suffered at that time, for presently on the neck of these came out another, entituled,



entituled, *The holy Table, name and thing*, intended purposely for an Answer to the *Coal from the Altar*, but cunningly pretended by him to be written long ago by a Minister in *Lincolnshire* against Dr. Coale, a judicious Divine in *Queen Maries* daies; Printed for the Diocess of *Lincoln*; by the Bishop whereof, under the name of *John Lincoln, Dean of Westminster*, it was authorized for the Press. In managing whereof, the point in Controversie was principally about the placing of the *Holy Table* according to the practice of the Primitive Church, and the received Rules of the Church of *England* at the first *Reformation* of it. In prosecution of which point he makes himself an Adversary of his he knows not whom, and then he useth him he cares not how, mangling the Authors words whom he would confute, that so he might be sure of the easier conquest; and praising on those Authors whom he was to use, that they may serve his turn the better to procure the victory. Of the composure of the whole we may take this Character from him who made the Answer to it, viz. "That he that conjectured of the house by the trim or drefs, would think it very richly furnished; the VValls whereof (that is the Margin) richly set out with *Antick* hangings, and whatsoever costly workmanthip all nations of these times may be thought to brag of; and every part adorned with flourishes and pretty pastimes, the gay devices of the Painter: Nor is there any want at all of *Ornaments* or *Otensils* to set out the same, such especially as may serve for *ostentation*, though of little use; many a fine and subtle *Carpet*, not a few idle couches for the credulous Reader, and every where a pillow for a *Puritans* elbow; all very pleasing to the eye, but slight of substance; counterfeit stuff most of it, and wrought with so much fraud and falshood, that there is hardly one true stitch in all that work from the very beginning to the end. Hardly one testimony or authority in the whole Discourse which is any way material to the point in hand; but is as true and truly cited, as that the book it self was writ long ago in answer unto Dr. Coale of *Queen Maries* daies. The King he tacitely upbraides with the unfortunacies of his Reign by Deaths and Plagues, the Governours of the Church with carrying all things by strong hand, rather by Canon-shot than by Canon Law. The Bishop of *Norwich* he compares (as before was noted) to a *Wren* mounted on the feathers of an Eagle; and fall upon his Adversary with as foule a mouth as *Burton* doth upon the Prelates; the Parable betwixt him and *Burton* being very well fitted as appears by the Preface to the Ministers of *Lincoln* Diocess in the Answer to him. Obliquely and upon the by he hath some glancings against bowing at the name of *Jesus*, *Adoring* toward the East, and Praying according to the Canon; and makes the transposing of the Table to the place where the *Altar* stood, to be an Introduction for ushering in the whole body of Popery. Which *Eleusinian* Doctrine (for so he calleth it) though these new *Reformers* (for fear of so many Laws and

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Preface to

*Antid. Linc.*

*Antid. Linc.*

p. 5.



PART II. Canons) dare not apparently profess, yet (saith he) they prepare and lay grounds for it, that the out-works of Religion being taken in, they may in time have a bout with the Fort it self.

Hist. K. C.  
p. 151.

To these two Books his Majesty thought fit that some present Answer should be made, appointing the same hand for both which had writ the History of the *Sabbath*. The one being absolutely destructive of the uniformity in placing the Communion Table, which was then in hand; The other labouring to create a general hatred unto all the Bishops, branding their persons, blasting their Counsels, and decrying the Function. And hard it was to say whether of the two would have proved more mischievous if they were not seasonably prevented. The Answer unto *Burton* was first commanded and prepared; That to the *Lincoln* Minister, though afterwards enjoyed, was the first that was published. This of the two, the subtler and more curious piece, exceedingly cried up when it first came out; the disaffection of the times, and subject matter of the Book, and the Religious estimation which was had of the Author, concurring altogether to advance the Reputation of it to the very highest, sold for four shillings at the first, when conceived unanswerable; but within one month after the coming out of the Answer (which was upon the twentieth of *May*) brought to less than one. The Answer published by the name of *Antidotum Lincolnense*, with reference to the *Licenter* and *Author* of the *Holy Table*. The publishing of the other was delayed upon this occasion. A Resolution had been taken by command of his Majesty to proceed against the *Triumvirate* of Libellers (as one fitly calls them) to a publick Censure, which was like to make much noise amongst the ignorant People. It was thought fit by the Prudent Council of Queen *Elizabeth* upon the execution of some Priests and Jesuits, that an Apology should be published, by the name of *Iustitia Britannica*, to vindicate the publick Justice of the State from such aspersions, as by the Tongues and Pens of malicious persons should be laid upon it. And on the like prudential grounds it was thought expedient, that an answer should be made to the book which seemed most material; and being so made, should be kept in readiness till the execution of the Sentence, to the end that the people might be satisfied, as well in the greatness of the Crimes, as the necessity and justice of the Punishment, inflicted upon one of the Principals, by whom a judgment might be made of all the rest. But the Censure being deferred from *Easter* until *Midsomer* Term, the Answer lay dormant all the while at *Lambeth* in the hands of the *Licenter*, and was then published by the name of *A brieve and moderate Answer to the seditious and scandalous challenges of H. B. &c.* Two other Books were also published about that time, the one about the name and situation of the Communion Table, which was called, *Altare Christianum*, writ by one *Pocklington*, then beneficed in *Bedfordshire*, and seconded by a *Chappel* Deter-



Determination of the well studied *Joseph Mede*; The other against *Burton* by name, published by *Dow* of *Bafell* in *Suffex*, under the Title of *Innovations unjustly charged, &c.* And so much for the Pen Combates, managed on both sides in the present Controversies.

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But whilst these things were in agitation, there hapned toward the end of this year, such an Alteration in the Court, as began to make no less noise than the rest before. It had been an ancient custome in the Court of *England* to have three Sermons every week in the time of *Lent*. Two of them preached on *wednesdaies* and *Fridaies*, the third in the open preaching place near the Council Chamber on *Sundaies* in the Afternoon. And so it continued till King *James* came to this Crown. Who having upon *Tuesday* the fifth of *August* escapt the hands and treasons of the Earl of *Gowrie*, took up a pious resolution, not only of keeping the Anniversary of that day for a publick Festival in all his Dominions, but of having a Sermon, and other divine Offices every *Tuesday* throughout the year. This custome he began in *Scotland*, and brought it with him into the Court of *England*; and thereupon translated one of the *Lent* Sermons from *wednesday* to *Tuesday*. This Innovation in the Court, where before there were no Sermons (out of *Lent*) but on *Sundaies* only, came in short time to have a very strong Influence upon the Country, giving example and defence to such Lectures and Sermons on the working daies, as frequently were appointed and continued in most Corporations, and many other Market Towns in all parts of the Kingdom. In which respect it was upon the point of being laid aside at the Court on the death of that King, in reference to whose particular concernments it was taken up, and therefore his Successor not obliged to the observation. But then withall it was considered, that the new King had married with a Lady of the *Roman* Religion, that he was ingaged in a War with *Spain*, which could not be carried on without help from the Parliament, wherein the *Puritan* Party had appeared to be very powerful. The discontinuing of that Sermon in this conjuncture, might have been looked on in the King as the want of zeal toward the preaching of the Gospel, and a strong tendency in him to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, and a betraying of the Court to Ignorance and Superstition by depriving them of such necessary means of their Instruction. Upon these grounds it stood as before it did, as well in the holy time of *Lent* as in other Weeks. But now *Laud* being Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wren* Dean of the Chappel, it was resolved to move his Majesty, that the *Lent* Sermons might be preached on *wednesdaies* as they had been Anciently. To which his Majesty condescending, and the Bill of *Lent*-Preachers being drawn accordingly, it was first muttered secretly, and afterwards made a publick clamour, that this was one of the Archbishops Artifices, a trick devised for putting down the *Tuesday* Sermons of which you should never hear more, when



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when this *Lent* was over : Which Cry growing lowder and lowder, as the *Lent* continued, was suddenly hush'd and stilled again on the *Easter Tuesday*, when they saw the Preacher in the Pulpit, as at other times. So usual is it with some men to be afraid of their own shadows, and terrified with fears of their own devising.

This Interruption thus past over, I shall unwillingly resume my former Argument concerning *Bastwick* and the rest of his fellow-Criminals, who being called unto their Answer, used so many delays, that the Case could not come to Sentence before *Midsummer Term*. Some Answers they had drawn : but they were so Libellous and full of scandal, that no Counsellor could be found to put his hand to them, according to the course of that Court; Instead whereof, they exhibited a cross Bill against *Canterbury* and his Confederates, (as they called them) charging them with the greatest part of those Reproaches, which had been made the subject-matter of their former *Libels*; which being signed by no hands but their own, and tendred so to the Lord Keeper, was by him rejected, and themselves taken *pro confessis*, their obstinacy in not answering in due form of Law, being generally looked on by the Court as a self-conviction. On the fourteenth of *June* they received their Sentence, which briefly was to this effect : *Prynne* to be fined 5000 *l.* to the King, to lose the remainder of his ears in the Pillory, to be branded on both cheeks with the Letters *S. L.* for a *Schismatical Libeller*, and to be perpetually imprisoned in *Carnarvan Castle* : *Bastwick* and *Burton* condemned in the like Fine of 5000 *l.* to be Pilloried, and lose their Ears; the first to be imprisoned in the Castle of *Lanceston* in *Cornwal*, and the second in the Castle of *Lancafter*. On the thirtieth of the same Month, *Burton* being first degraded of his Ministry in the *High-Commission*, they were brought into the Palace-yard of *Westminster* to receive their punishment, not executed on them with such great severity as was injuriously given out : But being executed howsoever, it was a great trouble to the spirits of many very moderate and well-meaning men, to see the three most Eminent Professions in all the World (*Divinity*, *Law*, and *Physick*) to be so wretchedly dishonoured in the Persons of the Malefactors, as was observed by the Archbishop himself in his Epistle to the King. Which part of the Punishment being inflicted, they were conveyed with care and safety to their several Prisons; the People either foolishly or factiously resorting to them as they passed, and seeming to bemoan their Sufferings as *unjustly Rigorous*. And such a haunt there was to the several Castles, to which they were condemned of purpose for preventing all Intelligence and Correspondence to be held between them, that the State found it necessary to remove them further; *Prynne* to the Castle of *Mont Orgueil* in the Isle of *Fersey*, *Burton* to *Castle-Cornet* in the Road of *Guernsey*, and *Bastwick* to *St. Maries Castle* in the Isle of *Silly*; which last remembreth me of the like Confinement, to which *Instantius* a professed *Priscilianist* (a very near kinsman of the

English

*L'estrang's*  
Hist. King  
Charles, p.  
151.

*Ad Sillinam*  
*Insulam ul-*  
*tra Britanni-*  
*am deporta-*  
*tus. Sulp.*  
*Sever. l. 2.*



*English Puritan*) had been condemned by the Justice of the *Primitive* Times. LIB. IV.

Anno Domini

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At the pronouncing of this Sentence the Archbishop made a long and elaborate Speech, in vindication of himself and the rest of the Bishops from any Design to bring in *Papery*, or innovating in the Government and Forms of Worship, here by Law established. "He made his Introduction to it in a brief Discourse touching the nature of the Crime, shewing how odious a thing it was to think of defending Religion in the way of *Libels*; a thing not used by any of the Primitive Christians, in the greatest heats of Persecution; and then professing for his own part, That he had done nothing as a Bishop, but with a sincere intention for the good Government and Honour of the Church of *England*, and the maintenance of the *Orthodox* Truth and Religion professed and established in it; adding withal, That nothing but his Care of reducing the Church into Order in the External Worship of God, and the settling of it on the Rules of its first *Reformation*, had raised this Storm against himself and the rest of the Bishops; for which alone they stood accused of *Innovations*, by those which were the greatest *Innovators* in the Christian World. He spake next touching the Calling of Bishops, which he maintained to be *Jure Divino*, though not all the *Adjuncts* of that Calling; averring further, That from the time of the Apostles, to the days of *Calvin*, the Government of the Church was by Bishops only, *Lay-Elders* being never heard of; which Claim by *Divine Right*; derogateth not from the King either in Right or Power (as the *Libellers* made it) no more than the Calling of the *Presbyters* by the same Right, could be thought to do; in regard they exercised not any *Jurisdiction* in the Kings Dominions, but with his Licence for so doing: Or were it otherwise, yet that the Bishops stood in *England* in as good a case as the present Laws could make them; and therefore they that *Libelled* against them, *Libelled* against the King and State, by the Laws whereof they were established; and consequently, could aim at no other end, than the stirring of Sedition amongst the People. As touching the design of bringing in *Papery* (by which Artifice they chiefly hoped to inflame the People) he first acquitted the King of it, by shewing his *sincerity* and constancy in his Religion, exemplified by his Carriage in *Spain*, where he wanted no temptations to draw him from it; and his Deportment since in *England*, in which he had so often declared a settled Resolution, to maintain the same: Or were it otherwise, and that the King had any mind to change Religion, he must seek for other Instruments than himself to effect that purpose; most humbly thanking God, That as yet he knew not how to serve any Man, against the Truth of Christ; so he hoped he should never learn: professing further, for the satisfaction of all which heard him, That he knew of no plot nor purpose of altering the Religion here established; and that for his own part, he had

" ever



## PART II.

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“ever been far from attempting any thing which might be truly said  
 “to tend that way, in the least degree; to both which he was ready  
 “to take his *Oath*. Which said in general, he briefly touch’d on  
 “those *Innovations* which in those *Libels*, had been charged on him  
 “and the rest of the Bishops, in order unto that Design.

“To the first *Innovation*, touching the suppressing of Sermons  
 “(during the time of the late *Fast*) in infected places, contrary to  
 “the Orders in former times, he answered, First, That *after-Ages*  
 “might without *offence* learn to avoid any visible *inconvenience* ob-  
 “served in the former: And secondly, That the suppressing of those  
 “Sermons was no *Act* of the Bishops, but a Command proceeding  
 “(on a full debate) from the Lords of the Council, the better to  
 “avoid the spreading of the Contagion: And thirdly, That as Ser-  
 “mons on the Fast-days had been used of late, they were so far  
 “from *humbling men in the sight of God*, that they were fitter for  
 “other operations, as the raising of Sedition amongst the People;  
 “of which there could not be a clearer instance, than in that of  
 “*Burton*. To the second, That by appointing the Weekly Fasts to  
 “be on *wednesdays*, and those Fasts to be kept without any Sermons,  
 “there was a plot for suppressing all *wednesday Lectures* for ever af-  
 “ter: It was answered, That *wednesday* was the usual day for such  
 “Publick Fasts; That it was named by the *Lord Keeper*, no great  
 “Friend to *Popery*; and that those men had lived to see the Fast en-  
 “ded, and the *wednesday Lectures* still continued. To the third,  
 “That the Prayer for *Seasonable Weather* was left out of the last  
 “Book; and that the leaving of it out, was one cause of the Ship-  
 “wracks and Tempestuous Weather which followed after: He an-  
 “swered *generally*, first, That all *Fast-Books* are made by the com-  
 “mand of the King (who alone had Power to call such *Fasts*); and  
 “that the Archbishops and Bishops, who had the ordering of those  
 “Books, had also Power under the King, of putting in and leaving  
 “out of those Books, whatsoever they think fit for the present occa-  
 “sion. Secondly, as to this particular, That when the *Fast-Book*  
 “was made, the Weather was very Seasonable, and the Harvest in;  
 “and that it was not the Custom of the Church to pray for seasona-  
 “ble Weather when they had it, but when it was wanting. Third-  
 “ly, That it was very boldly done, to ascribe the cause of those  
 “Tempests to the leaving out of that Prayer, which God had ne-  
 “ver *revealed* unto them, and they could not otherwise know but  
 “by *Revelation*. To the fourth, touching a Clause omitted in the  
 “first Collect, in which Thanks had been given to God for deliver-  
 “ing us from *Popish Superstition*; He answered, That though our  
 “Fore-fathers had been delivered from such *Superstitions*, yet (God  
 “be blessed) that for our parts, we were never in them, and there-  
 “fore could not properly be said to have been delivered. To the  
 “fifth, touching the leaving out of a passage in one of the *Orders*  
 “for the *Fast*, concerning the abuse thereof in relation to *Merit*;  
 “He



“ he answered, That it was left out, because in this Age and King-  
 “ dom there was little opinion of *Merit* by *Fasting*; insomuch that  
 “ all *Fasts* were contemned and scorned (both at *Lent*, and all other  
 “ set times) except such as some humerous men called for of them-  
 “ selves, to promote their ends. The sixth *Innovation* charged up-  
 “ on them, was the leaving of the Lady *Elizabeth* and her Children.  
 “ out of one of the *Collects*: And the seventh, That out of the  
 “ same *Collect*, the words, *Father of thine Elect, and of their Seed*,  
 “ was expunged also: To which it was answered, That the said *Col-  
 “ lect* was not in the *Common-Prayer-Book* confirmed by Law, neither  
 “ King *Edward vi.* nor Queen *Elizabeth* having any Children. Se-  
 “ condly, That it was added to the Book at the coming in of King  
 “ *James*, who brought a Princely Issue with him; and left out again  
 “ in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles*, who at that time,  
 “ and for four years after, had no Issue neither. Thirdly, That as  
 “ the Lady *Elizabeth* and her Children were put into the *Collect* when  
 “ the King had no Issue of his own; so when the King had Issue of  
 “ his own, there was as much reason to leave them out. Fourth-  
 “ ly, For the leaving out of that Clause, *Father of thine Elect, &c.*  
 “ it was done by his Predecessor; and that the leaving out of the  
 “ Lady *Elizabeth* and her Issue, was done by the Command of the  
 “ King. The eighth *Innovation* charged upon them, was bowing at  
 “ the Name of *J E S U S*, and altering to that end the words in the  
 “ *Epistle* on the *Sunday* next before *Easter*, by changing *IN the*  
 “ *Name of Jesus*, to *AT the Name of Jesus*. And it was answered  
 “ unto this, That bowing at the Name of *J E S U S*, was no *Inno-  
 “ vation* made by the Prelates of this Age, but required by the *In-  
 “ junction* of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the very first beginning of the *Re-  
 “ formation*: And secondly, Though it be *IN the Name of Jesus*,  
 “ in the old Editions of the *Liturgie*; yet it is *AT the Name of Je-  
 “ sus*, in the Translation of *Geneva*, Printed in the year 1567. and  
 “ in the New Translation Authorised by King *James*. The ninth  
 “ relates to the Alteration of two Passages in the Form of Prayer set  
 “ forth by Act of Parliament, for the Fifth of *November*; in which  
 “ Form it is thus expressed, *Root out the Babylonish Sect, which say*  
 “ *of Jerusalem, Down with it, &c.* And in the other place, *Cut off*  
 “ *those workers of Iniquity, whose RELIGION is REBELLI-  
 “ ON*: Which are thus altered in the Books which came out last,  
 “ viz. *Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian Sect (of them)*  
 “ *which say, &c.* And in the other, *Cut off those workers of Iniquity,*  
 “ *who turn RELIGION into REBELLION, &c.* To which  
 “ it was replied, That the Book of Prayer appointed for the Fifth  
 “ of *November*, was neither made, set forth, or commanded to be  
 “ read by Act of Parliament: but only made, and appointed to be  
 “ read by the Kings Authority. Secondly, That being made and  
 “ appointed to be read by no other Authority than the *Kings*, the  
 “ King might alter in it what he thought convenient; and that he

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PART II. "had the Kings hand for those Alterations. (What Reasons there  
*Anno Dom.* "might be to move his Majesty to it, we may enquire into hereafter  
 1637. "on another occasion ) To the tenth, for the leaving out the Prayer  
 ~~~~~ "for the *Navy*, he answered, that the King had then no Fleet at Sea,  
 "nor any known enemy to assault, as he had when that Prayer was  
 "first put in; and that howsoever, if there had been any design to  
 "bring in *Popery* (to which these *Innovations* must be made subser-  
 "vient ) they should rather have kept in that Prayer than have left it  
 "out.

Concerning the *Communion Table* there were three *Innovations*  
 urged, the placing of it *Altarwise*, reading the second Service at it,  
 and bowing towards or before it. For answer to the first, "It was  
 "proved to have been no *Innovation* in regard of Practice, because  
 "it had so stood in his Majesties Chappels, and divers Cathedrals  
 "of this Kingdom since the first *Reformation*. Which posture if it  
 "be decent and convenient for the Service of God, either in the  
 "Kings Chappels or Cathedrals, it may be used also in other  
 "Churches: but if it served to bring in *Popery* it was not to be used  
 "in them. Nor was it any *Innovation* in regard of Law, the holy  
 "Table being appointed to be placed where the Altar stood by the  
 "Queens Injunctions, *Anno 1559.* and that position justified by an  
 "order of Dr. *Davenant* Bishop of *Sarum* ( of which we have al-  
 "ready spoken ) whom the *Libellers* themselves were not like to ac-  
 "cuse for a man that purposed the ushering in or advancing of *Popery*.  
 "The setting of a Raile before it, or about it, howsoever placed, was  
 "only for avoiding of Prophanation, and for that cause justifiable.  
 "As for the reading of the *Second* (or *Communion*) *Service* at the holy  
 "Table, it was no more than what had formerly been used in many  
 "places to his own remembrance; first altered in those Churches  
 "where the *Emissaries* of that Faction came to preach, and therefore  
 "the *Innovation* to be laid on them. Secondly, That it is not only fit  
 "and proper for that part of the Divine Service to be read at the  
 "Communion Table, but that it is required so to be by the Rules  
 "and *Rubricks* of the Church: It being said in the first Rubrick after  
 "the Communion, that on the Holy Daies ( if there be no Com-  
 "munion ) all shall be read which is appointed at the Communion;  
 "and in the last *Rubrick* before the *Communion*, that the Minister  
 "standing at the North side of the holy Table, shall say the Lords  
 "Prayer with that which follows. And finally, as to that of  
 "bowing towards it at their first entrance in the Church, or ap-  
 "proaches to it, it is answered, that it was agreeable to the Practice  
 "of *Moses, David, Hezekiah*, recorded in the holy Scriptures, and  
 "that *Venite Adoremus, O come let us worship and fall down, &c.* was  
 "used constantly in the beginning of the Ancient Liturgies, and  
 "preserved in the beginning of ours in *England*; and therefore that  
 "the people may as well refuse to come, as at their coming not to  
 "worship: he added, that by the Statutes of the noble Order of  
 "St. George.



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" St. George, called the Garter, the Knights whereof were bound  
 " to do their Reverence *versus Altare*, toward the *Altar*; that it had  
 " so continued ever since the time of King *Henry* the fifth; that if  
 " there were any Idolatry in it, neither Queen *Elizabeth* ( who  
 " drove out *Papery* ) nor King *James* ( who kept out *Papery* ) would  
 " have suffered it to remain in Practice; and in a word, that if it  
 " were *Gods worship* and not *Idolatry*, he ought to do it as well as  
 " they: but if it were *Idolatry*, and no *Worship of God*, they  
 " ought to do it no more than he. But the fourteenth and last charge  
 " which most concerned him and the rest of the Bishops to make  
 " answer to, was the forging of a new Article of Religion brought  
 " from *Rome*, ( to justify their proceedings and *Innovations* ) and  
 " foisting it to the beginning of the twentieth Article. The Clause  
 " pretended to be added, is, *That the Church hath power to decree*  
 " *Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith*, be-  
 " cause not found ( say they ) in the Latine or English Articles of  
 " King *Edward* the sixth, or Queen *Elizabeth*, ratified by Parlia-  
 " ment; adding, that if to forge a Will or Writing be censurable  
 " in the Star-Chamber, though it be but a wrong to a Private man:  
 " how much more should the forgery of an Article of Religion be  
 " censured there, which is a wrong to the whole Church? And  
 " unto this he answered, that the Articles made in the time of King  
 " *Edward* the sixth were not now in force, and therefore not mat-  
 " terial whether that Clause be in or out; that in the Articles as they  
 " passed in Queen *Elizabeths* time this Clause was to be found in the  
 " English Edition of the year 1612. of the year 1605. of the year  
 " 1593. and in Latine in the year 1563. being one of the first Prin-  
 " ted Copies after the Articles had been agreed on in the *Convo-*  
 " *cation*; that it was to be found in the same terms in the Re-  
 " cords of *Convocation*, Anno 1562. as he proved by a Certificate  
 " under the hand of a publick Notary; and therefore finally, that  
 " no such forgery in adding that Clause unto that Article had been  
 " committed by the Prelates to serve their own turns by gaining any  
 " power to the Church: but that the said Clause had been razed  
 " out by some of those men, or some of that Faction to weaken the  
 " just power of the Church, and to serve their own.

These *Innovations* thus passed over and discharged, he signifies  
 unto their Lordships, " That some other Charges were remaining  
 " in matter of Doctrine; that they should presently be answered,  
 " *justo volumine*, to satisfy all well-minded people; and that when  
 " *Burtons* Book was answered, ( his *Book* he said, but not his *ray-*  
 " *lings* ) none of the rest should be answered either by him or by his  
 " care; leaving that Court to find a way for stopping the mouths of  
 " such *Libellers*, or else for him, they should raile on as long as they  
 " listed. And thus beginning to draw toward an end, he declares  
 " himself to be in the same case with St. *Cyprian*, then Bishop of  
 " *Carthage*, bitterly railed upon by a pack of *Schismatics*, and yet



PART II. "conceiving himself bound (which he made his own Resolution  
*Anno Dom.* "also) not to answer them with the like *Levities* or *Revilings*, but  
 1637. "to write and speak only as becomes a *Priest* of God; that by Gods  
 "grace the Reproaches of such men should not make him faint or  
*Non oportet* "start aside, either from the right way in matter of Practice, or a  
*me paria cum* "certa Regula, from the certain Rule of Faith. Which said, and cra-  
*illis facere.* "ving pardon of their Lordships for his necessary length, he thanks  
 "them for their just and honourable censure of those men in their  
 "unanimous dislike of them, and defence of the Church; Makes his  
 "excuse from passing any censure of them, in regard the business  
 "had some reflection on himself; and so leaves them to Gods mer-  
 "cy and the Kings Justice.

Thus have I acted *Phocion's* part in cutting short the long and well-  
 studied Speech of this grave and Eloquent *Demosthenes*; which I  
 have been the more willing to reduce to so brief an Abstract, that  
 the Reader may perceive, without the least loss of time and labour,  
 on what weak grounds the *Puritan* Faction raised their outcry against  
*Innovations*, and what poor trifles many of those *Innovations* were,  
 against which they clamoured and cried out. But for the Speech  
 in its full length, as it gave great satisfaction unto all that heard it:  
 so by his Majesties Command it was afterwards Printed, for giving  
 the like satisfaction to all those who should please to read it. In obe-  
 dience unto which Command he caused the said Speech to be Prin-  
 ted and Published, although he was not ignorant (as he declares in his  
 Epistle to the King) that many things while they are spoken, and pass  
 by the ears but once, give great content, which when they come to the  
 eyes of men, and their open scanning, may lie open to some exceptions.  
 And so it proved in the event; for though the Speech was highly  
 magnified as it came from his mouth: yet it had not been long pub-  
 lished in Print, when it was encountred with a base and Libellous An-  
 swer, without the name of any Author, Place, or Printer, or any  
 Bookseller (according to the usual Custom) where, and of whom it  
 might be bought. I shall not trouble my self any more about it  
 than by a Transcript of the Title, which was this that followeth:  
 viz. DIVINE and POLITICK OBSERVATIONS,  
 newly translated out of the Dutch Language, wherein they were lately  
 divulged, upon some lines in the Speech of the Archbishop of Canter-  
 bury, pronounced in the STAR-CHAMBER the fourteenth of  
 June, 1637. VERT expedient for preventing all prejudice which as  
 well through ignorance, as through malice and flattery, may be incident  
 to the judgment which men make thereby, either of his Graces power  
 over the Church, and with the King: or of the Equity, Justice and  
 wisdom of his ENDS in his said Speech; and of the reasons used by  
 him for attaining to his said ENDS. And though he took great care  
 and pains concerning that supposed additional clause to the 20th  
 Article, so much as might satisfy any man, not extremely partial;  
 yet find I a late Writer so unsatisfied in it, that he leaves it to the  
 State-



*State-Arithmeticians to decide the Controversie, whether the Bishops were more faulty in the addition, than the opposites in their subtraction of it.* LIB. IV. Anno Dom. 1637.

One other Charge there was, and a great one too, which I find not touched at in this Speech ; and that is, that the Prelates neither had, nor sought to have *the Kings Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England for their keeping Courts and Visitations, &c. but did all in their own Names, and under their own Seals, contrary to the Law in that behalf.* Concerning which we are to know, that by a Statute made in the first year of King *Edward the Sixth*, it was Enacted, "That all Summons, Citations, and other Proceſs Ecclesiastical in all Suites and causes of Instance, and all causes of Correction, and all causes of Bastardy, or Bigamy, or *De jure Patronatus*, Probates of Testaments, and Commissions of Administrations of persons deceased, be made in the name, and with the Style of the King, as it is in Writs *Original* or *Judicial* at the Common Law, &c. As also that no manner of person or persons who hath the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, use any other Seal of Jurisdiction but wherein his Majesties Arms be engraven, &c. on pain of incurring his Majesties indignation, and suffering imprisonment at his will and pleasure. Which Statute, and every branch thereof, being repealed by Queen *Mary*; and not revived by Queen *Elizabeth* in all her Reign, the Bishops of her time were safe enough from any danger on that side. But in the first Parliament of King *James* there passed an Act, for continuing and reviving of divers Statutes, and for repealing of some others, 1 Jac. c. 25. Into the Body whereof a Clause was cunningly conveyed (his Majesties Council learned, not considering, or fraudulently conniving at it) for the repealing of that Statute of the Reign of Queen *Mary*, by which King *Edwards* stood repealed ; of which no notice being taken for some while by those whom it chiefly did concern, it was now discovered, and made use of as a Rod to affright the Prelates from exercising their Jurisdiction over obstinate and incorrigible Non-conformists, as formerly they had been accustomed. For remedy whereof, and for encouraging the Bishops to perform their duties, it was declared by the Judges with an unanimous consent, and so delivered by the Lords Chief Justices in the *Star-Chamber*, the fourteenth of May in this present year, That the said Act of Repeal, 1 of Queen *Mary*, did still stand in force as unto that particular Statute by them so much pressed. This was sufficient for the present, but the Archbishop would not trust to it for the time to come ; and thereupon in his Epistle to the King, before remembred, "He humbly desired his Majesty in the Churches name, That it might be resolved by all the Reverend Judges of *England*, and then published by his Majesty, that the Bishops keeping of their Courts, and issuing Proceſses in their own names, and the like exceptions formerly taken, and now renewed, were not against the Laws of this Realm, that



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“ so the Church Governours might go on chearfully in their duty,  
 “ and the peoples minds be quieted by this assurance, that neither  
 “ their Law, nor their Liberty, as Subjects, was thereby infringed.  
 A motion favourably heard, and graciously granted; his Majesty  
 issuing out his Royal Proclamation, on the eighteenth day of August  
 then next following, For declaring that the proceedings of his Ecclesi-  
 astical Courts and Ministers were according to Law. The Tenour of  
 which Proclamation or Declaration was as followeth :

By the King.

**W**Hereas in some of the Libellous Books and Pamphlets lately  
 published the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Lord Archbi-  
 shops and Bishops of the Realm are said to have usurped upon his Maje-  
 sties Prerogative Royal, and to have proceeded in the High Commilli-  
 on, and other Ecclesiastical Courts contrary to the Laws and Statutes  
 of the Realm: It was Ordered by his Majesties High Court of Star-  
 Chamber, the twelfth of June last, that the Opinion of the two Lords  
 Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, and the rest of the Judges and  
 Barons should be had and certified in these particulars, viz. whether Pro-  
 cesses may not issue out of the Ecclesiastical Courts in the names of the  
 Bishops? whether a Patent under the Great Seal be necessary for the  
 keeping of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and enabling Citations, Suspen-  
 sions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the Church? And  
 whether the Citations ought to be in the Kings Name, and under his  
 Seal of Arms; and the like for Institutions and Inductions to Bene-  
 fices, and correction of Ecclesiastical offences? And whether Bishops, Arch-  
 deacons, and other Ecclesiastical persons may or ought to keep any Visi-  
 tation at any time, unless they have express Commission or Patent under  
 the great Seal of England to do it; and that as his Majesty Visitors  
 only, and in his name and right alone.

Whereupon his Majesties said Judges having taken the same into  
 their serious consideration, did unanimously agree and concur in opi-  
 nion, and the first day of July last certified under their hands as fol-  
 loweth: That Processes may issue out of Ecclesiastical Courts in the  
 name of the Bishops, and that a Patent under the Great Seal is not neces-  
 sary for the keeping of the said Ecclesiastical Courts, or for the enabling  
 of Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the  
 Church. And that it is not necessary that Summons, Citations, or  
 other Processes Ecclesiastical in the said Courts, or Institutions, and  
 Inductions to benefices, or correction of Ecclesiastical offences by Cen-  
 sure in those Courts be in the Kings name, or with the Style of the King,  
 or with the Kings Seal, or the Seals of the Office have in them the  
 Kings Arms; And that the Statute, 1 Edw. 6. c. 2. which enacted the  
 contrary, is not now in force; And that the Archbishops, Bishops, Archdea-  
 cons, and other Ecclesiastical persons, may keep their Visitations, as  
 usually



usually they have done, without Commission under the Great Seal so to do. Which opinions and resolutions being declared under the hands of all his Majesties said Judges, and so certified into his Court of *Star-Chamber*, were there recorded: And it was by that Court further ordered the fourth of the said July, That the said Certificate should be enrolled in all other his Majesties Courts at Westminster, and in the High Commission and other Ecclesiastical Courts for the satisfaction of all men; That the proceedings in the High-Commission and other Ecclesiastical Courts are agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

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And his Royal Majesty hath thought fit, with the Advice of his Council, that a publick Declaration of these the Opinions of his reverend and learned Judges, being agreeable to the Judgment and Resolution of former times, should be made known to all his Subjects, as well to vindicate the Legal Proceedings of his Ecclesiastical Courts and Ministers from the unjust and scandalous imputation of invading or intrenching on his Royal Prerogative, as to settle the minds and stop the mouths of all unquiet Spirits, that for the future they presume not to censure his Ecclesiastical Courts, or Ministers in these their just and warranted proceedings. And hereof his Majesty admonisheth all his Subjects to take warning as they will answer the contrary at their Peril.

Given at the Court at *Lindhurst* the 13 day of August in the 13th year of his Reign, 1637.

Having carried on this business as far as we can without breaking the rule of time in too gross a manner, we must go back to the *Star-Chamber*, where we left the Bishop of *Lincoln* ready to put in his Answer after many delays. In which estate the business stood, when *Kilvert*, a Proctor in the Arches, who had been formerly employed in hunting *Bennet*, a corrupt Judge of the Prerogative Court, to his final Sentence, was entertained to prosecute this Bishop to the like confusion; who having found by diligent inquiry, and subtle practices, that the Bishops purgation depended most upon the testimony of one *Prigeon*, the Register of the Court at *Lincoln*, he made it his chief work, by discrediting the Witness, to invalidate and make void his evidence, he laies a Bastard to his charge, and there appeared sufficient ground to indict him for it. The Bishop apprehending himself necessitated to <sup>keep</sup> up *Prigeon* his repute, engaged himself more zealously therein than was consistent with the gravity of so great a Prelate for so inconsiderable a person. The Fathering of this Bastard is bandied betwixt *Prigeon* and one *Boone* from Sessions to Sessions, and from one year unto another, till the Mother of the Child was found to have been tampered with by some of the Bishops Creatures to charge it wholly upon *Boone*. On the discovery of which practise *Kilvert* lets go his former hold, and exhibits a new Bill against the Bishop for subornation of Witnesses, a crime most proper for that Court. The Bishop now finds himself at a loss,



PART II. loss, and endeavours a Composition with his Majesty, being willing  
*Anno Dom.* to lay down a good Sum of Money, for the purchasing of his own  
 1637. Peace and his Majesties Favour; which afterwards was urged  
 against him, to prove him conscious of the Crime which he stood  
 accused for. On *Tuesday* the eleventh of *July* he received his Doom,  
 which was to pay 8000 *l.* unto the King, to be Suspended à *Benefi-*  
*ciis & Officiis*, and stand committed unto Prison at his Majesties  
 Pleasure. To this Sentence the Archbishop consented amongst the  
 rest, *aggravating* the fault of *Subornation of Perjury*, with a pathe-  
*ch. Hist. lib.* tical Speech of almost an hour long, shewing how the World was  
 11. p. 157. above three thousand years old, before it was ripe enough to com-  
 mit so great a Wickedness; That *Jezabel* was the first in Scripture,  
 which had been branded with that Infamy, whose Witnesses could  
 find no other name in Scripture than the Sons of *Belial*: And there-  
 fore, That considering the greatness of the offence, though before  
 he had been five times on his knees before his Majesty in the Bishops  
 behalf, yet now he could not but agree to the heaviest Censure.  
 To which Sentence the whole Court concurred, his best Friends  
 amongst them, who gave themselves not a little hope, that the ri-  
 gour of it (especially as unto the Fine) might receive mitigation;  
 though in the end, his Majesty looking on him, both as adjudged to  
 be guilty, and well known to be solvent, it was no wonder if the  
 utmost penny of it were exacted.

He had not lain long under this Suspension and Imprisonment,  
 but he began to find how dreadful a thing it was to fall into a Kings  
 displeasure; and thereupon made use of all his Friends at Court,  
 for the re-obtaining of his own Liberty, and his Majesties Favour:  
 And to that end, he made means by the Queen to be admitted to a  
 Reconciliation with him, offering both his Bishoprick, and Deanry  
 of *westminster*, in confidence that the King would so provide for  
 him, that he should not go much less than he was. The King, upon  
 the Queens desire, sent the Earl of *Dorset* (from whose mouth I  
 had it) to accept the Bishops Offer on the one side; and on the other  
 side, to promise him in his Majesties Name, the next good Bishoprick  
 which should fall in *Ireland*. Which Proposition being made, the  
 Bishop absolutely refused to hearken to it, telling the Earl of *Dorset*,  
 That he had made a shift, by the Power and Mediation of his  
 Friends, to hold out against his Enemies here for seven years together:  
 but if they should send him into *Ireland*, he should there fall into  
 the hands of a man, who once in seven Months would find out some  
 old Statute or other to cut off his head. Which double dealing did  
 so cool the Affections of his Friends in Court, that for three years  
 and more there were no further Endeavours used for his Enlarge-  
 ment: During which time, he never went unto the Chappel of the  
*Tower*, where he was Imprisoned, to attend the *Divine Service* of  
 the Church, or hear the *Sermon* there, or receive the *Sacrament*, as  
 all other *Protestant* Prisoners had been used to do: but kept himself  
 only



only to his Private Devotions, to which his nearest Servants were not often admitted : Which whether it gave the greater scandal to the Protestants, Puritans, or Papists, it is hard to say.

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But great Persons must not fall alone. Three of his Servants which had been most active in the business, were censured at the same time also; *walker* his Secretary, fined at 300 *l.* *Powell* an Officer of his Household, fined no more than he : But *Land*, who left his Business in the Court of *Lincoln* to attend this Suit, at 1000 Marks. All of them censured to Imprisonment, which none suffered but he, and that but for a short time neither. Nor were their Fines exacted of them, which (as the Bishop after found to his cost) were in short time to be commuted into such other Offices as they were to do for *Kilvert* against their Master : The Story whereof, desireth the Readers further patience, though it come somewhat out of time, and is briefly this. *Osbaldston* the late Schoolmaster, and then Prebend of *westminster*, a profess'd Creature of the Bishops, and much employed by him in his greatest businesses, had written a Letter to him about *Christmas*, in the year 1635. touching some Heats which hapned in that cold Season, betwixt the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Treasurer *weston* : *Osbaldston* conceiving this to be a fit opportunity for the Bishop to close in with *weston*, and by his means to extricate himself out of those Perplexities, in which this *Star-Chamber* Suit had so long intangled him. This Intelligence he disguised in these expressions, viz. *The little Vermin, the Urchin and Hocus Pocus, is this stormy Christmas at true and real variance with the great Leviathan*. And this conceit, the Bishop out of too much jollity makes known to others, by whom at last it came to *Kilvert* ; who laying hold on the Advantage, exhibits a new Bill against him, for divulging Scandalous Libels against Privy Counsellors ; there being good proof to be produced, That by the names of *Little Vermin, Urchin, and Hocus Pocus*, the writer of that Letter designed no other than the Archbishop, and the Lord Treasurer *weston* by the *Great Leviathan*. Both being made Parties to the Bill, *Osbaldston* answers for himself, That by *Leviathan*, he intended Chief Justice *Richardson* ; and *Spicer* a Doctor of Laws, by the other Character : The differing features of the men, seeming to make good this *Construction*, which the *Grammar* of the Text might bear, as well as the other. The Bishop pleaded for his part, That he remembred not the receiving of any such Letter ; and that if any such Letter had come unto him, it could not be brought within the compass of a *Libel*, because not written in such plain and significant terms as might apparently decypher and set forth the Person intended in it. But all this proved to be but shifts on either side ; for *Kilvert* had a Letter ready (which *walker* was supposed to have put into his hands) to make sure work of it ; a Letter which the Bishop had writ to the said *walker*, being then his Secretary, at the time of that falling out betwixt *Land* and *weston*. Here is a strange thing

Y y

(saith



PART II. (saith that Letter) *Mr. Osbaldston importunes me to contribute to my Anno Dom. Lord Treasurers use, some Charges upon the Little Great Man, and assures me they are mortally out. I have utterly refused to meddle in this business; and I pray you learn from Mr. S. and Mr. H. if any such falling out be, or whether somebody hath not gulled the Schoolmaster in these three last Letters; and keep it unto your self, what I write unto you. If my Lord Treasurer would be served by me, he must use a more neer, solid, and trusty Messenger, and free me from the Bonds of the Star-Chamber; else let them fight it out for me.*

This Secret thus discovered, and the Mystery opened, it was not long before the Cause was brought to Censure: For the two Letters being compared with the Time and Circumstances, it was no hard matter to the Lords (who had their own Concernment in it) to conclude both of them to be guilty of the Crime called *Scandalum Magnatum*, a Libelling and defaming the Great Men of the Realm, prohibited and punishable by the Laws of the Land. So that no Buckler being found to bear off the Blow, a Fine of another 8000 *l.* was imposed on the Bishop, *Osbaldston* fined 5000 *l.* to be deprived of all his Ecclesiastical Preferments, his Ears to be tack'd to the Pillory in the Palace-yard, and Damages or Costs of Suit to be paid by both to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. A Censure greater than the Crime (as most men conceived) in respect of *Osbaldston*, whose Indiscretion might have been corrected with far less severity; and less severity was intended, then the Sentence intimated; For though *Osbaldston* at that time conceived the Archbishop to be his greatest Enemy, yet the Archbishop was resolved to shew himself his greatest Friend, assuring the Author of this History (before any thing was known of his supposed flight) that he would cast himself at the Kings feet, for obtaining a discharge of that corporal punishment unto which he was Sentenced. Which may obtain the greater credit, first, in regard that no course was taken to stop his flight, no search made after him, nor any thing done in order to his Apprehension. And secondly, By *Osbaldstons* readiness to do the Archbishop all good Offices in the time of his Troubles, upon the knowledge which was given him (at his coming back) of such good intentions: For *Osbaldston* not hoping for so much favour, and fearing more the shame of the Punishment, than the loss of Preferment, had seasonably withdrawn himself to a Friends House in *London*, where he lay concealed, causing a noise to be spread abroad of his going beyond Sea, and signifying by a Paper which he left in his Study, That he was gone beyond *Canterbury*. But this hapned not till the latter end of the year next following, though I have laid it here together, because of the coherence which it hath with the former Story.

To look back therefore where we left; The Bishop of *Lincoln* was no sooner Suspended by the *High-Commission* (that part of the Sentence being executed *July 24.*) but all the Profits of his Preferments



ments in the Church, were Sequestred to the Use of the King: A Privy Seal is sent to the *Sub-Dean* and *Prebends* of the Church of *Westminster*, requiring them to set apart all the Profits, certain and uncertain, which of right accrued unto that *Dean*, and to pay the same from time to time into the Receipt of the Exchequer. And that his Majesties Profits might not suffer any diminution, nor the *Prebends* of that Church be punished for the fault of their *Dean*, a Commission was issued under the Great Seal of *England*, inabling them to Let and Set, to Renew Leases, keep Courts, and make Grants of Offices; and finally, to act and do all manner of things which concerned the Government of that Church, in as ample manner as if the *Dean* himself had been present at the doing of them. The like course also taken, in gathering in the Profits of his other Promotions; those of the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, naturally flowing into the Exchequer, as in times of Vacancy. And as for his *Episcopal Jurisdiction*, that fell as naturally to the Archbishop of the *Province*, as the Temporal Revenue to the King; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* exercising all kind of *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* throughout the Diocess of *Lincoln*, not only as *Ordinary* of that Diocess, but as *Visitor* of all those Colledges which had any dependence on that See. Amongst which Colledges, as that of *Eaton* was the chief, so there was somewhat in it which was thought to want a present Remedy; some Information being given, That they had diminished the number of their Fellows from Ten to Seven. This being a matter easily to be proved, they were required to make up their number, according to their first Foundation by King *Henry vi.* But against this, the Fellows pleaded, That out of an hatred to their Founder, a great part of their Lands had been taken from them by King *Edward iv.* conferred by him upon the *Abby of Westminster* and the Church of *Windsor*, and by them enjoyed until this day; and that they hoped his Grace would not tye them to maintain the whole number of their Fellows, with little more than half their Lands. To which so reasonable a desire, upon full proof made of the Suggestion, his Grace did readily consent, and left them in the same state in which he found them.

The noise of these Proceedings in *England*, in the *June* and *July* of this year, being quickly posted to the *Scots*, became a principal Incentive of those Combustions; which not long after inflamed that Kingdom; For it could be no hard matter for the *Presbyterians* there, to possess the People with the sense of the like smart Sufferings, by the Pride and Tyranny of their Bishops, if they permitted them to grow great and powerful, and did not cast about in time to prevent the mischief. And to exasperate them the more, the Superstitions of the *Liturgie*, now at the point of being put in execution, were presented to them; which if once settled amongst them, as was then intended, would in short time reduce them under the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*. They could not but confess, That



PART II. many things which were found fault with in the English *Liturgie*,  
*Anno Dom.* were in this altered unto the better, the name of *Priest* (so odious  
 1637. unto them of the *Puritan* Faction) changed to that of *Presbyter*;   
 no fewer than sixty Chapters, or thereabouts, taken out of the *Apo-*  
*crypha*, appointed to be read by the Church in the English Book,  
 reduced to two, and those two to be read only on the Feast of *All-*  
*Saints*; The new Translation, Authorised by King *James*, being  
 used in the *Psalms*, *Epistles*, *Gospels*, *Hymns*, and *Sentences* instead  
 of the old Translation so much complained of in their Books and  
 Conferences. But what was this compared with those Supersti-  
 tions, those horrible Corruptions, and Idolatries, now ready to be  
 thrust upon them, in which this Liturgy as much exceeded that  
 of *England*, as that of *England* had departed from the simplicity and  
 purity of the holier Churches? Now therefore somewhat must be  
 done to oppose the entrance of the Popish superstitious Service-  
 Book, either now or never: But the *Presbyterian* Ministers, who  
 had gone thus far, did not alone bring fuel to feed this flame, to  
 which some men of all degrees and qualities did contribute with  
 them. The Lords and Gentry of the Realm, who feared nothing  
 so much as the Commission of *surrendries*, above mentioned, laid  
 hold on this occasion also; and they being seconded by some male-  
 contented Spirits of that Nation, who had not found the King to be  
 as prodigal of his bounties to them as his Father had been before,  
 endeavoured to possess them with Fears and Jealousies, that *Scot-*  
*land* was to be reduced to the Form of a Province, and governed by  
 a Deputy, or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was. The like done  
 also by some Lords of secret Counsel, who before had governed as  
 they listed, and thought their power diminished, and their persons  
 under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them  
 to direct in Chief. So that the People generally being fooled into this  
 opinion, that both their Christian and Civil Liberty was in no small  
 danger, became capable of any impression which the *Presbyterian*  
 Faction could imprint upon them; nor did they want encourage-  
 ments from the Faction in *England*, to whom the Publication of the  
 Book for *Sports*, the transposing of the holy Table, the suppressing  
 of so many *Lecturers*, and Afternoon Sermons, and the inhibiting  
 of Preaching, Writing, Printing, in defence of *Calvinism*, were as  
 distasteful and offensive, as the new *Liturgie* with all the supposed su-  
 perstitions of it, was to those of *Scotland*.

This Combination made, and the ground thus laid, it is no won-  
 der if the people brake out into those distempers, which soon after  
 followed. Sunday the 23. of *July* was the day appointed for the first  
 reading of the New *Liturgie* in all the Churches of that Kingdom;  
 and how it sped at *Edenborough* (which was to be exemplary to all  
 the rest) shall be told by another, who hath done it to my hand al-  
 ready, "July 23. being Sunday, the Dean of *Edenborough* began to  
 "read the Book in *St. Giles* his Church (the chief of that City)  
 "but



“but he had no sooner entred on it than the inferiour multitude began in a tumultuous manner to fill the Church with uprore, whereupon the Bishop of *Edenborough* stept into the Pulpit, and hoping to appease them by minding them of the Sanctity of the place, they were the more enraged, throwing at him Cudgels, Stools, and what was in the way of Fury, unto the very endangering of his life. Upon this the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, Lord Chancellor, was enforced to call down from the Gallery the *Provoost*, *Bailiffs*, and other Magistrates of the City to their assistance, who, with much ado, at length thrust the unruly Rabble out of the Church, and made fast the doors. This done, the Dean proceeded in reading the Book, the multitude in the mean while rapping at the doors, pelting the Windows with stones, and endeavouring what in them lay to disturb the Sacred Exercise: but notwithstanding all this clamour the Service was ended, but not the peoples rage, who waiting the Bishops retiring to his Lodging, so assaulted him, as had he not been rescued by a strong hand, he had probably perisht by their violence. Nor was *S. Giles* his Church thus only pelted and profaned, but in other Churches also (though not in so high a measure) the peoples disorders were agreeable. The Morning thus past, the Lord Chancellor and Council assembled to prevent the like darings in the Afternoon, which they so effected as the Liturgy was read without any disturbance: Only the Bishop of *Edenborough* was in his return to his Lodging rudely treated by the people, the Earl of *Roxboroughs* Coach, in which he passed, serving for no protection to him; though *Roxborough* himself was highly favoured of the People, and not without some cause suspected to have had a hand in the Com-motions of that day.

The business, having thus miscarried in *Edenborough*, stood at a stand in all other Churches of that Kingdom; and therefore it will not be amiss to enquire in this place into the causes and occasions of it: it seeming very strange to all knowing and discerning men, that the Child that had so long lain in the Womb, perfectly formed, and now made ready for the birth, should not have strength enough to be delivered. Amongst which causes, if disposed into ranke and order, that which appears first is the confidence which *Canterbury* had in the Earl of *Traquaire*, whom he had raised from the condition of a private Laird to be a Peer of that Realm, made him first *Treasurer Depute* (*Chancellor* of the Exchequer we should call him in *England*) afterwards Lord *Treasurer* and Privy Counsellor of that Kingdom. This man he wrought himself so far into *Lords* good liking, when he was Bishop of *London* only, that he looked upon him as the fittest Minister to promote the Service of that Church, taking him into his nearest thoughts, communicating to him all his Counsels, committed to his care the conduct of the whole Affair, and giving order to the Archbishops and Bishops of *Scotland* not to do

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p. 153.



PART II. do any thing without his privity and direction. But being an *Anno Dom.* *Hamiltonian Scot.* (either originally such, or brought over at last) he treacherously betrayed the cause, communicated his Instructions to the opposite Faction from one time to another, and conscious of the plot for the next daies tumult, withdrew himself to the Earl of *Mortons* house of *Dalkeith*, to expect the issue. And possible it is, that by his advice, the executing of the Liturgy was put off from *Easter*; at what time the reading of it was designed by his Majesty, as appears by the Proclamation of *December 20.* which confirmed the Book. By which improvident delay he gave the *Presbyterian* Faction the longer time to confederate themselves against it, and to possess the people with Fears and Jealousies, that by admitting of that book they should lose the Purity of their Religion, and be brought back unto the Superstitions and Idolatries of the Church of *Rome*. And by this means the People were inflamed into that Sedition, which probably might have been prevented by a quicker prosecution of the Cause at the time appointed, there being nothing more destructive of all publick Counsels than to let them take wind amongst the People, cooled by delays, and finally blown up (like a strong Fortrefs undermined) by some subtle practice. And there were some miscarriages also amongst the Prelates of the Kirk in not communicating the design with the Lords of the Council, and other great men of the Realm, whose Countenance both in Court and Country might have sped the business. *Canterbury* had directed the contrary in his Letters to them, when the first draughts of the Liturgy were in preparation, and seems not well pleased in another of his to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, bearing date *September 4.* that his advice in it was not followed, nor the whole body of the Council made acquainted with their Resolutions, or their advice taken, or their power called in for their assistance till it was too late. It was complained of also by some of the Bishops, that they were made strangers to the business, who in all Reason ought to have been trusted with the knowledge of that intention, which could not otherwise than by their diligence and endeavours amongst their Clergy, be brought to a happy execution. Nor was there any care taken to adulce the Ministers, to gain them to the Cause by fair hopes and promises, and thereby to take off the edge of such Leading men as had an influence on the rest; as if the work were able to carry on it self, or have so much Divine assistance as countervailed the want of all helps from man. And which perhaps conduced as much to the destruction of the Service as all the rest, a publick intimation must be made in all their Churches on the *Sunday* before, that the *Liturgie* should be read on the Lords day following, of purpose, as it were, to unite all such as were not well affected to it, to disturb the same.

And there were some miscarriages also, which may be looked on as *Accessories* after the Fact, by which the mischief grew remediless,

*Cant. to Tra-*  
*quaire.*  
*Sept. 11.*  
*Hidd. Works,*  
*p. 168.*



less, and the malady almost incurable. "For first, the Archbishops  
 "and Bishops most concerned in it, when they saw what hapned,  
 "consulted by themselves apart, and sent up to the King without  
 "calling a Council, or joyning the *Lay* Lords with them; whereas  
 "all had been little enough in a business of that nature, and so much  
 "opposed by such Factionous persons as gathered themselves on pur-  
 "pose together at *Edenborough* to disturb the Service. A particular  
 "in which the *Lay* Lords could not be engaged too far; if they had  
 "been treated as they ought. But having run upon this error they  
 "committed a worse in leaving *Edenborough* to it self, and retiring  
 "every one to his own Diocess, except those of *Galloway* and *Dum-*  
 "*blaine*. For certainly they must needs think (as *Canterbury* writes  
 "in one of his Letters to *Traquaire*) that the Adverse party would  
 "make use of the present time to put further difficulties upon the  
 "work; and therefore that they should have been as careful to up-  
 "hold it, the Bishop of *Ross* especially, whose hand had been as  
 "much in it as the most. But possibly the Bishops might conceive  
 the place to be unsecure, and therefore could not stay with safety,  
 neither the Lords of the Council, nor the Magistrates of the City  
 having taken any course to bring the chief Ringleaders of the Tu-  
 mult to the Bar of Justice: which must needs animate all disaffe-  
 cted and seditious persons, and almost break the hearts of those  
 who were well enclined. And such indeed was the neglect of the  
 Civil Magistrate that we hear of no man punished, scarce so much  
 as questioned, for so great a Riot, as was not to be expiated but by  
 the death, or some proportionable punishment of the chief offen-  
 ders. Which had it been inflicted on some three or four for a  
 terror to others, it might have kept that City quiet, and the whole  
 Kingdom in obedience for the time to come, to the saving of the  
 lives of many thousands (some hundreds of thousands at the least  
 in all the three Kingdoms) most miserably lost in those long and cruel  
 Wars, which ensued upon it. But the Lords of *Scotland* were so  
 far from looking before them, that they took care only for the pre-  
 sent, and instead of executing Justice on the Malefactors, *suspend-*  
*ed* the *Liturgie* it self as the cause of the Tumult, conceiving it a  
 safer way to calm the differences than to encrease the storm by a more  
 rigorous and strict proceeding. All that they did in order to his  
 Majesties Service, or the Churches peace, was the calling in of a  
 scandalous Pamphlet, entituled, *A dispute against the English Popish*  
*Ceremonies obtruded on the Kirk of Scotland*; which not being done  
 till *October* 20 following, rather declared their willingness to suffer  
 the said Book to be first dispersed and set abroad, then to be called in  
 and suppressed.

Nor seemed the business to be much taken to heart in the Court  
 of *England*, from whom the *Scots* expected to receive Directions:  
 Nor Order given them for unsheathing the Sword of Justice, to cut  
 off such unsound and putrified Members, which might have saved  
 the

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## PART II.

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the whole Body from a *Gangreen*: the drawing of some Blood in the Body Politick, by the punishment of Malefactors, being like letting Blood in the Body Natural, which in some strong Distempers doth preserve the whole. Or granting that the Tumult had been grown so high, and so strongly backed, that Justice could not safely have been done upon them; a way might have been found to have cooled the Fever, without loss of Blood, by bringing the whole Corporation under the danger of a forfeiture of their Lands and Liberties in a Legal way; which course proved so successful unto King *JAMES* on the like occasion, Anno 1597. Or finally, supposing that the Cause admitted not such a long delay, if then his Majesty had but sent a Squadron of the Royal Navy which he had at Sea, to block up their Haven, he had soon brought the *Edenburghers* unto his devotion, and consequently kept all the rest of the Kingdom in a safe Obedience. This was the way to keep them under; and of this course the People of the City were more afraid, than of any other. Somewhat they are to do, which might make his Majesty hope better of them than they had deserved; and nothing they could do which might better please him, than to express their chearfulness in admitting the *Liturgie*. To this end they addressed their Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as more concerned in this Affair than any other of the Lords which were neer his Majesty, expressing in the same their great dislike of the late Tumult; for their Innocency therein, they refer themselves to his Majesties Council in that Kingdom, declaring further their concurrence with the Bishops which remained in the City, and the Ministry of the same, for settling the *Service-Book*; and offering Means above their Power, to such as should undertake the Reading of it; and finally, desiring his Grace to make known to his Majesty, how ready they were at all points to advance the Service, which they promised to accept as an accumulation of his Graces Favours unto them and their City. And that this Letter of theirs, which bears date the nineteenth of *August*, might bear the greater credit with him, they did not only seem industrious for the apprehending of some, and the inquiring after others of the Principal Actors; but bound themselves by an Obligatory Act of the Common-Council, both for the Indemnity and Maintenance of such as should read the Book, the Ministers of *Edenborough* refusing to do their parts in it, without such Encouragements. But the danger was no sooner over, by the coming home of the Fleet, but they Petitioned the Lords of the Council to put them into the same condition with the rest of the Subjects; and that the *Service-Book* should be no further pressed on them, than it had been in all the other parts of the Kingdom: To which they were encouraged by a general confluence of all sorts of People, such most especially, as had most shewn their disaffection to the work in hand.

Hist. K. Ch.

by H. L. p.

154.

For the Harveſt was no ſooner in, and the People at more leiſure  
than



than before to pursue that Quarrel: but the City swarmed with L. I. R. IV.  
 throngs of People from all parts, even to a formidable number; Anno Dom.  
 which moved the Lords to publish two Proclamations on the seven-  
 teenth of *October*; The first commanding all of them to repair to  
 their Dwellings, except such as should shew sufficient reason for  
 their stay and continuance there: The second, for Adjourning the  
 Sessions from *Edenborough*, to the Town of *Linlithgow*. But this  
 served rather like the pouring on of Oyl; to encrease the Flame;  
 than of Water, to quench it: For the next day the Bishop of *Gal-*  
*loway* being to Sit with the Lord Chief Justice upon some especial  
 Business in the Council-House, he was pursued all along the Street  
 with bitter Railings to the very Door; and being drawn in from the  
 rage of the People, they immediately beset the House, demanding  
 the delivery of him, and threatening his destruction. The Earl of  
*Traquair* being advertised of the Bishops danger (who formerly had  
 been his Tutor) came to his Relief, and with much ado forced an  
 Entrance thorow the Press: But being got in, he was in no better  
 plight than the Bishop, the Clamour still encreasing more and more,  
 and encompassing the Council-House with terrible Menaces. Here-  
 upon the *Provost* and City-Council was called to raise the Siege:  
 but they returned answer, That their condition was the same; for  
 they were surrounded with the like Multitude, who had enforced  
 them, for fear of their Lives, to sign a Paper importing, First, *That*  
*they should adhere to them, in opposition to the Service-Book*: Secondly,  
*To restore to their Places Ramsey and Rollock two Silenced Ministers,*  
*and one Henderson a Silenced Reader.* No better Answer being re-  
 turned, the Lord *Treasurer*, with the Earl of *Wigton*, went in Person  
 to the Town-Council-House, where they found the heat of the fu-  
 ry somewhat abated, because the Magistrates had signed the Paper;  
 and returned with some hope that the Magistrates would calm the  
 Disorders about the Council-House, so as the Bishop might be  
 preserved: But they no sooner presented themselves to the Great  
 Street, than they were most boisterously assaulted, the Throng be-  
 ing so furious, as they pulled down the Lord *Treasurer*, took away  
 his Hat, Cloak, and White Staff, and so haled him to the Council-  
 House. The Lords seeing themselves in so great danger, at length  
 pitch upon the best expedient for their safety, and sent to some of  
 the Noblemen and Gentry, who were disaffected to the *Service-Book*,  
 to come to their Aid. These Lords and Gentlemen came, as was  
 desired, and offered both their Persons and Power to protect them;  
 which the Lords and the Council-House readily embraced, and so  
 were quietly guarded to *Holy-Rood-House*, and the Bishop to his  
 Lodging. The Lords of the Council not thinking themselves to be  
 secure, published a Proclamation the same day in the afternoon, for  
 repressing such Disorders for the time to come: But they found  
 slender Obedience yielded to it, Commissioners being sent unto them  
 from the Citizens, in an insolent manner, for demanding the Resti-  
 tution



PART II. tutation of their Ministers to their Place and Function, and performing  
*Anno Dom.* all such Matters as had been agreed on at the *Pacification*.

1637.

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(a) *Cum vel  
 excidenda sit  
 natura, vel  
 minuenda  
 dignitas.  
 Vell. Patere.  
 Hist. L D.  
 Bib. Reg. p. I.  
 & 144.*

*Ibid. p. 14.*

These Riots and Seditions might have served sufficiently in another Reign, to have drawn a present War upon them, before they were provided in the least degree to make any resistance : But the *Edenburghers* knew well enough what they were to do, what Friends they had about the King, and what a Party they had got among the Lords of his Council, which Governed the Affairs of that Kingdom : And they were apt enough to hope, by the unpunishing of the first Tumult on *July 23*. That the King might rather have *patience* enough to bear such Indignities, than *Resolution* to revenge them ; so that he came at last to that perplexity, which a good Author speaks of, (a) That he must either *out-go* his Nature, or *fore-go* his Authority. For instead of using his just Power to correct their Insolencies, he courts them with his Gracious Proclamation of the seventh of *December*, in which he lets them know, "How unwilling he was that his Loyal and Faithful Subjects should be possessed with groundless and unnecessary doubts and fears touching their Religion ; and therefore was pleased to declare, That as he abhorreth all Superstitions of *Popery*, so he would be most careful that nothing should be allowed within his Dominions, but that which should most tend to the Advancement of the true Religion, as it was presently professed within his Ancient Kingdom of *Scotland* ; and that nothing was nor should be done therein, against the laudable Laws of that his Native Kingdom. The Rioters perceived by this Proclamation, that the King was more afraid than hurt : And seeing him begin to shrink, they resolved to put so many fears upon him one after another, as in the end might fashion him to their desires. First therefore they began with a new Petition, not of a rude Multitude : but of Noblemen, Barons, Ministers, Burgeses, and Commons (the very Flower of the whole Nation) against the *Liturgie* and *Canons*. This Petition being sent to the Court, could do no less (and it did no more) than produce another Proclamation in Reply to the Substance of it, some Menaces being intermingled : but sweetned in the close, to give them the better relish. His Majesty first lets them know the Piety of his Intent in appointing the *Liturgie*, assuring them, "That he had no other end in it, than the maintenance of the true Religion there already professed, and the beating down of all Superstition ; That nothing passed in the said Book, but what was seen and approved by himself, before the same was either divulged or printed ; and that he was assured, That the Book it self would be a very ready means to preserve the Religion there professed, of which he doubted not to give them satisfaction in his own time. Which said, he lets them know, That such as had Assembled for subscribing the said Petition, had made themselves liable to his highest Censures, both in Life and Fortune ; That notwithstanding, he was pleased to dispence with the



“the errour (upon a confidence that it proceeded rather from a pre-  
 “posterous Zeal, than a disaffection to Sovereignty) on condition  
 “that they retired themselves upon notice hereof, as became good  
 “and dutiful Subjects. He interdicted also the like Concourse as  
 “had been lately made at *Edenborough*, upon pain of Treason; com-  
 “manding that none of them should repair to *Sterling* (to which the  
 “Term was then Adjourned) or any other place of Counsel and  
 “Session, without Warrant from the Lords of the Council; and  
 “that all such, of what sort soever (not being Lords of the Coun-  
 “cil or Session) which were not Inhabitants of the Town, should  
 “within six hours after publication thereof, depart the same, ex-  
 “cept they were so Licenced and Warranted as before is said, un-  
 “der pain of *Treason*: And finally, he concludes with this, That  
 “he would not shut his ears against any Petition, upon this or any  
 “other Subject, which they should hereafter tender to him; pro-  
 “vided that the matter and form thereof be not prejudicial to his  
 “Regal Authority.

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Had his Majesty followed at the heels of this Proclamation, with a powerful Army, according to the Custom of his Predecessors, Kings of *England*, it might have done some good upon them. But Proclamations of Grace and Favour, if not backed by Arms, are but like Cannons charged with Powder, without Ball or Bullet, making more noise than execution; and serve for nothing in effect, but to make the Rebel insolent, and the Prince contemptible, as it proved in this: For on the very day, and immediately after the reading of it, it was encountred with a Protestation, published by the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindsey*, and others, justifying themselves in their Proceedings, disclaiming all his Majesties Offers of Grace and Pardon, and positively declaring their Resolution to go on as they had begun, till they had brought the business to the end intended. And in pursuance hereof, they erected a new Form of Government amongst themselves; despotical enough in respect of those who adhered unto them, and unaccountable to his Majesty for their Acts and Orders. This Government consisted of four Tables, for the four Orders of the State, that is to say, the Noblemen, Barons, Burgeses, and Ministers; each Order consulting at his own Table; of such things as were necessary for the carrying on of the Design; which being reduced into Form, were offered, debated, and concluded at the General Table, consisting of a choice number of Commissioners out of all the rest. And that this new Government might be looked on with the greater reverence, they fixed themselves in *Edenborough*, the Regal City, leaving the Lords of Council and Session to make merry at *Sterling*, where they had little else to do than to follow their Pleasures. The Tables were no sooner formed, but they resolved upon renewing of the Ancient *Confession* of that *Kirk*, with a Band thereunto subjoined, but fitted and accommodated to the present occasion, which had been signed by

Z z z

King



PART II. King *James* on the 28th. of *January*, Anno 1580. after their Account, and generally subscribed by all the Nation. And by this Band they entred Covenant for Maintenance of their Religion then professed, and his Majesties Person: but aiming at the destruction of both; as appeareth both by the Band it self, and their Gloss upon it: For by the one they had bound themselves to defend each other against all Persons whatsoever, the King himself not being excepted; and by the other they declared, That under the general Names of *Popery*, *Heresie* and *Superstition*, which were there expressed, they had abjured (and required all others so to do) not only the *Liturgie* and *Canons* lately recommended to them, but the *Episcopal Government*, and the five *Articles of Perth*, though confirmed by Parliament. And to this Covenant, in this sense, they required an Oath of all the Subjects, which was as great an Usurpation of the Regal Power, as they could take upon themselves, for confirming their own Authority and the Peoples Obedience, in any Project whatsoever which should afterwards issue from those Tables.

In this Estate we leave the *Scots*, and return to *England*, where we shall find all things in a better condition, at least as to the outward appearance, whatsoever secret workings were in agitation amongst the *Grandees* and chief Leaders of the *Puritan* Faction. Little or no noise raised about the publishing of the Book for Sports, or silencing the *Calvinian* Doctrines, according to his Majesties Declaration before the Articles: No clamour touching the transposing of the Holy Table, which went on leisurely in most places, vigorously in many, and in some stood still. The *Metropolitall Visitation*, and the Care of the Bishops, had settled these Particulars in so good a way, that mens Passions began to calm, and their Thoughts to come to some repose, when the Commands had been more seriously considered of, than at first they were. And now the Visitation having been carried into all parts of the Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, his Grace began to cast his eye upon the Islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, two Islands lying on the Coast of *Normandy*, to the Dukedom whereof they once belonged, and in the Right of that Dukedom to the Crown of *England*. *Jersey*, the bigger of the two, more populous, and of richer soil: but of no great Trading. *Guernsey* the lesser, the more barren: but nourishing a wealthier People, Masters of many stout Barques, and managing a rich Trade with the neighbouring Nations. Attempted often by the *French*, since they seized on *Normandy*: but always with repulse and loss, the People being very affectionate to the *English* Government, under which they enjoy very ample Priviledges, which from the *French* they could not hope for. As parts of *Normandy*, they were subject in Ecclesiastical Matters to the Bishops of *Constance* in that Dukedom, and so continued till the Reformation of Religion here in *England*, and were then added to the Diocess and Jurisdiction of the Bishops of *Winchester*. But the *Genevian* Discipline being more agreeable to such Preachers



Preachers as came to them from *France*, they obtained the Exercise thereof in the eighth year of *Queen Elizabeth*, Anno 1565. The whole Government distinguished into two *Classes* or Colonies; that of *Jersey* of it self being one, and that of *Guernsey*, with the Islands of *Sark* and *Alderney*, making up the other; both *Classes* meeting in a *Synod* every second or third year, according to the Order of their Book of Discipline, digested by *Snape* and *Cartwright*, (the two great Ring-leaders of that *Faction* here in *England*) in a *Synod* held at *Guernsey*, June 28. 1576. And this manner they continued till the time of King *James*, when the Churches in the Isle of *Jersey* falling into some disorder, and being under an immediate Governour who was no great Friend to *Calvin's* Plat-form, they were necessitated, for avoiding of a greater mischief, to cast themselves into the Arms of the Church of *England*. The principal Ecclesiastical Officer, whilst they were under the Bishops of *Constance*, had the Title of *Dean*; for each Island one; the several Powers both of the *Chancellor* and *Archdeacon*, being united in his Person. This Office is restored again, his Jurisdiction marked out, his Fees appointed, his Revenue settled: but made accountable for his Administration, to the Bishops of *Winchester*. The *English Liturgie* is Translated also into *French*, to be read in their Churches: *Instructions* first, and afterwards a Body of *Canons* framed, for Regulating both the Ministers and People in their several Duties; those *Canons* bearing date the last of *June*, in the one and twentieth year of that King.

For the confirming of this Island in their Conformity to the Government and Forms of Worship there established, and the reducing of the others to the like condition, it was resolved, That the *Metropolitan Visitation* should be held in each of them, at the next opening of the Spring. And that it might be carried on with the greater assurance, the Archbishop had designed a Person for his Principal *Visitor*, who had spent some time in either Island, and was well acquainted with the Bayliffs, Ministers, and men of special note amongst them: But the Affairs of *Scotland* growing from bad to worse, this Counsel was discontinued for the present, and at last laid by for all together.

But these Islands were not out of his mind, though they were out of sight, his care extending further than his Visitation. The Islanders did use to breed such of their Sons as they designed for the Ministry either at *Saumur* or *Geneva*, from whence they returned well seasoned with the Leaven of *Calvinism*. No better way to purge that old Leaven out of the Islands than to allure the people to send their Children to *Oxon* or *Cambridge*; nor any better expedient to effect the same than to provide some preferments for them in our Universities. It hapned, that while he was intent on these Considerations, that one *Hubbard*, the Heir of Sir *Miles Hubbard*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, departed this Life; to whom, upon an inquisition taken after his



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his death in due form of Law, no Heir was found which could lay claim to his Estate. Which falling to the Crown in such an unexpected manner, and being a fair Estate withal, it was no hard matter for the Archbishop to perswade his Majesty to bestow some small part thereof upon pious uses. To which his Majesty consenting, there was so much allotted out of it, as for the present served sufficiently to endow three Fellowships for the perpetual Education of so many of the Natives of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*; not without some probable hope of doubling the number, as the old Leases of it should expire. These Fellowships to be founded in *Exeter*, *Jesus*, and *Pembroke* Colledges; that being disperst in several Houses, there might be an increase both of Fellows, and Revenues of the said foundations. By means whereof he did both piously and prudently provide for those Islands, and the advancement of Conformity amongst them in the times to come. For what could else ensue upon it: but that the breeding of some Scholars out of those Islands in that University, where they might thoroughly acquaint themselves with the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship establisht in the Church of *England*, they might afterwards at their return to their native Countries, reduce the Natives by degrees to conform unto it; which doubtless in a short time would have done the work with as much honour to the King, and content to himself, as satisfaction to those People.

It is not to be thought that the Papists were all this while asleep, and that neither the disquiets in *England*, nor the tumults in *Scotland* were husbanded to the best advantage of the Catholick Cause. *Panzani*, as before is said, had laid the foundation of an Agency or constant correspondence between the Queens Court and the Popes; and having so done, left the pursuit of the design to *Con a Scot*, by birth, but of a very busie and pragmatistical head. Arriving in *England* about the middle of Summer, Anno 1636. he brought with him many pretended reliques of Saints, Medals and Pieces of Gold with the Popes Picture stamped on them, to be distributed amongst those of that Party, but principally amongst the Ladies of the Court and Country, to whom he made the greatest part of his applications. He found the King and Queen at *Holdenby* House, and by the Queen was very graciously entertained, and took up his chief Lodgings in a house near the new Exchange. As soon as the Court was returned to *Whitehall*, he applied himself diligently to his work, practising upon some of the principal Lords, and making himself very plausible with the King himself, who hoped he might make some use of him in the Court of *Rome* for facilitating the restitution of the Prince *Elect*or. And finding that the Kings Councils were much directed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he used his best endeavours to be brought into his acquaintance. But *Canterbury* neither liked the man, nor the Message which he came about, and therefore kept himself at a distance, neither admitting him to Complement,



plement, nor Communication. Howsoever by the Kings Connivence, and the Queens Indulgence, the *Popish* Faction gathered not only strength, but confidence; multiplying in some numbers about the Court, and resorting in more open manner to the Masses at *Somerſet* house, where the *Capuchins* had obtained both a *Chappel* and *Convent*. Of this none bears the blame but *Land*, who is traduced in Libels and common talk for the principal Architect in the Plot, and the Contriver of the mischief.

On this account, and the proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, before remembred, one Libel is dropt at the *South Gate* of *St. Pauls*, on *August 23.* declaring that the Devil had left that house to him for the saying of Mass, and other abominations of the Church of *Rome*; another two daies after fastned to the *North Gate* of it, signifying that the Church of *England* was like a Candle in a Snuff, going out in a stench. His Speech in the *Star-Chamber* put into a kind of Pillory, and hanged up at the Standard in *Cheapside*; and another short Libel made against him in Verse four daies after that. Awakened by so many Alarms he had good cause to look about him, but more at the great noise, not long after raised, about the seducing of the Countess of *Newport*, a Kinswoman of the late Duke of *Buckingham*, to the Church of *Rome*; effected by the Practices of *Walter Mountague*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Manchester*, and the importunities of *Toby Matthews*, (an undeserving Son of a worthy Father) *Con* interposing in it as he found occasion. The Archbishop had long stomackt at the Insolencies of *Matthews*, and *Mountague*, and had forborn the taking of any publick notice of them, till he had almost lost himself in the sight of the people. But laying hold on this opportunity, he passionately declares himself at the Council Table, on *October 22.* in a full and free Speech to the King, concerning the increase of the *Roman* Party, the frequent resort of Papists to *Somerſet* house, the unsufferable misdemeanors of *Matthews*, and *Mountague*, in practicing upon his Subjects, and chiefly upon those which lived within the verge of the Court, and were nearest to him, humbly beseeching him to put some strong restraint upon them, whereby they either might be barred from coming into the Court at all, or to give no offence and scandal by their misbehaviours. Of this the Queen had notice that very night, who seemed much displeased at the matter, and let him see it in her Countenance, whensoever he had any cause of coming where she was. But the Pill was given in a very good hour, and wrought so effectually with the King, that *Mountague* and *Matthews* were purged out of the Court; the one betaking himself to his Country practice, the other for a time to his former travels in *France* and *Italy*. Which the Queen finding to be past remedy, and knowing how necessary a Servant the Archbishop was to his *Great Master*, and how useful he might be to her in her own affairs, she admitted him to her speech again in *December* following; and after some expostulations concerning

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*Anno Dom.* fair with him.

1638.

Follow this business into the next year, and we shall find him moving for a Proclamation; about the calling in of a Popish Book, written in *French* by *Francis Sales* Bishop of *Geneva*, translated into *English*, and published by the name of an *Introduction to a devout life*, which Book being brought to *Haywood*, the Archbishops Chaplain, and by him purged of divers unsound passages apparently tending unto Popery before it was licenced to the Press, was notwithstanding published as it came to his hands, without alteration, the Translator inserting the same passages into it again, and the Printer conniving at the same. The Printer was thereupon apprehended, and the Translator diligently sought for to be brought to Justice; his Majesties care for maintaining the Religion professed in the Church of *England* in its natural purity, being so remarkable that he caused the said Book to be called in, and as many as could be seized on, to be publicly burned. But that which did most generally vindicate his Reputation, was the enlarging and re-printing of his *Conference with Fisher the Jesuite*, to which he had been moved by some of his private friends (none of them knowing that any other but himself had made the motion) when the Libellers were most fierce against him, and afterwards advised to it by the King himself at the Council Table. The former Propositions had disposed him to it, and this desire of the Kings served for a command to confirm him in it: But multiplicity of business gave him so little leisure to attend his Studies, that the year was almost ended before the Book could be made ready for the publick view. But at the last it came from the Press, and was presented to his Majesty on *Sunday* the tenth of *February*, and the next day exposed unto open sale. A Piece so solidly compacted, that one of our Historians (who shews himself to be none of his greatest Friends) gives it the commendation of being *the exactest Master-piece of Polemique Divinity* of any extant at that time; further affirming, That he declared himself therein to be so little theirs (he means the *Papists*) as he had for ever disabled them from being so much their own as before they were. And *DERING*, his most professed Adversary, in the Preface to his Book of Speeches, could not but confess, but that in his Book, especially the last half of it, he had muzzled the *Jesuite*, and should strike the *Papists* under the fifth Rib, when he was dead and gone. And being dead, that wheresoever his grave should be, *Pauls* would be his perpetual Monument, and his own Book his Epitaph.

*Epist. to the King.* p. 8.

*Hist. K. C.* p. 187.

*Collection of Speeches.* p. 5.

But such was his unhappy Fate, that many obstinate and malicious *Puritans* would not be otherwise perswaded of him, than before they were; which they spared not to express upon this occasion: One of his Majesties Chaplains in *Ordinary* had Preached two Sermons in *January* foregoing on *Matt. 13. 26.* which being brought into discourse at such time as the Archbishops Book was newly published,



shed, it was affirmed by some moderate men, that the Doctor in those two Sermons had pulled up Popery by the very roots; one of the company replying thereunto, That the Archbishop might Print, and the Doctor might Preach what they pleased against Popery, but that he should never think them, or either of them, to be the less Papists for all that. A Censure of so strange a nature, and so little favouring of Christianity, that I believe it is not easie to be paralleled in the worst of times. And when no Priest nor Jesuite could be found so confident as to venture on an Answer to it; one of the *Presbyterian Scots* (for such he was then generally affirmed to be) published an unlicenced Piece against him, under the Title of *A Reply to a Relation of the Conference betwixt William Laud and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite*, said to be writ by a witness of *Jesus Christ*. In the whole course whereof the Author, whosoever he was, most miserably perverts his words, and mistakes his meaning, wresting the most Orthodox and innocent truths to his wicked ends, and putting his own corrupt Gloss and sense upon them. And which is yet most strange of all, with an unparalleled impudence he dedicates it to his Sacred Majesty, calling upon him, "To send out his Royal Edict for the taking down of all Altars, (which where ever they stand, are by him said to stand in open defiance of Christ;) Another for calling in the Book for Sports on the Lords day; A third, for calling in his Declaration before the Articles of Religion; A fourth for calling in of all Orders for the Restraint of Preaching; A fifth, for restoring to their place and Ministry all those who out of Conscience of their duty to God had by the Prelates been thrust out of all for refusing to read the said Book; And finally, for releasing and setting at liberty the three poor banished prisoners, the loud cry of whose oppressions might otherwise provoke the thunderbolt of Divine Revenge to blast the beauty of his State.

Now as he laboured by these means to preserve the Church of *England* from the growth of *Popery*, so he took care for preventing the subversion of it, by the spreading of the *Socinian* Heresies. He had before took care for suppressing all Books of that nature which had been imported into *England* out of other Countries, and had received thanks for it from the Pen of a Jesuit: But *Burton* chargeth it upon him among his Crimes, reproaching him for suppressing those books for no other reason but because they magnified the Authority of the holy Scriptures; and by the late Decree for Printing (of which more anon) he had took such order, that no Eggs of that pestiferous Brood should be laid in *England*, or if they were, should ever peep out of the Shell, or appear in sight. There had been published a Discourse, called, *Disquisitio Brevis*, in which some of the principal *Socinian* Tenents were cunningly inserted, pretending them for the best Expedients to appease some Controversies betwixt us and *Rome*: The Book ascribed in common Speech to *Hales of Ea-*



PART II. *ton*, a man of infinite reading, and no less ingenuity; free of Discourse, and as communicative of his knowledge as the Cœlestial  
*Anno Dom.* Bodies of their light and influences. There past also up and down  
 1638. a Discourse of *Schism*, not Printed, but transmitted from hand to hand in written Copies (like the Bishop of *Lincolns* Letter to the *Vicar of Grantham*) intended chiefly for the encouragement of some of our great Masters of Wit and Reason, to despise the Authority of the Church. Which being disperfed about this time, gave the Archbishop occasion to send for him to *Lambeth*, in hope that he might gain the man, whose abilities he was well acquainted with when he lived in *Oxon*. An excellent *Grecian* in those daies, and one whom *Savil* made great use of in his *Greek* Edition of *St. Chrysostoms* Works. About nine of the Clock in the Morning he came to know his Graces pleasure, who took him along with him into his Garden, commanding that none of his Servants should come at him upon any occasion. There they continued in discourse till the Bell rang to Prayers, and after Prayers were ended, till the Dinner was ready, and after that too, till the coming in of the Lord *Conway* and some other Persons of honour, put a necessity upon some of his Servants to give him notice how the time had passed away. So in they came, high coloured, and almost panting for want of breath; enough to shew, that there had been some heats between them, not then fully cooled. It was my chance to be there that day, either to know his Graces pleasure, or to render an account of some former commands, but I know not which; and I found *Hales* very glad to see me in that place, as being himself a meer stranger to it, and unknown to all. He told me afterwards, That he found the Archbishop (whom he knew before for a nimble Disputant) to be as well versed in books as business; That he had been ferretted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further shelter; That he was now resolved to be Orthodox, and to declare himself a true Son of the Church of *England*, both for Doctrine and Discipline; That to this end he had obtained leave to call himself his Graces Chaplain, that naming him in his Publick Prayers for his Lord and Patron, the greater notice might be taken of the Alteration. Thus was *Hales* gained unto the Church, and gained a good preferment in it; promoted not long after by the Archbishops Commendation to be Prebend of *Windsor*, and to hold the same by special dispensation, with his place in *Eaton*.

Nor was the Archbishop less intent upon all Advantages for keeping down the *Genevian* Party, and hindring them from Printing and Publishing any thing which might disturb the Churches Peace, or corrupt her Doctrine. To this end he procured a Decree to be pass'd in the *Star-Chamber*, on July 1. *Anno 1637.* to Regulate the Trade of *Printing*, and prevent all Abuses of that Excellent Art, to the disturbance of the Church. By which Decree it had been Ordered, That the Master-Printers  
 from



from thenceforth should be reduced to a certain number; and that if any other should secretly or openly pursue that Trade, he should be set in the Pillory, or whipped through the Streets, and suffer such other Punishment as that Court should inflict upon him; That none of the said Master-Printers should from thenceforth Print any Book or Books of Divinity, Law, Physick, Philosophy, or Poetry, till the said Books, together with the Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Tables, or Commendatory Verses, shall be lawfully Licenced, either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London for the time being, or by some of their Chaplains, or by the Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors of either of the two Universities, upon pain of losing the Exercise of his Art, and being proceeded against in the Star-Chamber, or the High-Commission Court respectively; That no Person or Persons do hereafter Re-print, or cause to be Re-printed, any Book or Books whatsoever (though formerly Printed with Licence) without being reviewed, and a new Licence obtained for the Re-printing thereof: That every Merchant, Bookseller, or other Person, who shall Import any Printed Books from beyond the Seas, shall present a true Catalogue of them to the said Archbishop or Bishop for the time being, before they be delivered, or exposed to Sale, upon pain of suffering such Punishment as by either of the said two Courts respectively shall be thought fit; That none of the said Merchants, Booksellers, or others, shall upon pain of the like Punishment, deliver any of the Books so Imported, till the Chaplains of the said Archbishop or Bishop for the time being, or some other Learned Man by them appointed, together with the Master and wardens of the Company of Stationers, or one of them, shall take a view of the same, with Power to seize on all such Books which they found to be Schismatical and Offensive, and bring them to the said Archbishop or Bishop, or to the High-Commission Office: And finally, That no Merchant, Bookseller, &c. should Print, or cause to be Printed beyond the Seas, any Book or Books, which either totally, or for the greatest part, were written in the English Tongue, whether the said Books have been here formerly Printed, or not; nor shall willingly or knowingly Import any such Books into this Kingdom, upon pain of being proceeded against in either of the said two Courts respectively, as before is said. By means of which Decree he had so provided both at home and abroad, That neither the Patience of the State should be exercised (as in former times) with continual Libels; nor the Church troubled by unwarrantable and Out-landish Doctrines.

But good Laws are of no effect without execution; and if he took no care for that, he had lost his labour. King James had manifested his dislike of the Genevian Bibles, and the Notes upon them; some of which did not only teach Disobedience to Kings and Princes, but the murdering of them also, if they proved Idolaters; and others did not only teach the Lawfulness of breaking Faith and Promise, when the keeping of it might conduce to the hurt of the Gospel: but ranked Archbishops, Bishops, and all men in Holy



PART II. Orders, or *Academical Degrees*, amongst those *Locusts* in the *Revelation*, which came out of the Pit. That King gave Order there-upon, That the Bible of the New Translation should be printed with no Notes at all; which course he also recommended to the *Synod of Dort*, to be observed in the new Translation of the Bible into the *Dutch* or *German* Tongue, which was then intended. Upon this ground, the Printing of those Bibles with Notes upon them had been forbidden in this Kingdom: but were Printed in *Holland* notwithstanding, and brought over hither, the better to keep up the Faction, and affront Authority. Some of them had before been seized in *Holland*, by the care of *Boswel* the Resident at the *Hague*: And in the beginning of this year, he received Advertisement of a new Impression of the same designed for *England*, if the terrour of this Decree did not stop their coming. Because *Holland*, and the rest of the Provinces under the Government of the States, was made the Reception of many of our *English* Malecontents, who there and from thence vented their own Passions, and the Discourses of their Party in this Kingdom, to the disturbance of the Church; it concerned him to keep a careful watch over them and their Actions. Of these he had Advertisement from time to time, by one *John Le Maire*; and there-upon, by the means of *Boswell* his right trusty Friend, he dealt so effectually with the *States-General* of those Provinces, that they made a Proclamation against the Printers and Spreaders of Libellous and Seditious Books against the Church and Prelates of *England*; and tooke Order with the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam* (two great Towns in *Holland*) for apprehending and punishing of such *Englishmen* as had Printed any of the said Lawless and Unlicenced Pamphlets.

Cant. Doom.  
P. 349.

There was a time when Queen *Elizabeth* beheld the Pope as her greatest Enemy, in reference to her Mothers Marriage, her own Birth, and consequently her Title to the Crown of *England*; and many of the Books which were Printed in and about that time, were full of bitterness and revilings against the Church of *Rome* it self, and all the Divine Offices, Ceremonies, and Performances of it. There was a time also when the *Calvinian* Doctrines were embraced by many for the Genuine Doctrines of this Church, to the great countenancing of the *Genevian* Discipline and Forms of Administration: And not a few of the Books then Printed, and such as after were Licenced in *Abbot's* Time, aimed principally at the Maintenance of those Opinions, which the latter Times found inconsistent with the Churches Doctrines. With equal diligence he endeavoured by this Decree to hinder the Reprinting of the one and the other, that so the Church might rest in quiet, without any trouble or molestation in her self, or giving offence to any other.

As little Trouble could be feared from Lecturers, as they now were Regulated. The greatest part of those who had been Superinducted into other Mens Cures (like a *Doctor* added to the *Pastor* in *Calvin's*



*Calvin's* Plat-form) had deserted their Stations, because they would not read the Common-Prayers in their Hoods and Surplices, according to the Kings Instructions before remembred; such as remained being either founded on a constant or certain Maintenance, or seeing how little was to be gotten by a fiery and ungoverned Zeal, became more pliant and conformable to the Rules of the Church: Not a Lecturer of this kind found to stand out in some great Diocesses, to keep up the Spirits of the Faction, and create disturbances. And as for Combination-Lecturers, named for the most part by the Bishops, and to them accountable, they also were required in some places to read the second Service at the Communion-Table, to go into the Pulpit at the end of the *Nicene* Creed, to use no other form of Prayer than that of the 55th. *Canon*, after the Sermon ended, to go back to the Table, and there read the Service. All which being to be done in their Hoods and Surplices, kept off the greatest part of the rigid *Calvinists* from exercising their Gifts, as formerly in great Market-Towns. And as for the position of the Communion-Table, it was no longer left to private Instructions, as it was at the first, when the Inquiry went no further, than, *whether the Lords Table was so conveniently placed, that the Minister might best be seen and heard of the Congregation?* The more particular disposing of it, being left to Inference, Conjecture, or some private Directions. It now began to be more openly avowed in the *Visitation-Articles* of several Bishops and Archdeacons, some of which we shall here produce, as a light to the rest: For thus we find it in the Articles for the *Archdeaconry of Buckingham*, Anno 1637. Art. 5. Have you a decent Table, or a Frame for the Holy Communion, placed at the East end of the Chancel? Is it Railed in or Enclosed, so as Men or Boys cannot sit upon it, or throw their Hats upon it? Is the said Rail and Inclosure so made with Settles and kneeling-Benches, at the foot or bottom thereof, as the Communicants may fitly kneel there at the Receiving of the Holy Communion? The like for the Diocess of *Norwich* in the year before, where we find it thus; viz. Have you in your Church a Communion Table, a Carpet of Silk? &c. And is the same placed conveniently, so as the Minister may best be heard in his Administration, and the greatest number may reverently Communicate? To that end, Doth it ordinarily stand up at the East end of the Chancel, where the Altar in former times stood, the ends thereof being placed North and South? And in another Article it is thus inquired, viz. Do all your Parishioners, of what sort soever, according as the Church expressly them commandeth, draw neer, and with all Christian Humility and Reverence, come to the Lords Table, when they are to receive the Holy Communion? But because these Articles might be thought too general, if not otherwise limited, certain *Injunctions* were annexed in Writing, in one of which it was required, That the said Tables should be Railed in, to avoid Prophanations; and secondly, That all Communicants should come up by Files, and Receive the Sacrament at the same. Which was

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Art. of the  
Visit. of B.  
Wren.



PART II. was performed in this manner : As many as could well kneel close  
*Anno Dom.* to the Rails, came up out of the Church or Chancel, and then up-  
 1638. on their knees received (from the Priest standing within the Rails) the  
 Bread and Wine ; who being thus Communicated, retired into the  
 Church or Chancel, and made room for others. Which course  
 was constantly observed, till they had all Received the Sacrament in  
 their ranks and forms, according to the ancient Custom of the  
 Church of *England* ; till Novellism, and Compliance with the  
 Forms of *Geneva*, had introduced a deviation from their own ap-  
 pointments.

In this condition stood that Diocess, as to these particulars, when  
*Wren*, translated unto *Ely*, left the place to *Mountague* ; who though  
 he was as zealous, and as forward as he in railing in the Commu-  
 nion Table at the East end of the Chancel where the Altar stood, (as  
 appears by his Visitation Articles for this present year) yet he had  
 fancied to himself a middle Course between receiving at the Rail and  
 carrying the Communion to all parts of the Church, as had been  
 most irreverently used in too many places. And therefore that he  
 might do somewhat to be called his own, he caused a meeting of the  
 Clergy to be held at *Ipswich* for the parts adjoyning, where he pre-  
 scribed these following Orders : That is to say, " First, After the  
 " the words, or Exhortation pronounced by the Minister ( standing  
 " at the Communion Table, the Parishioners as yet standing in the  
 " body of the Church ) *Draw near*, &c. all which intended to Com-  
 " municate should come out of the Church into the Chancel, Se-  
 " condly, That all being come in, the Chancel door should be shut,  
 " and not opened till the Communion be done ; That no Commu-  
 " nicant depart till the Dismissal ; That no new Communicant  
 " come in amongst them ; And that no Boys, Girls, or Gazers be  
 " suffered to look in as at a Play. Thirdly, That the Communi-  
 " cants being entred should be disposed of orderly in their several  
 " Ranks, leaving sufficient room for the Priest or Minister to go be-  
 " tween them ; by whom they were to be communicated one Rank  
 " after another, till they had all of them received. Fourthly, and  
 " finally, That after they had all received, the Priest or Minister  
 " should dismiss them with the Benediction. Which though it dif-  
 fered very little from the Rules prescribed by his Predecessor, yet  
 some diversity there was, for which he rendred an account to his  
 Metropolitan, and was by *Wren* sufficiently answered in all points  
 thereof. It was not coming up to the Raile, but going into the  
 Chancel, which had been stomacked, and opposed by the Puritan  
 Faction, who loved to make all places equal, and to observe as lit-  
 tle reverence in the Participation as in all other Acts of Worship :  
 Which *Mountague* either not considering or fancying to himself some  
 hopes which he had no ground for, resolved to fall upon this course,  
 which he conceived to be more agreeable to the course of Antiqui-  
 ty, and most consistent as he thought with the Rules of Politie. For  
 by



by this condescension he presumed, as himself informs us, to keep many men at home with their Wives and Families, in obedience to his Majesties Laws, who otherwise were upon a resolution of departing the Kingdom; wherein how much he was deceived, the event discovered.

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For so it was, that the people in many great trading Towns, which were near the Sea, having been long discharged of the Bond of Ceremonies, no sooner came to hear the least noise of a Conformity, but they began to spurn against it. And when they found that all their striving was in vain, that they had lost the comfort of their Lecturers, and that their Ministers began to shrink at the very name of a Visitation, it was no hard matter for those Ministers and Lecturers to perswade them to remove their dwellings, and transport their Trades. The Sun of Heaven, say they, doth shine as comfortably in other places, the Son of Righteousness much brighter: Better to go and dwell in *Goshen*, find it where we can, than tarry in the midst of such an *Egyptian* darkness as was then falling on this Land. The sinful corruptions of the Church (said they) were now grown so general, that there was no place free from that Contagion, and infections of it; and therefore go out of her my people, and be not partaker of her sins. And hereunto they were the more easily perswaded by seeing so many Dutch men with their Wives and Children to forsake the Kingdom; who having got Wealth enough in *England*, chose rather to go back to their Native Countries, than to be obliged to resort to their Parish Churches, as by the Archbishops Injunctions they were bound to do. Amongst the first which separated upon this account were *Goodwin*, *Nye*, *Burroughs*, *Bridge*, and *Sympson*; who taking some of their followers with them, betook themselves to *Holland*, as their City of Refuge. There they filled up their Congregations to so great a number, that it was thought fit to be divided; *Goodwin* and *Nye* retiring unto *Arnheim*, a Town of *Gelderland*; *Sympson* and *Bridge* fixing at *Rotterdam* in *Holland*: but what became of *Burroughs* I am yet to seek. These men affecting neither the severe Discipline of *Presbytery*, nor the Licentiousness incident to *Brownism*, embraced *Robinsons* Model of Church-Government in their Congregations, consisting of a Coordination of several Churches for their mutual comfort, not a Subordination of the one to the other, in the way of direction or command. Hence came that name of *Independents*, continued unto those amongst us, who neither associate themselves with the *Presbyterians*, nor embrace the Frensies of the *Anabaptists*. But they soon found the Folly of their Divisions, *Rotterdam* growing too narrow a place for *Bridge* and *Sympson*, so that this last was forced to leave it, and *ward* who succeeded him could not tarry long. More unity there was at *Arnheim*, where their Preachers did not think they had done enough in conforming their new Church to the Pattern which they saw in the Mount, if it were not Apostolical in the highest perfection: To  
which



PART II. which end they not only admitted of *Hymns*, and *Prophecys*,  
*Anno Dom.* which the Sister-Congregations had not entertained: but of *widows*,  
 1638. and the *holy Kiss*, cashiered for the avoiding of Scandal in the Primi-  
 tive times; yea, and of the *Extreme Unction* also, the exercise whereof  
 by *Kiffin* and *Patients* I had rather the Reader should take out of the  
*Gangrena*, than expect from me.

The courteous entertainment which these people found in the *Bel-  
 gick* Provinces, might easily have served for a strong temptation to  
 bring over the rest to enjoy the like: But the Country was too nar-  
 row for them, and the Brethren of the Separation desired elbow-  
 room for fear of *Enterfeering* with one another. *New-England* was  
 chiefly in their eye; a *Puritan* Plantation from the first beginning, and  
 therefore fitter for the growth of the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Gospel  
 than any Country whatsoever: A Country first discovered to any  
 purpose by one Captain *Gosnold*, *Anno* 1602. and in the next year  
 more perfectly surveyed by some of *Bristol*; afterwards granted by  
 King *James*, *Anno* 1606. unto a Corporation of Knights, Gentle-  
 men, and Merchants, to be planted and disposed of for the Publick,  
 under the Ordering and Direction of Chief Justice *Popham*, by  
 whom a Colony was sent thither in the year next following; at  
 what time they built *St. Georges* Fort to secure their Haven, that they  
 might have a door open for their going thence, which soon after fol-  
 lowed. And though the Adventurers made a further attempt in  
 the year 1616, yet it never settled into Form till the building of *New-  
 Plymouth*, in the year 1620. and some encouragements being sent  
 thence to bring others on, it came in very short space to so swift a  
 growth, that no *Plantation* for the time ever went beyond it; *New  
 Bristol*, new *Boston*, and new *Barnstable*, being quickly added to the  
 other. (a) The growth of old *Rome* and new *England* had the like  
 foundation, both *Sanctuaries* for such of the neighbouring Nations  
 as longed for Novelties and Innovations both in Church and State.  
 But let the Reader take their Character from (b) *de Laet* a right good  
*Chorographer*, in the third Book of his Description of *America*,  
 where he informeth us, that the first Planters, and those which fol-  
 lowed after them were altogether of that Sect, which in *England* were  
 called *Brownists* or *Puritans*; many of which had formerly betaken  
 themselves to *Holland*, but afterwards departed thence to joyn with  
 their Brethren in *New-England*. The Churches cast into the same  
 mould with those before, all of them following the device of *Ro-  
 binson*, that notorious *Schismatick*, at the spawning of the second  
 separation in *Amsterdam*: Who, to distinguish his followers from  
 the brethren of the first separation governed by a Try-formed  
*Presbytery* of Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, introduced a new  
 way of his own, leaving as much Exercise of Church Discipline  
 to the whole Congregation, as was elsewhere enjoyed by the Pastors  
 and Elders.

In this estate they stood in the year 1633. at what time *John de  
 Laet*

(a) Ad quam  
 turba omnis ex  
 finitimis genti-  
 bus, novarum  
 rerum cupida  
 confluit. Liv.  
 Hist. lib. I.  
 (b) Prius ho-  
 sec Colonos, uti  
 & illos qui po-  
 stea accesserint,  
 potissimum aut  
 omnino fuisse ex  
 eorum hominum  
 Secta quos in  
 Anglia Browni-  
 stas & Purita-  
 nos vocant, &c.  
 lib. 3. cap. 8.



*Fact* made that Character of them : Exceedingly encreased in short time after, both in Men and Buildings, by those who frequently flocked thither from most parts of this Kingdom, either for fear of Punishment, or for danger of Debt, or to enjoy the folly of their Schism with the greater safety. But whatsoever were the causes of the Separation, certain I am, the Crime was laid on the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, amongst the Articles of whose Impeachment by the House of Commons, I find this for one, *viz.* " That in his own Person, and his Suffragans, Visitors, Surrogates, Chancellors, or other Officers by his Command, he had caused divers Learned, Pious, and Orthodox Preachers of Gods Word to be silenced, suspended, deprived, degraded, excommunicated, or otherwise grieved and vexed without any just and lawful cause ; whereby, and by divers other means he hath hindred the Preaching of Gods Word, and caused divers of his Majesties Subjects to forsake the Kingdom. So is the Judge to be accused for all those mischiefs, which the condemned Malefactors, when they once break Prison, may design and execute. The principal Bell-weatheres of these Flocks, were *Cotton, Chancy, Wells, Hooker*, and perhaps *Hugh Peters*; the rest, let them look after, who affect such Company. Not much took notice of at the first, when they were few in Numbers, and inconsiderable for their Power : but growing up so fast both in strength and multitude, they began to carry a face of danger. For how unsafe must it be thought both to Church and State, to suffer such a constant Receptracle of discontented, dangerous, and schismatical Persons, to grow up so fast ; from whence, as from the Bowels of the *Trojan Horse*, so many Incendiaries might break out to inflame the Nation ? *New-England*, like the Spleen in the Natural Body, by drawing to it so many sullen, sad, and offensive Humours, was not unuseful and unserviceable to the General Health : But when the Spleen is grown once too full, and emptieth it self into the Stomach, it both corrupts the Blood, and disturbs the Head, and leaves the whole man wearisom to himself and others. And therefore to prevent such mischiefs as might thence ensue, it was once under Consultation of the chief Physicians, who were to take especial care of the Churches Health, to send a Bishop over to them, for their better Government ; and back him with some Forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to perswade Obedience. But this Design was strangled in the first Conception, by the violent breakings out of the Troubles in *Scotland*, which call upon us from this place to look towards them.

And now again we are for *Scotland*, where we spent the last year in doing nothing, and shall spend this in doing that which was worse than nothing. The Insolencies of the *Covenanters* were now grown so great, that some advised the King to take the Sword into his hand, and to reduce them to Obedience by force of Arms, before they had ripened their Intelligences, and formed a Party to their will both at



PART II. home and abroad: But the King would not hearken to it, resolved  
*Anno Dom.* upon his Fathers way of sending Commissioners, and trying what  
 1638. he might effect by Treaty and Negotiation. Which Resolution be-  
 ing taken, the next Consideration was for the choice of the man.  
 The well-affected *Scots* pitched on the Marquis of *Huntley*, a man of  
 great Power in his own Country, true to the King, and a professed  
 Enemy to the *Presbyterians*. And to this end the Earl of *Sterling*  
 Principal Secretary of Estate, the Bishops of *Ross* and *Brechin* Pri-  
 vy-Counsellors both, *Hay* the Clerk-Register, and *Spotswood* Lord  
 President of the *Sessions* (a most deserving Son of a Reverend Father)  
 made a journey thence unto the King, and used their best Endeavours  
 with him, to commit the managing of that great Trust into *Hunt-*  
*leys* hands: But the Court-Faction carried it for the Marquis *Ha-*  
*milton*, whose Head was better than his Heart, a notable dissembler,  
 true only to his own ends, and a most excellent Master in the Art of  
 Insinuation, by which he *screwed* himself so far into his Majesties  
 good opinion, that whosoever undertook the *unrivetting* of him,  
 made him faster in it. And so far had the man prevailed by his Arts  
 and Instruments, that the Duke of *Lenox* was brought over to con-  
 tribute his Assistances to him; and rather chose to commend the  
 known Enemy of his House to that great Employment, than that a  
 private Country-Gentleman (such as *Huntley* was) should carry the  
 Honour from them both. And therefore briefly in this place to  
 speak of *Hamilton*, and his Proceedings in the weighty Charge  
 committed to him (in which he hath been generally suspected to be-  
 tray his Master) we will fetch the Story somewhat higher, that we  
 may see what ends he aimed at for himself, and what enclined him  
 rather to foment than quench the Flames which had been kindled in  
 that Kingdom.

Know therefore, That the *Hamiltonian* Family derives it self from  
 one *Hamilton* an *Englishman*, who went to try what Fortunes he  
 could find in *Scotland*: Neither himself nor his Posterity of any great  
 note, till *James* iii. bearing a great affection to Sir *James Hamilton*,  
 married him to one of his Sisters whom he had forcibly taken from  
 the Lord *Boyd* her former Husband. From this unlawful Marriage  
 descended another *James*, the Grandchild of this, as impious and  
 adulterous in his second Marriage, as his Grandmother had been be-  
 fore: For having married a Wife of one of the Noble Houses of  
*Scotland*, he put her shamefully away, and took into his Bed a Niece  
 of Cardinal *Beton's*, who then swayed all things in that Kingdom.  
 Of this last Marriage came *John* Earl of *Arran*, Created by King  
*James* vi. the first Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Father of *John*, and  
 Grandfather of *James* Marquis of *Hamilton*, of whom we now  
 speak. This man considering with himself, that he was descended  
 from a Daughter of King *James* ii. (but without taking notice of  
 any intervenient Flaws which occurred in the Pedigree) conceived by  
 little and little, That a Crown would look as lovely upon his Head,  
 as



as on the Heads of any which descended from a Daughter of *James v.* To give some life unto his Fancies, he found the Great Men amongst the *Scots* in high discontentments, about the Revocation of Church-Lands, which the King then busily intended: The Popular Party in *England* no less discontented, by the Dissolving of three Parliaments one after another; and the *Puritans* in both, by the great Power and Credit which some Bishops had attained unto in either Kingdom. In which conjuncture, it was not hard for him to conceive, That he might make unto himself a strong Party in That, without fear of any opposition to be made from This. And so far had his hopes gone with him, when he obtained the Conduct of an Army, intended by his Majesty for assisting of the King of *Sweden* in the Wars of *Germany*: An Army for the most part raised in *Scotland*, and most of the Commanders of that Nation also, whom he had so obliged unto him by his Arts and Flatteries, that a Health was openly begun by *David Ramsay* (a boisterous *Russian* of that Court) to King *James* the Seventh: And so much of the Design was discovered by him unto *Donald Mankie* Baron of *Ree*, than being in the Marquises Camp, that the Loyal Gentleman thought himself bound in duty to make it known unto the King. *Ramsay* denying the whole matter, and the Lords having no proof thereof (as in such secret Practices it could hardly be) more than a confident asseveration, and the Engagement of his Honour, the King thought good to refer the Controversie to the Earl of *Lindsey*, whom he made Lord High-Constable to that end and purpose. Many days were spent accordingly in pursuance of it: But when most men expected that the matter would be tried by Battel, as had been accustomed in such cases, the Business was hushed up at Court, the Lord *Ree* dismissed to his Employment in the Wars, and, contrary to the mind of all good men, the Marquis did not only continue in the Kings great Favour: but *Ramsay* was permitted to hold the Place of Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, which had been formerly procured for him.

As for the Army of *Scots*, consisting of 7000. if my memory fail not, transported into *Germany* in the Summer before, *Anno 1631.* they mouldred away by little and little, without acting any thing; the King of *Sweden* being then in a prosperous condition, and not desiring the *Scots* should carry away any part of the Spoil and Honour which he doubted not of acquiring to his own Nation in the course of the War. This put the Marquis upon new Counsels; and in the course of these new Counsels, he was not only to foment those Animosities which had been raised in that Nation against the King, but to remove all those Impediments which might lye in the way betwixt him and his affected Greatness. Two men there were whom he more feared than all the rest, both of the House of *Graham*, and both descended from a Son of King *Robert* the Second; and that too by a clearer Descent, than the *Hamiltons* could pretend from the



PART II. Daughter of King *James ii.* The first was *William* Earl of *Menteith*,  
*Anno Dom.* descended from an Heir-general of *David* Earl of *Stratherne*, one of  
 1638. the younger Sons of King *Robert ii.* as before was said: A man of  
 sound Abilities and approved Affections, and therefore by the King  
 made President of the Council in *Scotland*: In which Office he be-  
 haved himself, and stood so stoutly in behalf of the King his Master  
 upon all occasions, that nothing could be done for Advance of *Ha-*  
*miltons* Designs, till he was removed from that Place. In order  
 whereunto, it was put into his head by some of that Faction, that  
 he should sue unto the King to be Created Earl of *Stratherne*, as the  
 first and most honourable Title which belonged to his House; That  
 his Merits were so great, as to assure him not to meet with a denial;  
 and that the King could do no less, than to give him some nominal  
 Reward for his real Services. On these Suggestions, he repaired to  
 the Court of *England* 1632. where without any great difficulty, he  
 obtained his Suit, and waited on the King the most part of the Sum-  
 mer-Progress; no man being so openly honoured, and courted by  
 the *Scottish* Nation, as he seemed to be: But no sooner was he gone  
 for *Scotland*, but the *Hamiltonians* terrified the King with the Dan-  
 gers which he had run into by that Creation, whereby he had revived  
 in that proud and ambitious Person, the Rights which his Ancestors  
 pretended to the Crown of *Scotland*; That the King could not chuse  
 but see how generally the *Scots* flock'd about him (after his Crea-  
 tion) when he was at the Court, and would do so much more when  
 he was in *Scotland*: And finally, That the proud man already had  
 so far declared himself, as to give it out, *That the King held the*  
*Crown of him.* Hereupon a Commission was speedily posted into  
*Scotland* (in which those of *Hamiltons* Faction made the greatest  
 number) to inquire into his Life and Actions, and to consider of the  
 Inconveniencies which might redound unto the King by his affecting  
 this new Title. On the Return whereof, the poor Gentleman is re-  
 moved from his Office, from being one of the Privy Council; and not  
 only deprived of the Title of the Earl of *Stratherne*, but of that also  
 of *Menteith*, which for a long time had remained in his Ancestors.  
 And though he was not long after made Earl of *Airth*, yet this great  
 fall did so discourage him from all Publick Busineses, that he retired  
 to his own House, and left the way open to the *Hamiltonians* to play  
 their own Game as they listed. Faithful for all this to the King, in  
 all changes of Fortune; neither adhering to the *Covenanters*, nor  
 giving the least countenance to them, when he might not only have  
 done it with safety, but with many personal Advantages which were  
 tendred him.

The other Bar to be thrust back, was the Earl of *Montross*, of  
 the same House, and descended from the same Original; as plausi-  
 ble with the Souldiers and Men of War, as his Cousin of *Menteith*  
 was powerful at the Council-Table. This man returning out of  
*France* in the flower and Bravery of his Age, had an intent of putting  
 himself



himself into the Kings Service, and was advised to make his way by the Marquis of *Hamilton*; who, knowing the Gallantry of the Man, and fearing a Competitor in his Majesties Favour, cunningly told him, That he would do him any Service: but that the King was so wholly given up to the *English*, and so discountenanced and slighted the *Scottish* Nation, that were it not for doing Service to his Country (which the King intended to reduce into the form of a Province) he could not suffer the Indignities which were put upon him. This done, he repairs unto the King, tells him of the Earls return from *France*, and of his purpose to attend him at the time appointed: but that he was so Powerful, so Popular, and of such esteem amongst the *Scots*, by reason of an old Descent from the Royal Family, that if he were not *nipped in the bud* (as we use to say) he might indanger the Kings interest and affairs in *Scotland*. The Earl being brought unto the King, with very great demonstrations of affection on the *Marquis* his part, the King without taking any great notice of him, gave him his hand to kiss, and so turned aside; which confirmed him in the truth of that false Report, which *Hamilton* had delivered to him: So that in great displeasure and disdain, he makes for *Scotland*. There finds he Colonel *Alexander Lesly* (an obscure fellow, but made rich with the Spoils of *Germany*) as discontented as himself, for being denied the honourable Title of a *Baron*, which he ambitiously sought for at the Kings being there. And he found them there also, who perceived on what foot he halted, and knew well how to work on such humours as he brought along with him, till by seconding the Information which he had brought from *Hamilton*, they had fashioned him wholly to their will: For they prevailed so far upon him, that at the first he cordially espoused their Quarrel against the *Liturgie* and *Canons*, and whatsoever else they found fault withal in the Publick Government; he being one of those Great Persons (and as forward as any of them all) who published a *Protestation* at the Cross in *Edenborough*, against one of his Majesties Proclamations of Grace and Favour: But afterwards, being displeased that *Lesly* was preferred before him in Commanding the Army; and looking thereupon more carefully into the depth of the Design than at first he did, he estranged himself from them by degrees, and at last became the most eminent Instrument that ever his Majesty employed in his Wars with that People.

But *Hamilton* had another remove to make, without which all the rest were nothing; and that was the removing of the Earl of *Mar* from the Custody and Command of the Castle of *Edenborough* (some time Hereditary to that House) and gaining it unto himself. To this Remove the Earl consented, because he found how earnestly his Majesty desired it of him, from whom he received a Compensation in Money for it. At so great charge was the King, to put *Hamilton* into as full possession of the Strengths of that City, as he had got before in the hearts of the Citizens. The way being thus prepared, and

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PART II. and all Rubs removed, on *Saturday May 26.* he set forwards for *Scotland*, and in short time came to *Dalkeith*, an House of the Earl of *Anno Dom.* *Mortons* four Miles from *Edenborough*, where he reposed himself a while; that he might make his Entry into the City with the greater honour. After some seeming diffidences betwixt him and the *Covenanters*, he puts himself into *Holy-Rood House*, where the first thing he did, was the waving of his Attendance at the Reading of the *English Liturgie*, which had been settled in the Chappel-Royal of that House by the care of King *James*, *Anno 1617.* and after some neglects and intermissions, restored by the Piety of King *Charles*, *Anno 1633.* as before was signified. It was no hard matter to discern by his Acts in this, whose Game it was he meant to play, for what it was that he had held the shuffling of the Cards so long, and who was like to win the Set, when none but he had the dealing of them: For he so plied the King from one time to another, sometimes by representing the extreme difficulties, and sometimes the apparent dangers in which his Affairs there stood involved; That he drew him to fling up all in less than three Months, which King *James* and he had been projecting above thrice ten years. For first, by his Proclamation bearing date *June 28.* he suspends the present execution of the *Canons* and *Liturgie*, dischargeth all Acts of Council made for the Establishment of them, and promiseth so to regulate the *High-Commission*, that it should neither impugn the Laws, nor be a just grievance to the Subject. By a second, bearing date *September 9.* he dischargeth the *Liturgie*, *Canons*, and *High-Commission* (this last being of King *James* his Instituting, *Anno 1610.*) rescinding all Proclamations and Acts whatsoever, which had been made for the Establishing of the same; and by the same, suspends the executing of the Five Articles of *Perth*, though confirmed by Parliament. By the same also he subjecteth all his Ministers, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*, to the Censure of Parliaments, General Assemblies, or any other competent Judicatory: And frees all Ministers at their Entry from taking the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, that against *Symonie*, or any other not enjoined by Acts of Parliament. By the same also he commands the Subscribing of the *Confession of Faith*, with the *Band* thereunto annexed, which the *Covenanters* before had press'd on the People, and upon which they had placed such a great part of their confidence, that they solemnly protested to *Hamilton* at his first coming thither, *That they would rather renounce their Baptism, than relinquish their Covenant.* And this he did for no other Reason, as appears by a Letter of the same date to the Lords of the Council, than to legitimate the Rebellion; *Because not being warranted before by Regal Authority, it must needs be in it self ineffectual, and prejudicial to the Ancient Form of Government kept within that his Kingdom of Scotland.* And finally, by his *Royal Edict*, bearing date the 22d. of the same Month, he gives Order for a *General Assembly*, to be held at *Glasgo* on *November 21.* next following; in which he could



could not but be sure, that after so many previous Condescensions on his part, they would be able to do whatsoever they listed in defiance of him.

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For, before the Assembly was Indicted, the *Covenanters* had so laid the Plot, that none but those of their own Party should have Suffrage in it; as afterwards by several Orders from their Tables, they directed that no Chaplain, nor Chapter-man, nor any who have not subscribed the *Covenant*, should be chosen to it; not suffering the Archbishops or Bishops to sit as Moderators in their *Presbyteries*, where the Elections were to pass; and citing them to appear as Criminal Persons at the said Assembly: by means of which Exclusions and Prelimitations, the greatest part of the Assembly did consist of such as either were irregularly chosen by the over-ruling Voices of *Lay-Elders* which were thrust upon them, or else not capable of being Elected, some of them being under the Censures of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, others under the Censures of the Church of *Ireland*, and some not having taken the Oath of *Supremacy* required by the Laws of the Land. Upon which just and weighty Reasons, as also the Admission of the Schismatical Clergy to sit as Judges over their Bishops; the intrusion of so many *Lay-Elders*, contrary to the Constitution of former *General Assemblies*; the countenancing of a scandalous Libel against their Function and Persons; and the prejudging of their Cause in their several *Presbyteries*, by excluding them from having any Vote in the said Assembly, when they were not present to interpose or speak any thing in their own behalf, the Archbishops and Bishops, in the name of themselves, and all which did adhere unto them, prepared their *Declinator* or Protestation against the said *General Assembly*, and all the Acts and Conclusions of it, as being void, and null in Law to all intents and purposes whatsoever. The day being come, *Hamilton* marcheth to the place appointed for the Session, in the equipage of a High-Commissioner, the Sword and Seal being carried before him, the Lords of the Council, and all the Officers of State, attending on him like a King indeed. The reading of his Commission, the putting in and rejecting of the *Declinator*, the chusing of *Henderson* to be Moderator of the Assembly, the constituting of the Members of it, and some Debates touching the Votes and Suffrages, challenged by *Hamilton* for such as were Assessors to him, took up all the time between their first Meeting and their Dissolution, which was by Proclamation solemnly declared on the twenty ninth of the same Month, having fate only eight days by the Kings Authority.

For notwithstanding the said Dissolution, the Members of the said Assembly continued and kept their Session, and therein passed many Acts for the utter overthrow of the Polity and Government of the Church, the infringing of his Majesties Prerogative Royal, and violating the Authority of Parliaments. For they not only Excommunicated the Bishops and their Adherents, but condemned the  
very



PART II. very Function it self to be *Antichristian*, and utterly to be abolished  
*Anno Dom.* out of the Church; notwithstanding that several Parliaments had  
 1638. confirmed the same. The like Censure they also past on the *Service Book* and *Canons*, with the five *Articles* of *Perth*; though the two first received the Stamp of Royal Authority, and the five last were confirmed in *Parliament* also. They condemned in one breath all the *Arminian* Tenents, in case of *Predestination*, without examining the Arguments on which they were built; and declared all men subject to *Excommunication*, and other Censures of the Church, who should refuse to yield obedience to all their unlawful Actings and Determinations. And though his Majesty by the same Proclamation had commanded all his faithful Subjects not to yield any obedience to their Acts and Ordinances, and bound himself in the Word of a King to defend them in it; yet those of the Assembly were resolved to maintain their Authority. For notwithstanding his Majesties late Declaration and Commands, not only the Bishops and Clergy, but also as many of the Layty as had refused to subscribe to the Acts thereof, were deprived of their Offices and Preferments, banished their Country, and forced to fly into *England*, or other places, the King not being able to protect them from the power and malice of their Adversaries. For having lost the opportunity of suppressing them in their first Insurrection in the year precedent, and afterwards of reducing them by force of Arms in the year next following, he was forced to shuffle up such a Pacification in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, *Anno 1641.* as left his Party destitute of all protection, but what they found in *England* by his Majesties Favour in providing the Clergy of some small Benefices for their present subsistence, which possibly might amount to more than formerly they enjoyed in their own Country.

And yet the Covenanters did not play all parts in this Assembly, the King and his Commissioner had one part to act, which was the presenting of a Declaration, containing the sum and substance of all his Majesties gracious Condescensions, exprest in the several Proclamations before remembred, and a Command to have it registred in the Acts and Records thereof. But upon what considerations and reasons of State his Majesty might be moved to commit that Paper to be registred amongst the Acts of *Assembly*, is beyond my reach. For though many times the wisest Princes have sent out Proclamations of Grace for redress of Grievances, and pardoning of fore-past offences; yet were those Proclamations and Acts of Grace beheld no otherwise than as temporary and occasional Remedies for the present mischiefs, not to be drawn into Example, and much less put upon Record for the times ensuing; his Majesties Condescensions had been large enough, and too much to the prejudice of his Crown and Dignity without this Enrolment. Nor wants it somewhat of a Riddle, that at such time as *Hamilton* tendred the Paper of his Majesties gracious Concessions for discharging of the *Service Book*, &c.



to be enrolled amongst the Acts of the *Assembly*, he both declared, and protested that his so doing should be no acknowledgment of the lawfulness and validity of that *Convention* which was instantly to be dissolved: or that his Majesty should give order to have those Acts of Grace and Favour enrolled in the Records of the Assembly, to stand full and sure to all his good Subjects for their assurance of and in the true Religion; which *Assembly* at the same time he declared to be illegal, and all the Acts thereof to be null and void. I must confess I am not *Oedipus* enough for so dark a *Sphinx*, and must therefore leave this depth of State-craft to more able heads. Only I cannot chuse but note, how little his Majesty got by those Condescensions; the stubborn and rebellious *Scots* being so far unsatisfied with these Acts of Grace, that they not only forced all those who adhered unto him to fly the Country: but intercepted his Revenues, seized on all his Forts and Castles, and put themselves into a Posture of open War. And that they might be able to manage it with the greater credit, they called home some of their Commanders out of *Germany*, and some which served under the Pay of the States General; so far prevailing with those States as to continue such Commanders in their Pay and Places as long as they remained in the Service of the *Scottish Covenanters*. A favour which his Majesty could not get at their hands, nor had he so much reason to expect it as the others had, if considered rightly. It had been once their own case, and they conceived they had good reason to maintain it in others.

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It may deservedly be a matter of no small amazement, that this poor and unprovided Nation, should dare to put such baffles and affronts upon their Lawful King; the King being backt by the united Forces of *England* and *Ireland*, obeyed at home, and rendred formidable unto all his Neighbours by a puissant Navy, they must have some assurances more than ordinary which might enflame them to this height; and what they were it may not be amiss to enquire into. First then they had the King for their natural Country-man, born in that Air, preserving a good affection for them to the very last; and who by giving them the Title of his *Ancient and Native Kingdom* (as he did most commonly) gave them some reason to believe, that he valued them above the *English*. They had in the next place such a strong Party of *Scots* about him, that he could neither stir or speak, scarce so much as think, but they were made acquainted with it. In the *Bed-Chamber* they had an equal number of Gentlemen, and seven Grooms for one; in the *Presence-Chamber* more than an equal number amongst the Gentlemen Ushers, Quarter-Waiters, &c. In the *Privy-Chamber*, besides the *Carvers* and *Cup-bearers*, such a disproportion of the Gentlemen belonging to it, that once at a full Table of Waiters, each of them having a Servant or two to attend upon him, I and my man were the only *English* in all the Company. By which the King was so observed, and be-



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trayed withal, that as far as they could find his meaning by Words, by Signs, and Circumstances, or the silent language of a *shrug*, it was posted presently into *Scotland*, some of his Bed-Chamber being grown so bold and saucy, that they used to Ranfack his Pockets when he was in bed, to transcribe such Letters as they found, and send the Copies to their Countrymen in the way of intelligence. A thing so well known about the Court, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in one of his Letters, gave him this *memento*, that he should not trust his Pockets with it. For Offices of trust and credit they were as well accomodated as with those of service, *Hamilton*, Master of the Horse, who stocked the Stables with that People; The Earl of *Morton*, Captain of his Majesties Guard; The Earl of *Ancram*, Keeper of the Privy Purse; The Duke of *Lenox*, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of *Dover Castle*; *Balfore* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, the Fortrefs of most power and command in *England*; And *Wemmys*, the Master Gunner of his Majesties Navy, who had the issuing of the Stores, and Ammunition, designed unto it. Look on them in the Church, and we shall find so many of that Nation beneficed and preferred in all parts of this Country, that their Ecclesiastical Revenues could not but amount to more then all the yearly Rents of the Kirk of *Scotland*; and of all these scarce one in ten, who did not cordially espouse and promote their Cause amongst the People. They had beside no less assurance of the *English Puritans* than they had of their own; those in Court (of which there was no very small number) being headed by the Earl of *Holland*, those in the Country by his Brother the Earl of *Warwick*; The first being aptly called in a Letter of the Lord *Connays* to the Lord Archbishop, *The spiritual, and invisible head*, the other, *The visible and temporal head* of the *Puritan Faction*. And which was more than all the rest, they had the Marquis of *Hamilton* for their Lord and Patron, of so great power about the King, such Authority in the Court of *England*, such a powerful influence on the Council of *Scotland*, and such a general Command over all that Nation, that his pleasure amongst them past for Law, and his words for Oracles; all matters of Grace and Favour ascribed to him, matters of harshness or distate to the King or *Canterbury*. To speak the matter in a word, he was grown King of *Scots* in Fact, though not in Title; His Majesty being looked on by them as a Cypher only in the *Arithmetick* of State.

But notwithstanding their confidence in all these *Items*, taking in the *Imprimis* too, they might have reckoned without their Host in the *Summa Totalis*, the English Nation being generally disaffected to them, and passionately affecting the Kings quarrel against them. The sense and apprehension of so many indignities prevailed upon the King at last to unsheath the Sword, more justly in it self, and more justifiably in the sight of others; the Rebels having rejected all his offers of Grace and Favour, and growing the more insolent by his



his Condescensions. So that resolved, or rather forced upon the War, he must bethink himself of means to go thorow with it : To which end *Burrows* the Principal King of Arms, is commanded to search into the Records of the Tower, and to return an Extract of what he found relating to the War of *Scotland* ; which he presented to the Archbishop in the end of *December*, to this effect, viz. 1. "That such Lords and others as had Lands and Livings upon the Borders, were commanded to reside there with their Retinue ; and those that had Castles there, were enjoined to Fortifie them. 2. That the Lords of the Kingdom were Summoned by Writ, to attend the Kings Army with Horse and Armour at a certain time and place, according to their Service due to the King ; or repair to the Exchequer before that day, and make Fine for their Service : As also were all Widows, Dowagers of such Lords as were deceased ; and so were all Bishops and Ecclesiastical Persons. 3. That Proclamations were likewise made by Sheriffs in every County, That all men holding of the King by *Knights-Service* or *Sergeancy*, should come to the Kings Army, or make Fines as aforesaid ; with a strict command, That none should conceal their Service under a great Penalty. 4. As also, That all men having 40 *l.* Land *per Annum*, should come to the Kings Army with Horse and Armour ; of which if any failed to come or to make Fine, their Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels were distrained by the Sheriff upon Summons out of the Exchequer. 5. That Commissions should be issued out for Levying of Men in every County, and bringing them to the Kings Army : That the like be done for Mustering and Arraying the Clergy throughout *England* ; or otherwise, to furnish the King with a proportion of Armed Men for the present Service. 6. That Writs be issued out into all Counties, for certifying the King what number of Horse and Foot every County could afford him in his Wars with *Scotland*. 7. The like also to the Borders, requiring them to come unto the Kings Army well armed ; Commissions to be made for punishing such as refused. 8. That the Sheriffs of the Counties were commanded by Writ to make Provisions of Corn and Victuals for the Kings Army, and to cause them to be carried to the place appointed. The like Command sent to the Merchants in the Port-Towns of *England* and *Ireland* ; and the Ships of the Subject taken to Transport such Provisions to the place assigned. 9. Several Sums of Money raised by Subsidies and Fifteens from the *English* Subject, and Aid of Money given and lent by the Merchant-Strangers, toward the Maintenance of the War. 10. That the King used to suspend the payment of his Debts for a certain time, in regard of the great occasions he had to use Money in the Wars of *Scotland*. Other Memorials were returned to the same effect : but these the principal.

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According to these Instructions, his Majesty directs his Letters to



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the Temporal Lords, his Writs to the High-Sheriffs, his Orders to the Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants in their several Counties, his Proclamations generally to all his Subjects; Requiring of them all such Aids and Services in his present Wars, as either by Laws, or Ancient Customs of the Land, they were bound to give him. He caused an Order also to be made by the Lords of the Council, directed to the two Archbishops, *January 29.* by which they were Required and Commanded, "To write their several and "respective Letters to all the Lords Bishops in their several Provinces respectively, forthwith to convene before them all the Clergy "of Ability in their Diocesses, and to incite them by such ways and "means as shall be thought best by their Lordships, to aid and assist "his Majesty with their speedy and liberal Contributions, and otherwise, for defence of his Royal Person, and of this Kingdom: And "that the same be sent to the Lord Treasurer of *England* with all diligence: Subscribed by the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, the Bishop of *London* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Manchester* Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord Great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel* Earl-Marshal, the Earl of *Dorset* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Earl of *Pembroke* Lord Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of *Holland* Chancellor of *Cambridge*, *Cottingham* Master of the Wards, *Vane* Treasurer of the Household, *Cooke* and *Windebank* the two Principal Secretaries. Which Warrant, whether it proceeded from the Kings own motion, or was procured by the Archbishop himself to promote the Service, is not much material: Certain I am, that he conformed himself unto it with a cheerful diligence, and did accordingly direct his Letters to his Suffragan Bishops in this following form.

My very good Lord,

I Have received an Order from the Lords of his Majesties most Honorable Privy Council, giving me notice of the great Preparations made by some of Scotland, both of Arms and all other Necessaries for War: And that this can have no other end, than to invade or annoy this his Majesties Kingdom of England. For his Majesty having a good while since, most graciously yielded to their Demands for securing the Religion by Law: established amongst them, hath made it appear to the world, That it is not Religion but Sedition that stirs in them, and fills them with this most irreligious Disobedience, which at last breaks forth into a high degree of Treason against their Lawful Sovereign. In this Case of so great danger both to the State and Church of England, your Lordships, I doubt not, and your Clergie under you, will not only be vigilant against the close workings of any Pretenders in that kind: but very free also to your Power and Proportion of Means left to the Church, to contribute toward the raising of such an Army, as, by Gods Blessing and his Majesties Care, may secure this Church and Kingdom from



from all intended Violence. And according to the Order sent unto me by the Lords (a Copy whereof you shall herewith receive) these are to pray your Lordship to give a good Example in your own Person; and with all convenient speed to call your Clergie, and the abler Schoolmasters (as well those which are in Peculiars, as others) and excite them by your self, and such Commissioners as you will answer for, to contribute to this Great and Necessary Service; in which if they give not a good Example, they will be much to blame. But you are to call no poor Curates, nor Stipendiaries: but such as in other Legal ways of Payment have been, and are by Order of Law bound to pay. The Proportion I know not well how to prescribe you: but I hope they of your Clergie whom God hath blessed with better Estates than Ordinary, will give freely, and thereby help the want of Means in others. And I hope also your Lordship will so order it, as that every man will at the least give after the Proportion of 3 s. 10 d. in the Pound, of the valuation of his Living, or other Preferment, in the Kings Books. And this I thought fit to let you further know; That if any man have double Benefices, or a Benefice and a Prebend, or the like, in divers Diocesses; yet your Lordship must call upon them only for such Preferments as they have within your Diocess, and leave them to pay for any other which they hold, to the Bishop in whose Diocess their Preferments are. As for the time, your Lordship must use all the diligence you can, and send up the Moneys if it be possible by the first of May next. And for your Indempnity, the Lord Treasurer is to give you such discharge, by striking a Tally or Tallies upon your several Payments into the Exchequer, as shall be fit to secure you without your Charge. Your Lordship must further be pleased to send up a List of the Names of such as refuse this Service within their Diocess: but I hope none will put you to that trouble. It is further expected, That your Lordship, and every other Bishop, express by it self, and not in the general Sum of his Clergie, that which himself gives. And of this Service you must not fail. So to Gods blessed Protection I leave you, and rest,

Lambeth, Jan. ult. Your Lordships very Loving Friend  
1638. and Brother,

WILL. CANT.

On the receiving of these Letters, the Clergie were Convented in their several Diocesses, encouraged by their several Ordinaries not to be wanting to his Majesty in the Present Service, and divers Preparations used beforehand to dispose them to it; which wrought so powerfully and effectually on the greatest part of them (those which with'd well unto the Scots, seeming as forward in it as any other) that their Contributions mounted higher than was expected. The Benevolence of the Diocess of Norwich only amounting to 2016 l. 16 s. 5 d. The Archdeaconry of Winchester only, to the sum of



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of 1305 *l.* 5 *s.* 8 *d.* And though we may not conclude of all the rest by the greatness of these, yet may it be very safely said, that they did all exceeding bountifully in their several proportions, with reference to the extent of their Diocesses, and the ability of their Estates. Nor were the Judges of the several Benches of the Courts at *Westminster*, and the great Officers under them, Protonotaries, Secondaries, and the like, deficient in expressing their good affections to this general cause; in which the safety of the Realm, was as much concerned as his Majesties honour. And for the Doctors of the Laws, Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, and other Officers belonging to the Ecclesiastical Courts, they were spurred on to follow the example of the Secular Judges (as having a more particular concernment in it) by a Letter sent from the Archbishop to the Dean of the *Arches*, on *February* 11. and by him communicated to the rest. By which Free-will offerings on the one side, some commanded duties on the other, and the well-husbanding of his Majesties Revenue by the Lord Treasurer *Fuxon*, he was put into such a good condition, that he was able both to raise and maintain an Army with no charge to the Common Subject: but only a little Coat and Conduct money at their first setting out. These preparations were sufficient to give notice of a War approaching without any further denouncing of it by a publick Herald; and yet there was another accident which seemed as much to fore-signifie it as those preparations. *Mary de Medices*, the Widow of King *Henry* iv. of *France*, and Mother to the Queens of *England* and *Spain*, arrived at *Harwich* on *October* 19. and on the last of the same was with great State conducted through the Streets of *London* to his Majesties Palace of *St. James*. A Lady which for many years, had not lived out of the smell of Powder, and a guard of Muskets at her door, embroyled in wars and troubles when she lived in *France*, and drew them after her into *Flanders*. where they have ever since continued. So that most men were able to presage a Tempest, as Mariners by the appearing of some Fish, or the flying of some Birds about their ships, can foresee a storm. His Majesty had took great care to prevent her coming, knowing full well how chargeable a guest she would prove to him, and how unwelcome to the Subject. To which end *Boswel* was commanded to use all his wits for perswading her to stay in *Holland*, whither she had retired from *Flanders* in the year precedent. But she was wedded to her will, and possibly had received such invitations from her Daughter here, that nothing but everlasting foul weather at Sea, and a perpetual cross-wind, could have kept her there.

All things provided for the War, his Majesty thought fit to satisfy his good Subjects of both Kingdoms, not only of the Justice which appeared in this Action: but in the unavoydable necessity which enforced him to it. To which end he acquaints them by his Proclamation, of the 20 of *February*, "How traiterously some of the



" the *Scottish* Nation had practised to pervert his Loyal Subjects of  
 " this Realm, by scattering abroad their Libellous and Seditious  
 " Pamphlets, mingling themselves at their publick meetings, and  
 " reproaching both his Person and Government; That he had never  
 " any intention to alter their Religion or Laws, but had condescend-  
 " ed unto more for defence thereof than they had reason to expect;  
 " That they had rejected the *Band* and Covenant which themselves  
 " had prest upon the people, because it was commended to them  
 " by his Authority; and having made a Covenant against God and  
 " him, and made such Hostile preparations, as if he were their  
 " sworn Enemy, and not their King; That many of them were men  
 " of broken Fortunes, who because they could not well be worse,  
 " hoped by engaging in this War to make themselves better; That  
 " they had assumed unto themselves the power of the Press, one of the  
 " chief markes of the Regal Authority, prohibiting to Print what he  
 " commanded, and commanding to Print what he prohibited, and  
 " dismissing the Printer whom he had established in that Kingdom;  
 " That they had raised Arms, blockt up and besieged his Castles,  
 " laid Impositions and Taxes upon his people, threatned such as  
 " continued under Loyalty, with force and violence; That they had  
 " contemned the Authority of the Council Table, and set up Ta-  
 " bles of their own, from which they send their Edicts throughout  
 " all parts of the Kingdom, contrary to the Laws therein establi-  
 " shed, pretending in the mean time that the Laws were violated by  
 " himself; That the question was not now, whether the Service-  
 " Book should be received or not, or whether Episcopacy should  
 " continue or not, but whether he were King or not; That many  
 " of them had denied the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance (for  
 " which some of them had been committed) as inconsistent, and in-  
 " compatible with their holy Covenant; That being brought under  
 " a necessity of taking Arms, he had been traduced in some of their  
 " writings for committing the Arms he had then raised, into the hands  
 " of professed *Papists*, a thing not only dishonourable to himself,  
 " and the said noble persons, but false and odious in it self; That  
 " some of power in the *Hierarchy* had been defamed for being the cause of  
 " his taking Arms to invade that Kingdom, who on the contrary had  
 " been only Counsellors of peace, and the chief perswaders (as much as  
 " in them lay) of the undeserved moderation wherewith he had hither-  
 " to proceeded toward so great Offenders; That he had no intent by  
 " commending the Service-Book unto them to innovate any thing  
 " at all in their Religion, but only to create a conformity between  
 " the Churches of both Kingdoms, and not to infringe any of their  
 " Liberties which were according to the Laws; That therefore he  
 " required all his loving Subjects not to receive any more of the  
 " said seditious Pamphlets, but to deliver such of them as they had  
 " received, into the hands of the next Justice of the Peace, by him  
 " to be sent to one of his Majesties principal Secretaries; And final-  
 " ly,

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*Anno Dom.* "Divine Service in every Church within the Kingdom; that all  
 1639. "his People to the meanest, might see the notorious carriages  
 ~~~~~ "of these men, and likewise the Justice and Mercy of all his pro-  
 ~~~~~ "ceedings.

And now his Majesty is for Action, beginning his Journey towards the *North*, *March* 27. being the Anniversary day of his Inauguration. His Army was advanced before, the best for quality of the Persons, compleatness of Arms, number of serviceable Horse, and necessary Provision of all sorts, that ever waited on a King of *England* to a War with *Scotland*. Most of the Nobility attended on him in their Persons; and such as were to be excused for Age and indisposition, testified their affections to his Majesties Service in good Sums of money. The Flower of the English Gentry would not stay behind, but chearfully put themselves into the Action, upon a confidence of getting honour for themselves, as well as for their King or Country; many of which had been at great charge in furnishing themselves for this Expedition, on an assurance of being repaid in Favours what they spent in Treasure. And not a few of our old Commanders, which had been trained up in the Wars of *Holland*, and the King of *Sweden*, deserted their Employments there to serve their Sovereign, whether with a greater gallantry or affection, it is hard to say. The Horse computed to 6000. as good as ever charged on a standing Enemy; The Foot of a sufficient number, though not proportionable to the Horse, stout men, and well affected for the most part to the Cause in hand; the Canon, Bullets, and all other sorts of Ammunition, nothing inferiour to the rest of the Preparations. An Army able to have trampled all *Scotland* under their feet, (Gods ordinary providence concurring with them) and made the King as absolutely Master of that Kingdom as any Prince could be of a conquered Nation. The chief Command committed to the Earl of *Arundel*, who, though not biassed toward *Rome*, (as the *Scots* reported him) was known to be no friend to the *Puritan* Faction: The Earl of *Holland* having been Captain of his Majesties Guard, and formerly appointed to conduct some fresh Recruits to the Isle of *Rhee*, was made *Lieutenant* of the Horse. And the Earl of *Essex*, who formerly had seen some service in *Holland*, and very well understood the Art of War, *Lieutenant-General* of the Foot. Besides which power that marcht by Land, there were some other Forces imbarqued in a considerable part of the Royal *Navy*, with plenty of Coin and Ammunition, which was put under the command of *Hamilton* (who must be of the *Quorum* in all busineses) with order to ply about the Coasts of *Scotland*, and thereby to surprize their Ships, and destroy their Trade, and make such further attempts to Landward, as opportunity should offer, and the nature of affairs require.

It is reported (and I have it from a very good hand) that when  
 the



the old Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, came to take his leave of the King, at his setting forward toward the *North*, he desired leave to give his Majesty three Advertisements before his going. The first was, That his Majesty would suffer none of the Scottish Nation to remain in his Army; assuring him that they would never fight against their Countrymen: but rather hazard the whole Army by their tergiversation. The second was, that his Majesty would make a Catalogue of all his Counsellors, Officers of Household, and domestick Servants; and having so done, would with his Pen obliterate and expunge the *Scots*, beginning first with the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* himself who had given the Counsel; conceiving (as he then declared) that no man could accuse the King of Partiality, when they found the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who had so faithfully served his Father and himself, about sixty years, should be expunged amongst the rest. A third was, That he must not hope to win upon them by Condescensions, or the sweetness of his disposition, or by Acts of Grace: but that he should resolve to reduce them to their duty by such waies of Power as God had put into his hands. The Reason of which Counsel was, because he found upon a sad experience of sixty years, that generally they were a people of so cross a grain, that they were gained by Punishments, and lost by Favours. But contrary to this good Counsel, his Majesty did not only permit all his own Servants of that Nation to remain about him: but suffered the Earls of *Roxborough* and *Traquaire*, and other Noblemen of that Kingdom with their several Followers and Retinues to repair to *York*, under pretence of offering of some expedient to compose the differences. Where being come, they plyed their business so well, that by representing to the Lords of the *English* Nation the dangers they would bring themselves into by the Pride and Tyranny of the Bishops, if the *Scots* were totally subdued, they mitigated the displeasures of some, and so took off the edge of others, that they did not go from *York*, the same men they came thither. On the discovery of which Practice, and some intelligence which they had with the *Covenanters*, they were confined to their Chambers (the first at *York*, the other at *Newcastle*) but were presently dismissed again, and sent back to *Scotland*. But they had first done what they came for, never men being so suddenly cooled as the Lords of *England*; or ever making clearer shews of an alteration in their words and gestures.

This change his Majesty soon found, or had cause to fear; and therefore for the better keeping of his Party together, he caused an Oath to be propounded to all the Lords, and others of chief Eminency which attended on him, before his departure out of *York*; knowing full well, that those of the inferiour Orbs would be wholly governed by the motion of the higher Spheres. The Tenor of which Oath was this that followeth:

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I A. B. do Swear before the Almighty and Ever-living God, That I will bear all faithful Allegiance to my true and undoubted Sovereign King CHARLES, who is Lawful King of this Island, and all other his Kingdoms and Dominions both by Sea and Land, by the Laws of God and Man, and by Lawful Succession; And that I will most constantly and most chearfully, even to the utmost hazard of my Life and Fortunes, oppose all Seditions, Rebellions, Conjurations, Conspiracies whatsoever, against his Royal Dignity, Crown, and Person, raised or set up under what pretence or colour soever: And if it shall come veiled under pretence of Religion, I hold it more abominable both before God and Man. And this Oath I take voluntarily, in the Faith of a good Christian and Loyal Subject, without Equivocation or mental Reservation whatsoever; from which I hold no Power on Earth can absolve me in any part.

Such was the Tenour of the Oath; which being refused by two, and but two of the Lords, of which one would not say it, nor the other Brook it, the said Refusers were committed to the Custody of the Sheriffs of York; and afterwards, for their further Tryal, Interrogated upon certain Articles touching their approbation or dislike of the War: To which their Answers were so doubtful and unsatisfactory, that his Majesty thought it safer for him to dismiss them home, than to keep them longer about him to corrupt the rest: By means whereof he furnished them with an opportunity of doing him more disservice at home, where there was no body to attend and observe their Actions, than possibly they could have done in the Army, where there were so many eyes to watch them, and so many hands to pull them back if they proved extravagant.

As to the carrying on of the War, the Earl of Essex was Com-manded by his Majesty, at his first coming to York, to put a Garrison into Berwick; and to take with him such Provisions of Canon, Arms, and Ammunition as were assigned for that Employment: Which as he chearfully undertook, so he couragiously performed it, notwithstanding all the terrours and affrightments which he found in his March. For being encountred in his way with the Earls of Rox-borough, Traquaire, and the rest of the Scots then going to York, they laboured all they could to dissuade him from it, assuring him, That either the Scots would be in the Town before him; or that their whole Army would be so near, that he must needs run the hazard of losing all, without doing any thing. Which notwithstanding, he went on, entred the Town, repaired the Breaches in the Walls, and placed his Cannon on the same, proceeding in the Work as became a Souldier. With less fidelity and courage dealt the Earl of Hol-land, at the King's coming near the Borders, where long he had not been encamped, when he had Intelligence that the Scots Army was advancing; on which Advertisement, he dispatch'd Holland with a  
great



great Body of Horse to attend upon them. *Lesly* had drawn his Army into a very large Front, his Files exceeding thin and shallow: but intermingled with so many Ensigns, as if every twenty or thirty men had been a Regiment; and behind all, a great Herd of Cattel, which raised up so much dust with their feet, as did cloud the Stragem. *Holland* dismayed with such a formidable appearance, or being afraid that his great Horse would be under-ridden with the *Galloway* Nags, sent Messenger after Messenger to acquaint the King with his present condition, who sent him order to draw off and retire again, and not to hazard himself and the Forces under him, on such a visible disadvantage. How *Hamilton* behaved himself, we are next to see; who having anchored his Fleet in the *Frith* of *Edenborough*, and landing some of his spent men in a little Island, to give them breath, and some refreshments, received a Visit from his Mother, a most rigid and pragmatistical *Covenanter*; the *Scots* upon the shore saying with no small laughter, *That they knew the Son of so good a Mother, could not do them hurt*: And so it proved; for having loitered thereabouts to no purpose, till he heard that the Treaty of the *Pacification*, was begun near *Berwick*, he left his Ships, and came in great haste, as it was pretended, to disturb the business, which was to be concluded before he came thither.

For so it hapned, That as soon as *Essex* had brought his Forces into *Berwick*, the *Scots* began to fear the approaching danger which they had drawn upon themselves; and thereupon some Chiefs amongst them addressed their Letters to him on the 19th. of *April*, laying the cause of all these Troubles to some ill Countrymen of their own, whom they conceived to have provoked the King against them; endeavouring to make the Remedy of their Evils, and the scope of their deserved Punishment, the beginning of an incurable Disease betwixt the two Nations, to whom the Quarrel should in no way extend. They complained also, That there were many of the *English* in Place and Credit, whose Private Byass did run clean contrary to the Publick Good; such as did rise early to poison the Publick Fountain, and to sow the Tares of unhappy Jealousies and Discords between the Kingdoms, before the good Seed of our Love and Respect to the *English* Nation, could take place in their hearts. They declared next, how strange and unexpected it was unto them, to see his Forces drawn toward the Borders, which they could not but interpret as a pregnant presumption of some further Project against their Nation by his Power; which must needs cause them to bestir themselves in time, for their own preservation. And though they gave themselves some assurance, grounded upon the Reputation of his former Life, that his Lordship would be very wary to begin the Quarrel, at which Enemies only would rejoyce and catch advantage; yet at the last (fearing that neither Threats nor Complements would do the business) they fall to a downright begging of a *Pacification*. For ha-

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ving taken God to witness, That they desired no National Quarrel  
 "to arise betwixt them, or to taste any of the bitter Fruit, which  
 "might set their Childrens Teeth on edge; They professed themselves  
 "obliged in conscience to God, their Prince, Nation, and Brethren,  
 "to try all just and lawful means for the removal of all Causes of  
 "Difference betwixt the two Nations, and to be always ready to  
 "offer the occasion of greater Satisfaction, for clearing of their Loy-  
 "al Intentions to their Prince, and to all those whom it may con-  
 "cern: but more particularly to his Lordship, in regard of his  
 "Place and Command at that time; And this to do by any means  
 "whatsoever, which should be thought expedient on both sides.  
 But *Essex*, though perhaps he might like their Cause, did not love  
 their Nation (the Affront put upon him by *Carr* Earl of *Somerset*  
 running still in his mind); so that the Practice edified very little  
 with him, for ought I can find; whatsoever it might do with others  
 about the King, to whom the Letter was communicated, which in  
 duty he was bound to do on the first receiving.

With greater comfort they applied themselves to the Earl of  
*Arundel*, whom at first they feared more than all the rest: but had  
 now placed the greatest part of their confidence on him. For whilst  
 the *Puritans* in both Kingdoms stood at a gaze upon the Issue of this  
 War, one *Mosely* Vicar of *Newark* upon *Trent*, obtained leave to  
 pass through the Army into *Scotland*: A man of zeal enough to be  
 put upon any business which the wiser ones durst not be seen in;  
 and of such silliness withal, that no body could fear any danger  
 from him. By this Man (as appears by their Letter) they under-  
 stood of his Lordships particular Affection to the continuance of  
 the Common Peace betwixt the Nations, being before assured of his  
 Noble Disposition in the general (as the Letter words it.) And this  
 being said, they signifie unto him, and wish that they could do the  
 like to all the good Subjects of *England*, "That they were neither  
 "weary of *Monarchical* Government, nor had entertained the least  
 "thoughts of casting off the yoke of Obedience, or invading *Eng-*  
 "*land*; That they desired nothing else than peaceably to enjoy their  
 "Religion, and the Liberties of their Country, according to the  
 "Laws; and that all Questions about the same, might be decided  
 "by Parliament and National Assemblies, which they conceived his  
 "Lordship would judge to be most equitable, and for which no  
 "National Quarrel (as they hoped) could justly arise. And finally,  
 "That they had sent him a Copy of the Supplication, which they  
 "intended to present unto the King, as soon as he was prepared for it;  
 "to the end that by the mediation of his Lordship, and other Noble  
 "Lords of *England*, to whom they had written in like manner, his  
 "Majesty might be pleased to hear them at large, and grant such  
 "things as they had desired; which they conceived to tend to his  
 "Majesties great Glory, to put an end to all the present Questions.  
 "to their mutual rejoycing, and to make the blessed Instruments of  
 fo



“ so good a work to be thankfully remembred to Posterity. In their letter to the Earl of *Holland*, of the seventh of *June*, they express more confidence (as being more assured of him then of any other) not only justifying themselves in their former proceedings: but requesting his assistance to promote their desires in a petition tendered to his Majesty hands, descending by degrees to this particular, “ That by a meeting in some convenient place, and of some prime and well affected men to the Reformed Religion and the Common Peace, all matters might be so well amended, and with such expedition, that their evils (through further delays) might not prove incurable.

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These preparations being made, they found an easier business of it, then they had any reason to expect or hope, to bring his Majesty to meet them in the middle way; who was so tender of their case that he was more ready to accept their supplication, then they were to offer it. It was not his intent to fight them, (as I have heard from a person of great trust and honour) but only by the terrour of so great an Army to draw the *Scots* to do him reason. And this I am the more apt to credit, because when a Noble and well experienced Commander offered him (then being in Camp near *Berwick*) that with two thousand horse (which the King might very well have spared) he would so waste, and spoil their Countrey, that the *Scots* should creep upon their bellies to implore his mercy, he would by no means hearken to the proposition. And having no purpose of out-going *Muster* and *Ostentation*, it is no wonder if he did not only willingly give way to the presenting of their Petition, and cheerfully embraced all *Overtures* tending to a *Pacification*: but make choice also of such persons, to Negotiate in it, who were more like to take such terms as they could get, then to fight it out. Commissioners being on both sides appointed, they came at last to this conclusion on the seventeenth of *June*, viz. First, That his Majesty should confirm whatsoever his Commissioner have already granted in his Majesties name, and that from thenceforth all matters Ecclesiastical should be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk, and all matters Civil by the Parliament; and to that end a General Assembly to be Indicted on the sixth of August, and a Parliament on the twentieth of the same Moneth, in which Parliament an Act of Oblivion was to pass for the common peace and satisfaction of all parties; that the *Scots* upon the publication of the accord, should within forty eight hours disband all their Forces, discharge all pretended Tables, and Conventicles, restore unto the King all his Castles, Forts and Ammunition of all sorts; the like Restitution to be made to all his good Subjects, of their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and Means whatsoever, taken and detained from them, since the late pretended General Assembly held at *Glasco*; that thereupon his Majesty should presently recal his Fleet, and retire his Land Forces, and cause Restitution to be made of all persons of their Ships and Goods Detained and Arrested since the first of February. But as for the



PART II. the proceedings of the Assembly of *Glasco*, as his Majesty could  
*Anno Dom.* not allow them with Honour on the one side; so neither do I find  
 1639. that they were condemned, or that the *Scots* were bound to abandon  
 the conclusions of it, so that it seems to have been left in the same  
 condition, (as to all the Acts, Determinations, and Results there)  
 in which it stood before his Majesties taking Arms; Which as it  
 was the chief ground of the Quarrel, so the King doing nothing in  
 Order to the Abrogating of it, and the conclusions therein made,  
 when he was in the head of a powerful Army, he could not give  
 himself much hopes, that the *Scots* could yield to any such Abroga-  
 tion, when he had no such Army to compel obedience.

And this appeared immediately on his Majesties signing the  
 Agreement, and the discharging of his Forces upon the same. For  
 the Declaration of this accord was no sooner published, but the  
 Covenanters produced a Protestation; "First, of adhering to their  
 "late General Assembly at *Glasco*, as a full and free Assembly of their  
 "Kirk, and to all the proceedings there; especially the sentences of  
 "Deprivation, and Excommunication of the sometimes pretended  
 "Bishops of that Kingdom: And secondly, of adhering to their  
 "Solemn Covenant, and Declaration of the Assembly, whereby the  
 "office of Bishop is abjured. Thirdly, that the pretended Arch-  
 "bishops and Bishops, that usurp the title and office abjured by the  
 "Kirk and be contemnors of the sentences of <sup>the</sup> Kirk, have been ma-  
 "licious Incendiaries of his Majesty against this Kingdom, by their  
 "wicked calumnies; and that if they return to this Kingdom, they  
 "be esteemed and used as accursed, and they delivered up to the  
 "Devil, and cast off from Christ his body, as *Ethnicks*, and *Publi-*  
 "*cans*: And fourthly, that all the entertainers of the Excommu-  
 "nicated Bishops, should be orderly proceeded against with Excom-  
 "munication, conform to the Acts, and Constitutions of this Kirk.  
 And this they did as well to justify their proceeding in the said  
*Assembly*, as to terrify and affright the Bishops from presenting  
 themselves as members of Assembly and Parliament at the next  
 Conventions. Which done they dispersed abroad a scandalous  
 Paper, pretending to contain the heads of the late Agreement; but  
 drawn so advantageously for themselves, so disagreeably to the true  
 intention of his Majesty, that he could do no less in honour then call  
 it in, and cause it to be publickly burnt by the hand of the Hang-  
 man. And being conscious to themselves how much his Majesty,  
 must be incensed with these Indignities, they continued their meet-  
 ings and Consultations as before they did, maintained their Fortifi-  
 cations at *Leith* the Port Town to *Edenborough*, disquieted molested,  
 and frightened all of different inclinations, and kept their Officers and  
 Commanders in continual pay, to have them in a Readiness on the  
 next occasion. With which disorders his Majesty being made ac-  
 quainted, he sent for some of the Chiefs of them to come to him  
 to *Berwick*: but was refused in his Commands under pretence, that  
 there



there was some intention to entrap them at their coming thither; LIB. IV.  
 and that his Majesty might be staved off from being present at the Anno Dom.  
 next Assembly in *Edenborough*, as he had both promised, and resolved, they commit a riotous assault on the Earls of *Kinnoul*, and *Traquaire*, Chief Justice *Elphinston*, and Sir *James Hamilton*, all Privy Counsellors of that Kingdom. These they pulled violently out of their Coach, on a suspicion that some Bishops were disguised amongst them; but really that the King might have some cause to suspect that there could be no safety for him in such a place, and amongst people so enraged; notwithstanding his great clemency shewed unto them in the *Pacification*. 1639.

His Majesty was now at leisure to repent the loss of those Advantages which God had put into his hands. He found the *Scots* so unprovided (not having above 3000. compleat Arms amongst them) that he might have scattered them like the dust before the wind at the very first onset. By making this agreement with them he put them into such a stock of Reputation; that within the compass of that year they furnished themselves out of *Holland* with Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition upon days of Payment without disbursing any money, which he knew they had not. He came unto the borders with a gallant Army, which might assure him (under God) of a very cheap and easie victory; an Army governed by Colonels, and other Officers of approved Valour, and mingled with the choicest of the *English* Gentry, who stood as much upon his honour as upon their own. This Army he disbanded without doing any thing which might give satisfaction to the world, himself, or them. Had he retired it only to a further distance, he had done as much as he was bound to by the Capitulations: But he disbanded it before he had seen the least performance on their parts of the points agreed on; before he had seen the issue and success of the two Conventions, in which he did expect a settling of his peace and happiness; which had he done, he had in all reasonable probabilities preserved his honour in the eye of Foreign Nations, secured himself from any danger from that people, and crushed those Practices at home which afterwards undermined his Peace, and destroyed his Glories. But doing it in this form and manner, without effecting any thing which he seemed to Arm for, he animated the *Scots* to commit new Insolencies, the *Dutch* to affront him in his own Shores, by fighting and destroying the *Spanish* Navy, lying under his protection, and (which was worst of all) gave no small discontentment to the *English* Gentry. Who having with great charge engaged themselves in this Expedition out of hope of getting honour to the King, their Country, and themselves by their faithful service, were suddenly dismissed, not only without the honour which they aimed at, but without any acknowledgment of their Love and Loyalty. A matter so displeasing to them, that few of them appeared in the next years Army; many of them turned against him in the following



PART II. ing troubles, the greatest part looking on his Successes with a  
*Anno Dom.* careless eye, as unconcerned in his Affairs, whether good or  
 1639. bad.

~~~~~ In this condition of Affairs he returned toward *London* in the end of *July*, leaving the *Scots* to play their own Game as they listed; having first nominated *Traquaire* as his High Commissioner for managing both the Assembly, and the following Parliament. In the first meeting of the two, they acted over all the parts they had plaid at *Glasco*, to the utter abolition of *Episcopacy*, and the destruction of all those which adhered unto it; their Actings in it being confirmed in his name by the High Commission. In the Parliament they altered the old form of chusing the Lords of the *Articles*, erected a third Estate out of *Lairds* and Barons, instead of the Bishops; invaded the Sovereign power of Coynage; Resolved upon an Act for abrogating all former Statutes concerning the Judicature of the Exchequer for making of Proxies, and governing the Estates of Wards; and finally, conceived the King to be much in their debt by yielding to a prorogation till a further time. The news whereof reduced the King to such a stand, that he was forced to send for *Wentworth* out of *Ireland*, where he had acted things in settling the Estate of that broken Kingdom, beyond expectation or belief. This charged on *Canterbury*, as a project and crime of his, and both together branded for it in a Speech made by the Lord *Faulkland*, in the first year of the Long Parliament, where speaking first of the Bishops generally, he tells the Speaker, "That they had both kindled and  
 "blown the fire in both Nations; and more particularly, that they  
 "had both sent and maintained that book, of which the Author hath  
 "no doubt long since wished with *Nero* (*Utinam nescissem Literas*)  
 "And of which more than one Kingdom hath cause to wish, that  
 "he who writ it, had rather burned a *Library*, though of the  
 "value of *Ptolomies*. And then he adds, We shall see then (saith  
 "he) who have been the first and principal cause of the breach, I  
 "will not say of, but since the *Pacification* at *Berwick*. We shall find  
 "them to have been the almost sole Abettors of my Lord of *Straf-*  
 "ford, whilst he was practicing upon another Kingdom that manner  
 "of Government which he intended to settle in this, where he com-  
 "mitted so many, so mighty, and so manifest enormities, as the like  
 "have not been committed by any Governour in any Government  
 "since *Vespres* left *Sicily*. And after they had called him over from  
 "being *Deputy* of *Ireland* to be in manner *Deputy* of *England* (all  
 "things here being governed by a *Juntillo*, and that *Juntillo* gover-  
 "ned by him) to have assisted him in the giving of such Counsels,  
 "and the pursuing of such courses, as it is a hard and measuring  
 "cast, whether they were more unwise, more unjust, or more unfor-  
 "tunate, and which had infallibly been our destruction, if by the  
 "grace of God their share had not been as small in the subtilty of  
 "Serpents as in the innocence of Doves. But these were only the  
 Evapora-



Evaporations of some Discontents, which that noble Orator had contracted; of which more elsewhere.

*Wentworth* being called unto this Service, was presently made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and not long after with great solemnity Created Earl of *Strafford* in the County of *York*. As Lord Lieutenant he had Power to appoint a Deputy, that so he might the better attend the Service here, without any prejudice to that Kingdom; which Office he committed to *Wansford* a *Yorkshire* Gentleman, and an especial Confident of his, whom he had took along with him into *Ireland* at his first going thither. And because great Counsels are carried with most faith and secrecy, when they are entrusted but to few, his Majesty was pleased to commit the Conduct of the *Scottish* Businesses to a *Juncto* of three; that is to say, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the new Lord Lieutenant, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*; which last the other two knew not how to trust, and therefore communicated no more of their Counsels to him, than such as they cared or feared not to make known to others. By these three joyned in Consultations, it was conceived expedient to move his Majesty to try his fortune once more in calling a Parliament, and in the mean time to command some of the Principal *Covenanters* to attend his Pleasure at the Court, and render an account of their late Proceedings. In order to the first, they had no sooner signified what they thought fit for his Majesties Service, but it was cheerfully entertained by the Lords of the Council, who joined together with them in the Proposition; promising his Majesty to assist him in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should fail him in it, as they after did. Upon these Terms his Majesty yielded to the Motion on the fifth of *December*, causing an Intimation to be publickly made of his Intent to hold a Parliament on the 13th. of *April*, then next following: An Intimation which the *Londoners* received with great signs of joy, and so did many in the Country: but such withal, as gave no small matter of disturbance unto many others, who could not think the calling of a Parliament in that point of time, to be safe or seasonable. The last Parliament being dissolved in a Rupture, the Closets of some Members searched, many of them imprisoned, and some fined; it was not to be thought but that they would come thither with revengeful Spirits. And should a breach happen betwixt them and the King, and the Parliament be Dissolved upon it, as it after was, the breach would prove irreparable, as it after did. Besides which fear, it was presumed, that the interval of four Months time, would give the discontented Party opportunity to unite themselves, to practice on the Shires and Burroughs, to elect such Members as they should recommend unto them; and finally, not only to consult, but to conclude on such Particulars as they intended to insist upon, when they were Assembled. In which Respects, the calling a Parliament at that time, and with so long warning beforehand, was conceived unsafe: And if it was unsafe, it was more

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E e e

unseasonable.



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*Anno Dom.* People lived happily without them, and few took thought who  
 1639. should see the next: And which is more, the Neighbouring Kings  
 and States beheld the King with greater Veneration, than they had  
 done formerly, as one that could stand on his own Legs, and had  
 raised up himself to so great Power both by Sea and Land, without  
 such discontents and brabbles as his Parliaments gave him. So that  
 to call a Parliament, was feared to be the likeliest way to make his  
 Majesty seem less in estimation both at home and abroad, the eyes of  
 men being distracted by so many objects.

But whatsoever others thought, it was thought by *wentworth*,  
 that he could manage a Parliament well enough to the Kings Advan-  
 tage; especially by setting them such a Lesson as should make them  
 all ashamed of not writing after such a Copy. Two ends they had  
 in advising the Intimation of the Parliament to be given so long be-  
 fore the Sitting. First, That the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* might  
 in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did  
 accordingly, and governed the Affair so well, that an Army of  
 8000 Horse and Foot (some of our Writers say 10000) was speedi-  
 ly raised, and Money granted by the Parliament to keep them in pay,  
 and furnish them with Ammunition, Arms, and all other Necessaries.  
 Secondly, That by the Reputation of a following Parliament, he  
 might be the better enabled to borrow Money for the carrying on  
 of that War, if the Parliament should chance to fail of doing their  
 Duty; wherein the Lords performed their parts, in drawing in  
 great Sums of Money upon that account. For causing a List to be  
 made of most of the Persons of Ability, which had relation to the  
 Courts of Judicature, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, of such as held  
 Offices of the Crown as attained unto his Majesties Service, or  
 otherwise were thought to be well affected to the present Cause, and  
 had not formerly contributed toward it, they called them to the  
 Council-Table, where they endeavoured, by the prevailing Rhetor-  
 ick of Power and Favour, to perswade them to a bountiful Contri-  
 bution, or a chearful Loan, according to the Sums proportioned  
 and requested of them. In which they did proceed so well, that mo-  
 ney came flowing in apace, enough to put the King into a condition  
 of making new Levies of Men both for Horse and Foot, Lifting them  
 under their Commanders, and putting them into a Posture for the  
 War approaching. And that they might be sure to speed the better,  
 by the encouragement of a good Example, the Lord Lieutenant  
 subscribed for a Loan of 20000 *l.* the other Lords with the same  
 Loyalty and Affection proportioning their Engagements to their Abi-  
 lities, and thereby giving Law to most of the Noblemen in all parts  
 of the Kingdom. Nor was the Queen wanting for her part to ad-  
 vance the Service; For knowing how great a share she had in his Ma-  
 jesties Fortune, she employed her Secretary *winter*, *Mountague*,  
*Digby*, and others of her Confidants of that Religion, to negotiate  
 with



with the rest of their party, for being Assistant to his Majesty in so L I B. IV.  
just a quarrel. In which design the found such a liberal correspon- Anno Dom.  
dence from the *Roman Catholicks*, as shewed them to be somewhat 1639.  
ambitious of being accounted amongst the most Loyal and best af-  
fected, of his Majesties Subjects.

These preparations being Resolved on and in some part made, it was thought convenient that his Majesty should take the opportunity of the coming of some Commissioners from the *Scots* to call for an account of their late proceedings. According unto which advice his Majesty appointed a Select Committee from the rest of the Council, to bring those Commissioners to a reckoning, to hear what they could say for themselves and the rest of their fellows, and to make report thereof to his Majesty; The Commissioners were the Earl of *Dumfermelling*, the Lord *London*, *Douglas* and *Barkley*, both of inferiour rank, but of like Authority; Of which the Speakers part was performed by *London*, A confident bold man, of a Pedantical expression, but one that loved to hear himself above all men living. Being Commanded to attend the Committee at the time appointed, they ranted high, touching the Independency of the Crown of *Scotland*, and did not think themselves obliged to Treat with any, but his Majesty only. His Majesties vouchsafing his presence at the said Committee; *London* begins with a defence of their proceedings, both in the General Assembly, and the late Parliament held at *Edenborough* by his Majesties Order; Alledged that nothing was done in them contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Precedents of former times; and finally besought his Majesty to ratifie and confirm the Acts, and Results of both Commissions. They could shew none to qualifie them in the nature of Publick Agents; Nor had they any power to Oblige their party in the performance of any thing which might give his Majesty full satisfaction for the time to come, whatsoever satisfaction he was able to give them in debating the business. His Majesty endeavoured not by reason only, but by all fair and gentle means, to let them see the unreasonableness of their demands, the legality of their proceedings, and the danger which would fall upon them, if they continued obstinate in their former courses. But *London* governed all the rest, who being of a fiery nature in himself; and a dependent on the Earl of *Argile*, who had declared himself for the Covenanters at the Assembly at *Glasco*, resolved to stand to the Conclusion which he brought along with him, though he found himself unable to make good the Premises; so that some days being unprofitably spent in these debates, the Archbishop and the rest of the Committee, made a report of the whole business to the rest of the Council, who upon full consideration of all particulars, came to this Result: That since the *Scots* could not be reclaimed to their obedience by other means, they were to be reduced by Force.

This was no more then what the *Scots* could give themselves



PART II. Reason to expect; and therefore they bestirred themselves as much  
*Anno Dom.* on the other side. Part of the Walls of the Castle of *Edenborough*,  
 1639. with all the Ordnance upon it, had fallen down on the nineteenth of  
 November last, being the *Anniversary* day of his Majesties Birth  
 (not without some presage of that ill fortune which besel him in the  
 course of this War) for the Repair whereof, they would neither  
 suffer Timber, nor any other Materials to be carried to it: but on the  
 contrary, they began to raise Works and Fortifications against it,  
 with an intent to block it up, and render it useless to his Majesties  
 Service: And to keep the Souldiers therein Garrisoned (most of  
 them *English*) to hard meats, they would not suffer them to come in-  
 to the Market to recruit their Victuals. They made Provisions of  
 great quantity of Artillery, Munition and Arms from Foreign Parts;  
 laid Taxes of ten Marks in the hundred upon all the Subjects, ac-  
 cording to their several Revenues, which they Levied with all cursed  
 Rigour, though bruited them abroad to be *Free-will Offerings*; scattered  
 abroad many Seditious and Scandalous Pamphlets, for justifying  
 themselves and seducing others, some of which were burnt in  
*England* by the hand of the Hangman; Fortified *Inchgarvie* and other  
 places, which they planted with Ordnance; Imprisoned the Earl of  
*Southesk*, and other Persons of Quality, for their fidelity to the  
 King; took to themselves the Government of the City of *Edenborough*,  
 contrary to their Charters and Immunities, by which the  
 Citizens were disabled from serving his Majesty in any of his just  
 Commands; and finally, employed their Emissaries in all Parts of  
*England*, to dissuade those who were too backward of themselves,  
 from contributing to the War against them, and to solicit from  
 them such several Aids as might the better enable them to maintain  
 the War against their Sovereign.

But their chief Correspondence was with *France* and *Ireland*. In  
*France* they had made sure of Cardinal of *Richelieu*, who Governed  
 all Affairs in that Kingdom. Following the *Maxim* of Queen *Elizabeth*,  
 in securing the Peace of his own Country by the Wars of  
 his Neighbours, he practised the Revolt of *Portugal*, and put  
 the *Catalonians* into Arms against their King, to the end that he might  
 waste the fiery Spirit of the *French* in a War on *Flanders*, with the  
 better fortune and success. But knowing that it was the Interest of  
 the Crown of *England*, to hold the Balance even between *France* and  
*Spain*; and that his Majesty by removing the Ships of *Holland*, which  
 lay before *Duynkirk*, Anno 1635. had hindered the *French* from making  
 such a Progress by Land, as might have made them Masters of the  
*Spanish Netherlands*; he held it a chief piece of State-Craft (as indeed  
 it was) to excite the *Scots* against their King, and to encourage them  
 to stand it out unto the last, being so excited. "Upon which ground  
 "he sent *Chamberlain*, a *Scot* by Birth, his Chaplain and Almoner,  
 "to assist the Confederates in advancing the business, and to at-  
 tempt all ways for exasperating the first heat; with Order not to  
 depart



## Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

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“depart from them, till (things succeeding as he wished) he might  
 “return with good News: And on the same appointed one of his  
 Secretaries to reside in *Scotland*, to march along with them into *Eng-*  
*land*, to be present at all Councils of War, and direct their busi-  
 ness. And on the other side, *Hamiltons* Chaplains had free access  
 unto *Con* the same Countryman also, at such time as *Chamberlain*  
 was Negotiating for the Cardinal, to soment the Flames, which had  
 begun to rage already. And by a Letter subscribed by the Earl of  
*Roths*, and others of chief note amongst the *Covenanters*, they cra-  
 ved the Assistance of that King, cast themselves upon his Protection,  
 beseeching him to give credit to *Colvill* the Bearer thereof, whom  
 they had instructed in all Particulars which concerned their Condi-  
 tion and Desires. In *Ireland* they had a strong Party of Natural *Scots*,  
 planted in *Ulster* by King *James*, upon the forfeited Estates of *Tir-*  
*Owen*, *Tir-Connel*, *Odighirtie*, &c. not *Scots* in Birth and Parentage  
 only, but Design and Faction. But *Wentworth* was not to be told  
 of their secret Practices; he saw it in their general disposition to  
 Schism and Faction, and was not unacquainted with their old Re-  
 bellions. It must be his care that they brake not into any new;  
 which he performed with such a diligent and watchful eye, that he  
 crushed them in the very beginning of the Combination, seising  
 upon such Ships and Men as came thither from *Scotland*, Imprison-  
 ing some, Fining others, and putting an Oath upon the rest: By  
 which Oath they were bound to abjure the *Covenant*, not to be aid-  
 ing to the *Covenanters* against the King, nor to *Protest* against any of  
 his *Royal Edicts*, as their Brethren in *Scotland* used to do. For the re-  
 fusing of which Oath he Fined one (a) Sir *Henry Steward* and his  
 Wife (Persons of no less Power than Disaffection) at no less than  
 5000 *l.* apiece; two of their Daughters, and one *James Gray* of the  
 same Confederacy, at the Sum of 3000 *l.* apiece; committing them to  
 Prison for not paying the Fines imposed upon them. All which he ju-  
 stified when he was brought unto his Trial, on good Reasons of State;  
 There (b) being at that time one hundred thousand Souls in *Ireland*  
 of the *Scottish* Nation, most of them passionately affected to the  
 Cause of the *Covenanters*, and some of them conspiring to betray  
 the Town and Castle of *Carickfergus* to a Nobleman of that Country,  
 for which the Principal Conspirator had been justly Executed. Nor  
 staid he here, but he gave finally a Power to the Bishop of *Down*  
 and *Connor*, and other Bishops of that Kingdom, and their several  
 Chancellors, to attach the Bodies of all such of the meaner sort,  
 who either should refuse to appear before them upon Citation, or  
 to perform all Lawful Decrees and Orders made by the said Bishops  
 and their Chancellors; and to commit them to the next Gaol, till  
 they should conform, or answer the Contempt at the Council-Ta-  
 ble. By means whereof, he made the poorer sort so pliant, and  
 obedient to their several Bishops, that there was good hopes of  
 their Conformity to the Rules of the Church.

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1639

(a) Impeach-  
 ment of  
 Strafford,  
 Art. 19.

(b) Relations  
 of the An-  
 swers of the  
 E. of Straff.  
 p. 34.

Having



## PART II.

Anno Dom.

1639.

Having thus carried on the affairs of *Scotland* till the end of this year, we must return to our Archbishop; whom we shall find intent on the preservation of the *Hierarchy*, and the Church of *England*, against the Practices of the *Scots*, and *Scotizing English*: and no less busied in digesting an Apologie for vindicating the *Liturgie* commended to the Kirk of *Scotland*. In reference to the last, he took order for translating the *Scottish Liturgy* into the Latine Tongue; that being published with the Apologie, which he had designed, it might give satisfaction to the world of his Majesty Piety, and his own great care, the Orthodoxie and simplicity of the Book it self, and the perverseness of the *Scots* in refusing all of it. Which Work was finished and left with him, but it went no further; the present distemper of the times, and the troubles which fell heavily on him putting an end to it in the first beginning. But the best was, that the English *Liturgie* had been published in so many Languages, and the *Scottish* so agreeable to the *English* in the Forms and Offices, that any man might judge of the one by perusing the other. The first Liturgie of King *Edward vi.* translated into Latine by *Alexander Alefius*, a learned *Scot*, for the better information of *Martin Bucer*, when he first came to live amongst us; the second *Liturgie* of that King with Queen *Elizabeths* Emendations by *Walter Haddon*, President of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxon.* and Dean of *Exeter*; and his Translation rectified by *Dr. Morke*, in the times of King *James*, according to such Explications and Additions as were made by order from the King. The same translated into *French*, for the use of the Isle of *Fersey*, by the appointment of the King also; into the *Spanish* for the better satisfaction of that Nation, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper *Williams*; And finally, by the countenance and encouragement of this Archbishop, translated into Greek by *Petley*, much about this time, that so the *Eastern Churches* might have as clear an information of the *English* Piety as the *western* had.

In order to the other he recommended to *Hall*, then Bishop of *Exon.* the writing of a book in defence of the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, in opposition to the *Scots* and their Adherents. *Exeter* undertakes the Work, and sends him a rude draught or *Skeleton* of his design, consisting of the two main points of his intended discourse, together with the several Propositions which he intended to insist on in pursuance of it. The two main points which he was to aim at, were, "First, That Episcopacy is a lawful, most ancient, holy, and divine institution (as it is joyned with imparity, and superiority of Jurisdiction) and therefore where it hath through Gods providence obtained, cannot by any humane power be abdicated without a manifest violation of Gods Ordinance. And secondly, That the *Presbyterian* Government, however vindicated under the glorious names of Christs Kingdom, and Ordinance, hath no true footing either in Scripture, or the Practice of the Church in all Ages from Christs time till the present; and that howsoever it

" may



“ may be of use in some Cities or Territories, wherein Episcopal  
 “ Government through iniquity of times cannot be had; yet to ob-  
 “ trude it upon a Church otherwise settled under an acknowledged  
 “ *Monarchy*, is utterly incongruous and unjustifiable. In which  
 two points he was to predispose some Propositions ( or *Postulata*, as  
 he calls them ) to be the ground of his proceedings; which I shall  
 here present in his own conceptions, that so we may the better  
 judge of those corrections which were made upon them. The *Pos-  
 tulata* were as followeth, viz. “ 1. That Government which was  
 “ of Apostolical Institution, cannot be denied to be of Divine Right.  
 “ 2. Not only that Government which was directly com-  
 “ manded and enacted, but also that which was practiced and re-  
 “ commended by the Apostles to the Church, must justly pass for an  
 “ Apostolical Institution. 3. That which the Apostles by  
 “ Divine Inspiration instituted, was not for the present time, but for  
 “ continuance. 4. The universal Practice of the Church, im-  
 “ mediately succeeding the Apostles, is the best and surest Com-  
 “ mentary upon the Practice of the Apostles, or upon their Expres-  
 “ sions. 5. We may not entertain so irreverent an opinion of  
 “ the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church, that they who  
 “ were the immediate Successors of the Apostles, would, or durst  
 “ set up a Government, either faulty, or of their own heads.  
 “ 6. If they would have been so presumptuous, yet they could not  
 “ have diffused an uniform form of Government through the world  
 “ in so short a space. 7. The ancient Histories of the  
 “ Church, and Writings of the eldest Fathers, are rather to be be-  
 “ lieved in the report of the Primitive Form of the Church-Gov-  
 “ vernment, than those of this last Age. 8. Those whom the  
 “ ancient Church of God, and the holy and Orthodox Fathers con-  
 “ demned for Hereticks, are not fit to be followed as Authors of  
 “ our Opinion or Practice for Church-Government. 9. The ac-  
 “ cession of honourable Titles or Priviledges, makes no difference in  
 “ the substance of the calling. 10. Those Scriptures wherein  
 “ a new Form of Government is grounded, have need to be very  
 “ clear and unquestionable, and more evident than those whereon  
 “ the former rejected Politie, is raised. 11. If that Order  
 “ which, they say, Christ set for the Government of the Church  
 “ ( which they call the Kingdom and Ordinance of Christ ) be but  
 “ one, and undoubted, then it would, and shall have been ere this,  
 “ agreed upon against them, what, and which it is. 12. If  
 “ this ( which they pretend ) be the Kingdom, and Ordinance of  
 “ Christ, then if any Essential part of it be wanting, Christs King-  
 “ dom is not erected in the Church. 13. Christian Poli-  
 “ tie requires no impossible or absurd thing. 14. Those  
 “ Tenets which are new and unheard of in all Ages of the Church,  
 “ ( in many, and Essential points ) are well worthy to be suspected.  
 “ 16. To depart from the Practice of the Universal Church

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Anno Dom.

1639.





PART II. " of Christ ( ever from the Apostles times ) and to betake our selves  
*Anno Dom.* " voluntarily to a new Form, lately taken up, cannot but be odious  
 1639. " and highly scandalous.

These first Delineations of the Pourtraicture being sent to *Lambeth*, in the end of *October*, were generally well approved of by the *Metropolitan*. Some lines there were which he thought to have too much *shadow* and *umbrage*, might be taken at them, if not otherwise qualified with a more perfect Ray of Light. And thereupon he takes the Pensil in his hand, and with some Alterations of the Figure, accompanied with many kind expressions of a fair acceptance, he sent them back again to be compleatly Linned and Coloured by that able hand. Which alterations, what they were, and his reasons for them, I shall adventure to lay down, as they come before me, that so the Reader may discern as well the clearness of his apprehension, and the excellency of his judgment in the points debated. The Letter long, and therefore so disposed of without further coherence, that so it may be perused or pretermitted without disturbance to the sequel; some preparations being made by the hand of his Secretary, he proceeds thus to the rest.

*Cont. Disc.*  
 p. 233.

The rest of your Letter is fitter to be answered by my own hand, and so you have it. And since you are pleased so worthily and brother-like to acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work, and to yield it up to my censure, and better advice ( so you are pleased to write ) I do not only thank you heartily for it: but shall in the same brotherly way, and with equal freedom put some few Animadversions, such as occur on the sudden, to your further consideration, aiming at nothing but what you do, the perfection of the work in which so much is concerned. And first, for Mr. George Graham ( whom Hall had signified to have renounced his Episcopal Function ) I leave you free to work upon his business, and his ignorance as you please, assuring my self that you will not depart from the gravity of your self, or the cause therein. Next you say in the first head, That Episcopacy is an ancient, holy, and divine Institution. It must needs be ancient and holy, if divine. Would it not be more full, went it thus? So ancient as that it is of Divine Institution. Next you define Episcopacy by being joyned with imparity and superiority of Jurisdiction; but this seems short; for every Arch-presbyters or Archdeacons place is so, yea; and so was Mr. Henderson in his Chair at Glasco, unless you will define it by a distinction of Order. I draw the superiority; not from the Jurisdiction which is attributed to Bishops jure positivo, in their Audience of Ecclesiastical matters: but from that which is intrinsical and original in the power of Excommunication. Again, you say in the first point; That where Episcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without violation of Gods Ordinance. This Proposition I conceive is inter minus habentes; for never was there any Church yet, where it hath not obtained. The Christian Faith was never yet planted any where, but the very first feature of a Church was by,



by, or with Episcopacy; and wheresoever now Episcopacy is not suffered to be, it is by such an Abdication, for certainly there it was à Principio. In your second head you grant that the Presbyterian government may be of use, where Episcopacy may not be had. First, I pray you consider whither this conversion be not needless here, and in it self of a dangerous consequence: Next I conceive there is no place where Episcopacy may not be had, if there be a Church more then in Title only. Thirdly, since they challenge their Presbyterian Fiction to be Christs Kingdom and Ordinance (as your self expresth) and cast out Episcopacy as opposite to it, we must not use any mincing terms, but unmask them plainly; nor shall I ever give way to hamper our selves for fear of speaking plain truth, though it be against Amsterdam or Geneva: and this must be sadly thought on.

Concerning your Postulata I shall pray you to allow me the like freedom; amongst which the two first are true, but (as exprest) two restrictive. For Episcopacy is not so to be asserted unto Apostolical Institution, as to bar it from looking higher and from fetching it materially and originally in the ground and Intention of it, from Christ himself; though perhaps the Apostles formalized it. And here give me leave a little to enlarge. The adversaries of Episcopacy are not only the furious Arian Hereticks (out of which are now raised, Prynne, Bastwick, and our Scottish Masters) but some also of a milder and subtler alloy both in the Genevian and Roman Faction. And it will become the Church of England so to vindicate it against the furious Puritans as that we may not lay it open to be wounded by either of the other two, more cunning, and more learned adversaries. Not to the Roman faction for that will be content, it shall be Juris Divini mediati, by, far, from, and under the Pope, that so the Government of the Church may be Monarchical in him; but not Immediati, which makes the Church Aristocratical in the Bishops. This is the Italian Rock, not the Genevan; for that will not deny Episcopacy to be Juris Divini, so you will take it, ut suadentis vel approbantis but not imperantis; for then they may take and leave as they will, which is that they would be at. Nay (if I much forget not) Beza himself is said to have acknowledged Episcopacy to be Juris Divini Imperantis, so you will not take it as universaliter imperantis, For then Geneva might escape: & citra considerationem durantis; for then though they had it before, yet now upon wiser thoughts they may be without it, which Scotland says now, and who will may say it after, if this be good Divinity: and then all in that time shall be Democratical. I am bold to add, because in your second Postulatum I find, that Episcopacy is directly commanded: but you go not so far as to meet with this subtilty of Beza, which is the great Rock in the Lake of Geneva. In your ninth Postulatum, that the Accession of Honourable Titles, or Priviledges, makes no difference in the substance of the calling, You mean the titles of Archbishops, Primates, Metropolitans, Patriareks, &c. 'Tis well, And I presume you do so: But then in any case take heed you assert it so, as that the Fa-

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1639.



PART II. *Etien* lay not hold of it, as if the Bishops were but the Title of Honour, Anno Dom. and the same calling with a Priest; For that they all aim at, &c. The  
 1639. eleventh Postulatum is larger, and I shall not Repeat it; because I am  
 sure you retain a Copy of what you write to me, being the Ribbs of the work; nor shall I say more to it, then that it must be warily handled for fear of a saucy Answer, which is more ready with them a great deal then a Learned one. I presume I am pardoned already for this freedom by your submission of all to me. And now I heartily pray you to send me up, (keeping a Copy to your self against the accidents of Carriage) not the whole work together, but each particular head or Postulatum, as you finish it; that so we here may be the better able to consider of it, and the work come on faster. So to Gods blessed Protection, &c.

Such was the freedom which he used in declaring his judgement in the case, and such the Authority which his reasons carried along with them, that the Bishop of *Exon* found good cause to correct the obliquity of his opinion according to the Rules of these Animadversions; agreeably unto which the book was writ and published not long after, under the name of *Episcopacy* by Divine Right, &c.

Such care being taken to prevent all inconveniencies which might come from *Scotland*, he casts his eye toward the Execution of his former Orders for Regulating the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here in *England*. It had been to no purpose in him to endeavour a Conformity amongst the *Scots*, as long as such examples of separation did continue amongst the *English*. If the *post-nati* in those Churches, born and bred in *England*, should not be bound to repair with other of their Neighbours to their Parish Churches, it might create a further mischief then the present Scandal, and come up close at last to formal Schism. His Order had been published in all the Congregations of strangers within his Province, as before is said; but Executed more or less, as the Minister and Church-wardens stood affected to those Congregations. And therefore that the Church-wardens might more punctually proceed in doing their duty, It was thought fit that certain Articles should be framed and commended to them for their future direction. The Reformation being pursued in his own Diocese, and the Metropolitcal City first, it was to be presumed, that those in other places would gladly follow the Example. Of laying taxes on those strangers in their severall Parishes for repairing of, and adorning their severall Parish-Churches, and providing Ornaments for the same they were in all places careful enough; because their own profit was concerned in it. "And for their proceedings in the rest they were directed by these Orders to inquire of all such strangers as lived amongst them, the names of all married persons in their Congregations as of the second descent in their severall Parishes, to the end that order might be taken for decent seats for them, according



“ cording to their Estates and qualities : that they should return the  
 “ names and ages of those unmarried of the second descent , and  
 “ whose children and servants they were ; to the end that the like  
 “ care might be taken of their due resort to the Church , there to  
 “ be Catechised , and Communicate according to their ages : that  
 “ those at sixteen years and upwards, that had not already Com-  
 “ municated should prepare themselves to receive the blessed Sa-  
 “ crament in their Parish Church at the next Communion ; and  
 “ from thence forward thrice in the year afterwards as the Canons  
 “ of the Church require , as they would avoid presentment to  
 “ their *Ordinary* for their neglect therein : that such as were Pa-  
 “ rents and Masters of Families of the first and second descent , did  
 “ thenceforth every Lords day, half an hour after Evening Prayer,  
 “ send all such, their Children and Servants as were under sixteen  
 “ to their Parish Church, there to be Catechised according to the  
 “ Orders of the Church , as they themselves upon presentment  
 “ would answer the Contrary. These Articles being given in  
 the middle of *April*, were Executed for the rest of the year more  
 punctually then in any of those before. But it held not much  
 longer then the rest of that year : The troubles which the Arch-  
 bishop fell into, in the year next following dissolving all his Orders  
 and Injunctions of this kind, as if never made.

With equal constancy he governed his Counsels in all other  
 particulars! Some informations had been given him of certain mis-  
 demeanours and corruptions in *Merton Colledge*, of which he  
 was the Ordinary, and immediate Visitor, in the Right of his See ;  
 and in that Right he resolves upon a Visitation both in Head , and  
 Members. To this employment he deposes his Right Trusty Friend  
 and Assured Servant , The *Dean of the Arches* ; who entring on his  
 charge in the year foregoing 1638. made this Enquiry amongst  
 others, viz. *whither they made due Reverence ( by bowing towards*  
*the Altar or Communion Table ) when they came into the Chappel.*  
 And finding by a return to this enquiry, that *Corbet*, and *Cheyne* two  
 of the Fellows , not only had neglected but refused to make any  
 such Reverence , he tryed all fair and plausible perswasions by him-  
 self and others to induce them too it. But not prevailing either  
 way, he certified the Archbishop of his Proceedings, who thereupon  
 caused some *Injunctions* to be sent to the Colledge for their future  
 Governance, Amongst which I find this for one, that they use due and  
 lowly Reverence towards the Lords Table, at their first entrance into  
 the Quire. Upon the coming whereof there was no more dispute  
 about it, those Reverences being made by most, and constantly conti-  
 nued by them till the Parliament of *Novem. 3*. In matters which con-  
 cerned the Warden , it was thought fit by *Lamb* the Chief Com-  
 missioner , to do nothing without further direction , but only to  
 acquaint the Archbishop, in what State he found them ; who there-  
 upon recalled the business to himself. The parties to appear before  
 him *Octob.* following, at which time he spent three days in hearing

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Anno Dom.

1639.

Habeant deli-  
 tam reverentiam  
 ad mensam Do-  
 mini, &c.



PART II. and examining the Points in difference between *Brent* the Warden, and such of the Fellows of the Colledge as complained against him:

Anno Dom.

1639.

But for determining the Cause (*the Warden appearing very foul*, as himself acknowledgeth) he took time till the first of *July* in this present year, that *Brent* might have the better opportunities to content his Fellows, for the Errors of his Government in the times precedent, and give them some assurance of a Reformation for the time to come. Which noble Favour notwithstanding, and that he went off with no other Censure than a fair and Fatherly *Admonition*: yet *Brent* unmindful of so great a moderation toward him, expres'd more readiness in contributing towards his Condemnation in the time of his Trial, than any of those who did most eagerly desire his Ruine.

The course and method of my business having brought me to *Oxon.* I cannot depart thence, without taking notice of his further Bounty and Munificence to that University. He had before entertained some thoughts of clearing the great Square betwixt *St. Maries* and the *Schools*, intending to have raised a fair and capacious Room, advanced on Pillars; the upper part to serve for Convocations and Congregations, which till that time were held in the Church it self; the lower for a Walk or place of Conference, in which Students of all sorts might confer together, at their repairing to the *Schools*, the Library, or any other business which concerned the Publick. But finding the Owners of those Houses not so willing to part with them, as he had probably presumed, he was fain to shift the Scene, though he held his purpose, which fell out very happily for that University: For being resolved to free *St. Maries* Church from those Inconveniencies, which the continual keeping of the Publick Convocations and Congregations must of necessity carry with it, he erected a stately and most elegant Pile at the West end of the Divinity School, and Publick Library; The lower part whereof was fitted and accommodated for the Convocations, and other Publick Meetings of that Famous Body: The upper part, opening into the *Bodleian Library*, he trimmed with all the Curiosities of Art and Cost, to serve as a Repository for such Learned Writings, as the Piety of ensuing Times might confer upon it. And that it might not be reported, that he had given them nothing but an empty Box, he furnished it with no fewer than 1276 Manuscripts in several Languages, 700 whereof had been sent before at divers times, when this beautiful Structure was in raising: The rest were sent on *June* 28. in this present year; 100 of these last being in the *Hebrew, Greek, Arabick* and *Persian* Tongues. And that he might make some Acknowledgment to the Town of *Reading*, in which he was born, and in the Grammar-School whereof he had received the first part of his Education, he bestowed upon it about this time also a Revenue of no less than 200 *l. per Annum*, to be thus disposed of; that is to say, 120 *l.* thereof to be parcelled out every two years, for the placing of Apprentices, and setting up of young Beginners who had

honestly



honestly served out their Times ; and every third year, for the Marriage of five young Maidens which had lived with one Master or Mistress for seven years together ; 50 *l.* of it to be yearly added for an Augmentation to the Minister of the Parish-Church of *St. Laurence* in which he was born, whose means before was miserably short of that which some call a *Competency* ; and having purchased the perpetual Parsonage of it, he conferred it on *St. John's Colledge* in *Oxon.* to be a fit Preferment for any one of the Fellows of that House for the time to come : 20 *l.* of it he allotted yearly to encrease the Stipend of the Schoolmaster there ; 8 *l.* for the yearly Entertainment of the President and Fellows of *St. John's Colledge*, whom he made his Visitors, to see that all things should be carried as fairly on, as by him piously intended ; the remaining 40 *s.* being added as a yearly Fee to the Town-Clerk, for Registring the Names of those who should from time to time enjoy the benefit of so great a Charity. Some other great Designs he had, but of a far more Publick and Heroick Nature ; as the encreasing of the Maintenance of all the poor Vicars in *England* ; To see the Tythes of *London* settled between the Clergy and the City ; For setting up a *Greek Press* at *Oxon.* and procuring Letters and Matrices for the same, wherewith to Print and Publish all such *Greek Manuscripts* as were to be found in that Library ; For obtaining the like Grant from his Majesty for buying in all Improprations, as had been made for the Repairing of *St. Pauls* : but not to take beginning, till that Work was finished ; For procuring an *Extract* of all the *Records* of the *Tower* relating to the Church and Clergy, to be written in a fair Vellom Book, which had been drawn down from the 20th. of *Edward I.* to the 14th. of *Edward IV.* with an intent to carry on the Work till the last year of King *Henry VIII.* that so the Church might understand her own Power and Priviledges. But the prosecution of this Work from the said 14th. of King *Edward IV.* and of all the rest before-mentioned, which he had hammered in design, were most unfortunately intermitted, by the great alteration of Affairs which soon after followed. I cannot tell whether Posterity will believe or not, That so many great and notable Projectments could be comprehended in one Soul ; most of them Ripened in a manner, the residue in the Bud or Blossom, and some of them bringing forth the Fruits expected from them. But the best is, that none of his Designs were carried in so close a manner, or left in so imperfect a condition, as not to give some visible Remembrances, as well of his Universal Comprehensions, as his Zeal and Piety.

For notwithstanding the present Distractions which the Faction and Tumultuousness of the *Scots*, had drawn upon him (enough to have deterred a right *Constantine*) let us look on him in the pursuit of his former purposes, and we shall find him still the same. The Bishop of *Exeter's* Book being finished, and recommended by the Author to his last perusal before it went unto the Press, he took the pains

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## PART II.

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pains to read it over with care and diligence; in the perusal where-  
 of he took notice, amongst other things, that the strict Superstition  
 of the *Sabbatarians* was but lightly touch'd at; whereas he thought,  
 that some smarter Plaister to that Sore, might have done no harm.  
 He observed also, that he had pass'd by this Point, *viz. whether*  
*Episcopacy be an Order or Degree*, as not much material; whereas  
 in the Judgment of such Learned Men as he had consulted, it was  
 the main ground of the whole Cause: And therefore he desired him  
 to weigh it well, and to alter it with his own Pen as soon as might  
 be. But that which gave him most offence was, That the Title of  
*Antichrist* was positively and determinately bestowed upon the  
*Pope*; Which being so contrary to the Judgment of many Learned  
*Protestants*, as well as his own, he allowed not of: but howsoever  
 thought it fit to acquaint his Majesty with the Business; and having  
 so done, to submit it to his Will and Preamure. Concerning which,  
 he writes thus to the Bishop in his Letter of January 14. this pre-  
 sent year, *viz. The last (with which I durst not but acquaint his Maje-*  
*sty) is about Antichrist, which Title in three or four places you bestow*  
*upon the Pope positively and determinately; whereas King James of*  
*Blessed Memory, having brought strong proof in a work of his, as*  
*you well know, to prove the Pope to be Antichrist: yet being afterwards*  
*challenged about it, he made this Answer, when the King that now is*  
*went into Spain, and acquainted him with it; That he writ, that not*  
*concludingly, but by way of Argument only: that the Pope and his*  
*Adherents might see, there was as good and better Arguments to*  
*prove him Antichrist, than for the Pope to challenge Temporal Juris-*  
*isdiction over Kings. The whole Passage being known to me, I could not*  
*but speak with the King about it, who commanded me to write unto you,*  
*that you might qualifie your Expression in these Particulars, and so not*  
*differ from the known Judgment of his Pious and Learned Father. This*  
*is easily done with your own Pen; and the rather, because all Prote-*  
*stants joyn not in this Opinion of Antichrist. According to which*  
 good advice, the Bishop of *Exon.* qualified some of his Expressions;  
 and deleted other, to the Contentment of his Sovereign, the Satis-  
 faction of his *Metropolitan*, and his own great Honour.

But whilst the Archbishop laboured to support *Episcopacy* on the  
 one side, some of the *Puritan* Party did as much endeavour to sup-  
 press it, by lopping off the Branches first, and afterwards by laying  
 the Ax to the root of the Tree. *Bagshaw* a Lawyer of some standing  
 of the Middle Temple, did first prepare the way to the ruine of it,  
 by questioning the Bishops Place and Vote in Parliament, their Tem-  
 poral Power, and the Authority of the *High-Commission*. For be-  
 ing chosen *Reader* by that House for the *Lent* Vacation, he first began  
 his *Readings* on February 24. selecting for the Argument of his Dis-  
 courings the Statute 25 *Edw. 3. cap. 7.* In prosecuting whereof, he  
 had distributed his Conceptions into ten Parts, and each Part into  
 ten several Cases; by which account he must have had one hundred  
 blows



blows at the Church in his ten days Reading. His main Design was LIB. IV.  
in the first place, intended chiefly for the defence of such Prohibiti- Anno Dom.  
ons as formerly had been granted by the Courts in *Westminster-Hall* 1639.  
to stop the Proceedings of the *Court Christian*, and specially of the *High-Commission*; and in the next place, to deny the Authority of  
the Commission it self, as before was noted. In order whereunto,  
he began first to state these Questions, *viz.* 1. *Whether it be a good*  
*Act of Parliament without the Assent of the Lords Spiritual?* which  
he held affirmatively. 2. *Whether any Beneficed Clerk were capable of*  
*Temporal Jurisdiction at the time of making that Law?* which he held  
in the negative. And 3. *Whether a Bishop, without calling a Synod,*  
*have Power as Diocesan to convict an Heretick?* which he maintain-  
ed in the negative also. The News whereof being brought to *Lam-*  
*beth*, there was no need of warning the Archbishop to look about  
him, who was not to be told what a strong Faction some of the *Scot-*  
*tizing Lawyer's* had made against the Church in *Queen Elizabeth's*  
Time, carried it on under the Government of *King James*, and  
now began to threaten as much danger to it as in former times. He  
thereupon informs his Majesty both of the Man and his Design, and  
how far he had gone in justifying the Proceedings of the *Scottish Co-*  
*venanters*, in decrying the Temporal Power of Church-men, and  
the undoubted Right of Bishops to their Place in Parliament. His  
Majesty hereupon gives Order to *Finch* the new Lord Keeper, to in-  
terdict all further Reading on those Points, or any others of like na-  
ture, which might administer any further Flame to the present Com-  
bustions. The Lord Keeper having done his part, and the Reader  
addressing himself to him, that by his leave he might proceed in the  
course of his Exercise, it was soon found, that nothing could be  
done therein without leave from the King; and no such leave to be  
obtained, but by the Approbation and Consent of the Lord Archbi-  
shop. To *Lambeth* therefore goes the Reader, where he found no  
admittance till the making of his third Address, and was then told,  
*That he was fallen upon a Subject neither safe nor seasonable, which*  
*should stick closer to him than he was aware of.* *Bagshaw* endeavoured  
something in his own defence, as to the choice of the Argument;  
and somewhat also, as to the impossibility of settling to any other  
Subject in the present Conjuncture, desiring his Grace to be a means  
unto the King, that he might proceed in performance of the Task he  
had undertaken. To which the Archbishop stoutly answered, *That*  
*his Majesty was otherwise resolved in it; and that perhaps it had been*  
*better for the Reader himself to have given over at the first, than have*  
*incurred his Majesties Royal Indignation by that unseasonable Adven-*  
*ture.* No better Answer being given him, away goes *Bagshaw* out  
of Town, accompanied with forty or fifty Horse (and it was a great  
Honour to the House that he had no more) who seemed to be of the  
same Faction and Affections also, as their designed Reader was, be-  
ing instructed, though too late, that they could not have so great a  
care



PART II. care of their Courts and Profit, as the Archbishops had of the  
*Anno Dom.* Churches power. Such was the constancy of his spirit, that not-  
 1639. withstanding the Combustions in *Scotland*, the ill prosecuting of the  
 last Summers Action, and the uncertainties of what might happen  
 in the next, he alwaies steered his course with a steady hand to the  
 port he aimed at, though it pleased God to let him suffer shipwrack  
 in the mouth of the Haven.

The interrupting of this man in the course of his Reading, the  
 holding of so strict an hand over the Congregations of the *French*  
 and *Dutch* within his Province, and these compliances on the other  
 side with the Church of *Rome*, were made occasions of the clamour,  
 which was raised against him concerning his design to suppress the  
 Gospel, and to bring in *Popery* and *Arminianism*; or at the least to  
 make a Reconciliation betwixt us and *Rome*, towards which the Do-  
 ctrine of *Arminius* was given out for a certain Preamble. Which  
 general clamour being raised against him and the rest of the Bishops,  
 I find thus flourish over by one of their Orators in the House of

Speech of the  
 L. Park-  
 in 1p. 3.  
 1641.

Commons. "A little search (saith he) will find them to have been  
 "the destruction of Unity under pretence of Uniformity; To have  
 "brought in Superstition and Scandal under titles of Reverence and  
 "Decency; To have defiled our Church by adorning our Churches;  
 "To have slackned the strictness of that Union which was formerly  
 "between us and those of our Religion beyond the Seas, An action  
 "as unpolitick as ungodly: Or we shall find them to have resembled  
 "the Dog in the Manger, to have neither preached themselves, nor  
 "employed those that should, nor suffered those that would; To  
 "have brought in Catechising only to thrust out Preaching, and  
 "cried down Lectures by the name of Factions, either because  
 "their industry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect of  
 "it, or with intention to have brought in darkness, that they might  
 "the easier sow their tares while it was night: and by that intro-  
 "duction of ignorance, introduce the better that Religion which ac-  
 "counts it the Mother of Devotion. In which (saith he) they  
 "have abused his Majesty, as well as his People; for when he had  
 "with great wisdom silenced on both parts those opinions which  
 "have often tormented the Church, and have, and always will trou-  
 "ble the Schools, They made use of this Declaration to tie up one  
 "side, and to let the other loose, whereas they ought either in discre-  
 "tion to have been equally restrained, or in justice to have been e-  
 "qually tolerated. And it is observable, that the party to which they  
 "gave this Licence, was that, whose Doctrine, though it was not  
 "contrary to Law, was contrary to Custome, and for a long while  
 "in this Kingdom was no oftner Preached than Recanted, &c. We  
 "find them introducing such Doctrines, as admitting them to be  
 "true, the truth could not recompence the scandal; Or such as  
 "were so far false, as Sir *Thomas More* saies of the *Casuits*, their  
 "business was not to keep men from sinning, but to inform them,

"Quam



“ *Quam prope ad peccatum, sine peccato liceat accedere.* So it seemed L I B. IV.  
 “ their work was to try how much of a *Papist* might be brought in *Anno Dom.*  
 “ without *Popery*, and to destroy as much of the Gospel without 1639.  
 “ bringing themselves into danger of being destroyed by Law. To  
 “ go yet further, some of them have so industriously laboured to  
 “ deduce themselves from *Rome*, that they have given great suspicion  
 “ that in gratitude they desire to return thither, or at least to meet  
 “ it half way; some have evidently laboured to bring in an *Engliss*,  
 “ though not a *Roman Popery*. I mean not only the outside and  
 “ dress of it, but equally absolute, a blind dependance on the Peo-  
 “ ple upon the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themselves; and have  
 “ opposed the *Papacy* beyond the Seas, that they might settle one be-  
 “ yond the water.

Such being the general charge which was laid against him, we will consider in this place what may be said in order to his defence, as to some seeming *Innovations* into the Worship of God, his design to bring in *Popery* by the back-door of *Arminianism*, and his endeavouring of a Reconciliation betwixt us and *Rome*. And first, as touching such *Innovations* in the Worship of God, he makes a general purgation of himself in his Speech made in the *Star-Chamber*, the sum and substance whereof you have seen before. Out of which I shall only take this short and pithy Declaration which he makes of himself, in relation to this part of his charge. *viz.* “ I can say it  
 “ clearly and truly, as in the presence of God, that I have done no-  
 “ thing, as a Prelate, to the utmost of what I am conscious, but  
 “ with a single heart, and with a sincere intention for the good Go-  
 “ vernment and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the  
 “ Orthodox truth, and Religion of Christ, professed, established,  
 “ and maintained in the Church of *England*. For my care of this  
 “ Church, the reducing it to Order, the upholding of the Exter-  
 “ nal Worship of God in it, and the settling of the Rules of its  
 “ first Reformation, are the cause ( and the sole cause, whatsoever  
 “ is pretended ) of this malicious storm that hath lowred so black  
 “ upon me, and some of my Brethren. The like Declaration he  
 “ also makes in his first Speech to the Lords, at the time of his tryal,  
 “ where we find it thus : “ Ever since I came into place ( saith he ) I  
 “ have laboured nothing more than that the External Worship of  
 “ God ( so much slighted in divers parts of this Kingdom ) might  
 “ be preserved; and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as  
 “ might be; For I evidently saw, that the publick neglect of Gods  
 “ Service in the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of ma-  
 “ ny places dedicated to that Service, had almost cast a damp upon  
 “ the true and inward Worship of God, which while we live in the  
 “ body needs External helps, and all little enough to keep it in any  
 “ vigour. And this I did to the utmost of my knowledge accord-  
 “ ing both to Law and Canon, and with the consent and liking of  
 “ the People; nor did any Command issue out from me against the

P.4,



PART II. "one or the other. And finally, we shall find the like Declaration  
*Anno Dom.* made by him on the Scaffold at the time of his death, in which sad  
 1639. hour there was no dissembling (and I conceive all charitable men  
 will believe so of it) before God or man. But because it  
 p. 54. relates also to the next particular, we shall there meet with  
 it.

And for the next particular, concerning the designing to bring in  
*Poper*y, it hath been further aggravated by his correspondency with  
 the Popes Ministers here in *England*, and his indulgence to that Party  
 upon all occasions. But of this he cleansed himself sufficiently in  
 the Star-Chamber Speech before remembred, in which he publick-  
 ly avowed: "First, That he knew of no plot or purpose of altering  
 "the Religion established. Secondly, That he had never been far  
 "from attempting any thing that may truly be said to tend that way  
 "in the least degree. And thirdly, having offered his Oath for the  
 "other two, that if the King had a mind to change Religion (which  
 "he knew he had not) his Majesty must seek for other Instruments,  
 "how basely soever those men had conceived of him. The like  
 assurance he gives also in the last hour of his life, when he was go-  
 ing to render an account of all his Actions before Gods Tribunal.  
 "Here is a Clamour that I would have brought in Popery, but I was  
 "born and baptized (saith he) in the bosome of the Church of  
 "England, established by Law; in that profession I have ever since  
 "lived, and in that I come now to dye. This is no time to dissem-  
 "ble with God, least of all in matters of Religion; and therefore I  
 "desire it may be remembred, I have alwaies lived in the Protestant  
 "Religion established in *England*, and in that I come now to die.  
 And then he adds with reference to the point before, "What Cla-  
 "mours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Unifor-  
 "mity in the External Service of God, according to the Doctrine and  
 "Discipline of this Church, all men know; and I have abundantly  
 "felt. His Conference with *Fisher* the Jesuite, in the year 1622. and  
 his enlarging of that Conference, *Anno* 1637. with *Derings* attestation  
 to it, which before we had, do most abundantly evince this truth,  
 that he approved not the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. And  
 as he approved not of their Doctrines, so he as much disliked their  
 practices for gaining Profelytes, or multiplying their followers in all  
 parts of the Kingdom: concerning which he tells his Majesty, "That  
 "though he never had advised a persecution of the Papists in any  
 "kind, yet God forbid (saith he) that your Majesty should let both  
 "Laws and Discipline sleep for fear of a Persecution, and in the  
 "mean time let Mr. *Fisher* and his Fellows *Angle* in all parts of your  
 "Dominions for your Subjects. If in your Grace and Goodness  
 "you will spare their persons: yet I humbly beseech you to see to  
 "it, that they be not suffered to lay either their weels, or bait their  
 "Hooks, or cast their Nets in every stream, least the Temptation  
 "grow both too general, and too strong. So he in the Epistle Dedi-  
 catory

Relation of  
 his Death,  
 &c. p. 20.

Epist. to the  
 King before  
 the Conf.



catory to his *Large Relation* of the Conference between him and *Fisher*, published in the end of the year forgoing. Assuredly it must needs seem extremely ridiculous to others, and contradictory to it self, to confute the chief Doctrines of the Papists, and oppose their practicings, if he had had any such design to bring in *Popery*.

And being thus averse from them in point of Doctrine he declined all correspondence and acquaintance with them, whereby he might come under the suspicion of some secret Practice. I hold it probable enough, that the better to oblige the Queen unto him (of whose Prevalency in the Kings affections he could not be ignorant) he might consent to *Con's* coming hither over from the Pope, to be assistant to her in such affairs as the nature of her Religion might occasion with the Sea of *Rome*: But he kept himself at such a distance, that neither *Con*, nor *Panzani* before him (who acted for a time in the same capacity) could fasten any acquaintance on him. The Pamphlet called, *The Popes Nuncio*, Printed in the year 1643. hath told us, "That *Panzani* at his being here, did desire a Conference with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, but was put off and procrastinated therein from day to day; That at the last he departed the Kingdom without any Speech with him. The like we find in the discovery of *Andreas ab Habernfeld*, who tells us of this *Con*, "That finding the Kings Judgment to depend much on the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his faithful Servant, he resolved to move every stone, and bend all his strength to gain him to his side: being confident he had prepared, the means. For he had a command to make offer of a Cardinals Cap to the Lord Archbishop in the name of the Pope of *Rome*; and that he should allure him also with higher promises, that he might corrupt his sincere mind; yet a fitting occasion was never offered whereby he might insinuate himself into the Lord Archbishop, to whom free access was to be impetrated by the *Earl* and *Countess* of *Arundel*, as also by Secretary *Windebank*, all whose intercessions he neglected, and did shun (as it were the Plague) the company or Familiarity of *Con*. He was also solicited by others of no mean Rank, well known to him, and yet he continued unmovable. And whereas some found a way to help at last by making *Windebank* the *Internuncio* betwixt him and them, that only serves to make the matter rather worse than better, there being a great strangeness grown betwixt him and *Windebank*; not only before *Con's* coming into the Realm: but before *Panzani* had settled any course of intelligence in the Court of *England*.

As for his favours towards those of the Catholick Party, and his connivence of their Practices, which is next objected; as he had good reason for the one: so there could be no reason to object the other. He had good reason for the one, viz. That by shewing favours to the *Papists* here, they might obtain the like favours for such Protestants as lived in the Dominion of Popish Princes. Upon which ground King *James* extended many favours to them in his time, as

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Pop. Nunc.

p. 7.

Subfecit

ab Domino,

Archiepiscopo

Regi fidelissi-

mo totum a-

nimum Re-

gis in eis pen-

dulum, R.

Matr. p. 16.



PART II. appears by the letter written on their behalf by the Bishop of *Lincoln* then Lord *Keeper*. And yet perhaps he had a better Reason for it then this, which was, That seeing the *Puritans* grown so strong even to the endangering of our Peace both in Church and State, by the negligence and remissness of the former Government, he thought it necessary to shew some countenance to the *Papists*; that the ballance being kept even between the parties, the Church and State might be preserved (as indeed they were) in the greater safety. And this appeareth to be his Chief inducement to it, in regard, that when the Protestant party was grown strong enough to stand and go without such Crutches, he then declared himself openly before the King at a Council Table against *Mountague*, *Matthews*, and the like; and wrought so far, that he removed them from the Court to learn more moderation: and this may sufficiently absolve him from all such connivence as without Reason is objected. And yet I have another Demonstration to discharge him of it. In the *November* of this year I received a message from him to attend him the next day at two of the Clock in the After-noon. The Key being turned which opened the way into his Study, I found him sitting in a Chair holding a Paper in both hands, and his eyes so fixed upon the Paper that he observed me not at my coming in. Finding him in that Posture I thought it fit in manners to retire again; but the noise I made by my retreat, bringing him back unto himself, he recalled me to him, and told me after some short pause, that he well remembered he had sent for me, but could not tell for his life what it was about. After which he was pleased to say (not without tears in his eyes) that he had then newly received a letter, acquainting him with the Revolt of a Person of quality in *North Wales* to the Church of *Rome*; that he knew that the increase of *Papery*, by such frequent Revolts would be imputed unto him, and his brethren the Bishops, who were least guilty of the same; that for his part he had done his utmost so far forth as it might consist with the Rules of prudence, and the preservation of the Church, to suppress that party, and to bring the chief sticklers in it to condigne punishment. To the truth whereof (lifting up his wet eyes to heaven) he took God to witness; conjuring me (as I would answer it to God at the day of Judgement) that if ever I come to any of those places, which he and his Brethren by reason of their great age were not likely to hold long, I would imply all such abilities as God had given me, in suppressing the Romish party, who by their open undertakings, and secret practices were like to be the ruine of this flourishing Church.

Finally touching the design of working a *Reconciliation* betwixt us and *Rome*. I find it charged upon him by another writer who holds it as unlawful to be undertaken; As it was impossible to be effected. 2. Most apparent it is (saith he) by several passages in his life, that he endeavoured to take up many controversies be-  
 "twixt



“twixt us and the Church of *Rome*, so to comprise the difference, *L. 11. IV.*  
 “and to bring us to a vicinity, if not *contiguity* therewith, *Animad. Anno Dom.*  
 “possible design (if granted lawful) as some every way his equals, *1639.*  
 “did adjudge. For composition is impossible with such, who will  
 “not agree unless all they sue for, and all the charges of the suit  
 “be to the utmost farthing awarded to them. Our *Reconciliation*  
 “with *Rome* is clogged with the same impossibilities; she may be  
 “gone to, but will never be met with, such her *pride* or *Peevish-*  
 “ness, not to stir a step to obviate any of a different Religion. *Rome*  
 “will never so far *Unpope* her self, as to part with her pretended  
 “*Supremacy*, and *Infallibility*, which cuts off all possibility of Pro-  
 “testants *treating* with her, if possible without prejudice to Gods  
 “glory and truth, other controversies might be composed. Which  
 “done *England* would have been an Island as well in Religion, as  
 “situation, cut off from the Continent of Foreign Protestant  
 “Churches, in a singular posture by it self, hard to be imagined, but  
 “harder to be effected.

But unto this it hath been Answered, that if it be a *Crime*, it is  
*Novum Crimen*, that is to say, a Crime of a new stamp never coyned *Animad.*  
 before. I thought when our Saviour said, *Beati Pacifici*, it had been *p. 261.*  
 sufficient warrant unto any man to endeavour peace, to build up  
 the breaches in the Church; and to make *Jerusalem* like a City  
 which is at unity in it self; especially where it may done not only  
*Salva Charitate*, without breach of *Charity*; but *salva fide* too,  
 without wrong to *faith*: the greatest part of the controversies be-  
 twixt us and the Church of *Rome* not being in the *Fundamentals*; or  
 in any Essential point in the Christian Religion, I cannot otherwise  
 look upon it, but as a most pious work, to endeavour an atone-  
 ment in the superstructures. But hereof the writer seems to doubt:  
 first whither such endeavours to agree and compose the differences be  
 lawful or not, and secondly whither they be possible. As for the  
 Lawfulness thereof, I could never see any Reason produced against  
 it, not so much as any question made of it, till I found it here:  
 Against the Possibility thereof it hath been objected, that such and  
 so great is the pride of the Church of *Rome* that they will conde-  
 scend to nothing; and therefore if any such composition be made,  
 it must not be by their meeting us, but by our going to them: But as  
 that Writer says, that many of the Archbishops Equals adjudged  
 the design of his to be impossible; so may I say (without making any  
 such odious comparisons) that many men of eminence for their parts  
 and piety have thought otherwise of it. It was the Petulancy of the  
 Puritans on the one side, and the Pragmaticalness of the Jesuites on  
 the other, which made the breach wider then it was at first; and  
 had those hot spirits on both sides been calmed a while, moderate  
 men might possibly have agreed upon such equal terms, as would  
 have laid a sure foundation for the peace of Christendom. Now that  
 all those in the Church of *Rome* are not so stiffly wedded to their own  
 opinion



PART II. opinions as that Writer makes them, appears first by the Testimony of the Archbishop of *Spalato*, declaring in the *High Commission* a little before his going hence, that he acknowledged the Articles of the Church to be true, or profitable at the least; and none of them to be Heretical. It appears secondly by a Tractate of *Franciscus à Sancta Clara*, (as he calls himself) in which he putteth such a gloss upon the 39 Articles of the Church of *England* as rendreth them not inconsistent with the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. And if without prejudice to the truth; the controversies might have been composed, it is most probable, that other Protestant Churches would have sued by their Agents to be included in the Peace: if not, the Church of *England* had lost nothing by it, as being hated by the Calvinists, and not loved by the Lutherans.

Pope Nunc.  
p. 18.

Admitting then that such a *Reconciliation* was endeavoured betwixt the Agents for both Churches, Let us next see what our great States-men have discoursed upon that particular, upon what terms the Agreement was to have been made, and how far they proceeded in it. And first the book entituled the *Popes Nuncio*, affirmed to have been written by a *Venetian* Ambassador at his being in *England*, doth discourse it thus. "As to a *Reconciliation* (saith he) between the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, there were made some general Propositions and overtures by the Archbishops Agents, they assuring that his Grace was very much disposed thereunto; and that if it was not accomplisht in his life time, it would prove a work of more difficulty after his death; that in very truth for the last three years, the Archbishop had introduced some Innovations approaching near the Rites and Forms of *Rome*; that the Bishop of *Chichester* a great Confident of his Grace, the Lord Treasurer and eight other Bishops of his Graces party, did most passionately desire a *Reconciliation* with the Church of *Rome*; that they did day by day receed from their Ancient Tenents to accommodate with the Church of *Rome*; that therefore the Pope on his part, ought to make some steps to meet them; and the Court of *Rome* Remit something of its Rigor in Doctrine, or otherwise no accord would be. The composition on both sides in so good a forwardness, before *Panzani* left the Kingdom, that the Archbishop, and and Bishop of *Chichester* had often said, that there were but two sorts of People likely to impede and hinder the *Reconciliation*, to wit, the Puritans amongst the Protestants, and the Jesuites amongst the Catholics.

a Page 28.

b Ib. p. 14.

Let us next see the judgement and Relation of another Author in a gloss or Comment on the Former, intituled the *English Pope* Printed at *London* in the same year 1643. And he will tell us that after *Con* had undertook the managing of the affairs, matters began to grow toward some agreement. The King required, saith he, (a b) such a dispensation from the then Pope, as that his Catholick Subjects might resort to the Protestant Churches, and to take the oaths



oaths of *Supremacy*, and Fidelity, and that the Popes Jurisdiction here should be declared to be but of humane Right. "And so "far had the Pope consented that whatsoever did concern the "King therein, should have been really performed, so far forth as "other Catholick Princes usually enjoy, and expect as their due; "and so far as the Bishops were to be Independent both from King "and Pope: there was no fear of breach on the Popes part. So that upon the point the Pope was to content himself amongst us in *England* with a *Priority* instead of a *Superiority* over other Bishops, and with a *Primacy* in stead of a *Supremacy* in these parts of Christendom: which I conceive no man of Learning, and So- briety would have grudged to grant him. It was also condescended to in the name of the Pope, that marriage might be permitted to Priests; that the Communion might be Administred *sub utraque specie*; and that the Liturgy might be officiated in the *English* tongue. And though the Author adds not long after, that it was to be suspected, *That so far as the inferiour Clergy, and the people were concerned, the after-performance was to be left to the Popes Discretion*; yet this was but his own suspicion, without ground at all. And to obtain a Reconciliation upon these Advantages the Archbishop had all the Reason in the world to do as he did, in ordering the Lords Table to be placed where the Altar stood, and making the accustomed Reverence in all approaches towards it, and accesles to it; in beautifying and adorning Churches; and celebrating the Divine Service with all due Solemnities; in taking care that all offensive and exasperating passages should be expunged out of such Books as were brought to the Press; and for reducing the extravagancy of some opinions to an even temper. His Majesty had the like Reason also for tolerating Lawfull Recreations on the Sundays and Holy-days, The rigorous Restraint whereof made some Papists think (those most especially of the vulgar sort, whom it most concerned) that all honest Pastime were incompatible with our Religion. And if he approved *Auricular Confession*, and shewed himself willing to introduce it into the use of the Church, as both our Authors say he did; it is no more then what the Liturgy Com- mends to the care of the *Penitent* (though we find not the word *Au- ricular* in it) or what the Canons have provided for in the point of security, for such as shall be willing to confess themselves: But whereas we are told by one of our Authors, that *the King should say, he would use force to make it be received, were it not for fear of Sedition amongst the People*; yet is but in one of our Authors neither, who hath no other Author for it then a nameless Doctor. And in the way towards so happy an agreement (though they all stand accused for it by the *English Pope*, pag. 15.) Sparrow may be excused for placing it with *Auricular Confession*; and Watts for *Penance*; Heylyn for *Adoration* toward the Altar; and Moun- tague for such a qualified praying to Saints, as his books maintain against the *Papists*.

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Popes Ninth

pag. 12.

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PART II. If you would know how far they had proceeded towards this happy Reconciliation, the Popes Nuncio will assure us thus; *That the Universities, Bishops, and Divines of this Realm, did dayly embrace Catholick Opinions, though they profess'd not so much with Pen or Mouth for fear of the Puritans. For example, they held, That the Church of Rome is a true Church; That the Pope is Superiour to all Bishops; That to him it appertains to call General Councils; That it is lawful to pray for the Soul of the Departed; That Altars ought to be erected of Stone: In sum, That they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of Rome.* Another of their Authors tells us (as was elsewhere noted) *That those amongst us of greatest Worth, Learning, and Authority, began to love Temper and Moderation; That their Doctrines began to be altered in many things, for which their Progenitors forsook the Visible Church of Christ; as for example, The Pope not Antichrist, Prayers for the Dead, Limbus Patrum, Pictures; That the Church hath Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and to interpret Scriptures about Free will, Predestination, Universal Grace; That all our Works are not Sins, Merit of Good works, Inherent Justice, Faith alone doth justify, Charity to be preferred before Knowledge, The Authority of Traditions, Commandments possible to be kept; That in Exposition of the Scripture, they are by Canon bound to follow the Fathers; And that the once fearful Names of Priests and Altars, are used willingly in their Talk and Writings.* In which Compliances, so far forth as they speak the truth (for in some Points, through the ignorance of the one and the malice of the other, they are much mistaken) there is scarce any thing which may not very well consist with the established (though for a time discontinued) Doctrine of the Church of England; the Articles whereof, as the same Jesuit hath observed, seem patient, or ambitious rather, of some sense wherein they may seem Catholick: And such a sense is put upon them by him that calls himself *Franciscus a Sacra Clara*, as before was said. And if upon such Compliances as those before, on the part of the *English*, the Conditions offered by the Pope might have been confirmed, Who seeth not, that the greatest Benefit of the Reconciliation would have redounded to this Church, to the King and People? His Majesties Security provided for, by the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, so far as it concerned his Temporal Power; The Bishops of England to be independent of the Popes of Rome; The Clergy to be permitted the use of Marriage; The People to receive the Communion in both *KINDS*, and all Divine Offices officiated in the *English* Tongue; No Innovation made in Doctrine: but only in the qualifying of some Expressions, and discharging some Out-landish Glosses as were put upon them. And seeing this, What man could be so void of Charity, so uncompassionate of the Miseries and Distractions of *Christendom*, as not to wish from the very bottom of his Soul, That the Reconciliation had proceeded upon so good Terms? as not to magnifie the men to succeeding

Direction to  
N. N. pref.  
sect. 20.



ing Ages, who were the Instruments and Authors of so great a Blessing?

But then admitting, as we may, That no such Reconciliation was upon the Anvil; and that our two Discourfers have proceeded only upon Suppositions: yet *Canterbury* had good ground for what he did, were it no other than the settling of the Church of *England* upon the first Principles and Positions of her Reformation. But he had further aims than so. He had some thoughts (and I have reason to believe it) by Conferences first; and if that failed, by the ordinary course of Ecclesiastical Censures, (a) of gaining the *Papists* to the Church; and therefore it concerned him in point of Prudence, to smoothe the way, by removing all such Blocks and Obstacles which had been laid before them by the *Puritan* Faction. He knew, that from their Infancy they had been trained up in a Regular Order of Devotion; and that they loved that Religion best, which came accompanied with Decency and External Splendour: That they objected nothing more against us, than the Novelty of our Doctrine, the Heterodoxies maintained in Publick by some of our Preachers, the slovenly keeping of our Churches, the Irreverence of the People in them, the rude and careless slubbering over of our Common Prayers. And what Encouragements had they for resorting to the Congregation, when they should hear the Pope defamed, whom they beheld with Reverence as their Common Father; their Ceremonies to be counted *Antichristian*, their Mass *Idolatrous*, their whole Religion worse than that of the *Turks* and *Moors*; conformity to whom in Rites and Ceremonies, was held to be more tolerable by the *Puritan* Preachers, than to those of *Rome*. These Rubs were first to be removed, before they could have any thoughts of uniting to us. And for the removing of those Rubs, he fell upon the courses before-mentioned; which being *Renovations* only of some ancient Usages, were branded by the odious name of *Innovations*, by some of those who out of cunning and design had long disused them. Some zealous Protestants beheld his Actings with no small fear, as byassing too strongly toward *Rome*; that the *Puritans* exclaimed against him for a *Papist*, and the *Papists* cried him up for theirs, and gave themselves some flattering hopes of our coming towards them: But the most knowing and understanding men amongst them, found plainly, That nothing could tend more to their destruction, than the introducing of some Ceremonies which by late negligence and Practice had been discontinued. For I have heard from a Person of known Nobility, That at his being at *Rome* with a Father of the *English* Colledge, one of the *Novices* came in and told him with a great deal of joy, That the *English* were upon returning to the Church of *Rome*; That they began to set up *Altars*, to Officiate in their *Copes*, to Adorn their Churches, and to paint the Pictures of the Saints in the Church Windows: To which the old Father made Reply; with some indignation, That he talked

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PART II. like an ignorant Novice ; That these Proceedings rather tended to  
*Anno Dom.* the Ruine, than Advancement of the Catholick Cause ; That by this  
 1639. means the Church of *England* coming nearer to the ancient Usages,  
 the Catholicks there would sooner be drawn off from them, than  
 any more of that Nation would fall off to *Rome*.

In reference to Doctrinal Points, Heterodoxies, and new Opini-  
 ons, and such extravagant Expressions, both from Press and Pulpit,  
 he took as much care as in the other. And to that end, he was  
 not pleased that the *Pope* should be any longer stigmatized by the  
 name of *Antichrist* ; and gave a strict Charge unto his Chaplains,  
 That all exasperating Passages (which edifie nothing) should be ex-  
 punged out of such Books, as by them were to be Licenced to the  
 Press ; and that no Doctrines of that Church should be writ against :  
 but such as seemed to be inconsistent with the establish'd Doctrine of  
 the Church of *England*. Upon which ground it was, that *Baker*  
 Chaplain to the Bishop of *London* refused to Licence the Reprinting  
 of a Book about the *Gunpowder-Treason*, saying to him that brought  
 the Book, *That we were not so angry with the Papists now, as we*  
*Cant. Doom,* *were about twenty years since ; and that there was no need of any*  
 p. 184. *such Books to exasperate them, there being now an endeavour to win*  
*them to us by fairness and mildness.* And on the same ground, *Bray*  
 Chaplain to the Archbishop, refused the Licencing of another, cal-  
 led, *The Advice of a Son*, unless he might expunge some un-  
 pleasing Expressions, affirming, *That those Passages would offend the*  
*Ibid. p. 253.* *Papists, whom we were now in a fair way of winning, and therefore*  
 & 526. *must not use any harsh Phrases against them.* The Chaplains not to be  
 condemned for their honest care, and much less their Lords ; though  
 I find it very heavily charged as a Crime in all. In the *English Litany*  
 set out by King *Henry viii.* and continued in both *Liturgies* of King  
*Edward vi.* there was this Clause against the *Pope*, viz. *From the Ty-*  
*ranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable Enormities, Good*  
*Lord, &c.* Which being considered as a means to affright those of  
 the *Romish* Party from coming diligently to our Churches, was pru-  
 dently expunged by those who had the Revising of the *Liturgie*, in  
 the first year of the Queen. In imitation of whose Piety and Christi-  
 an Care, it was thought fit by the Archbishop to change some Phrases  
 which were found in the Books of Prayer appointed for the *Fifth of*  
*November.* The first was this, *Root out the Babylonish and Antichri-*  
*stian Sect, which say of Jerusalem, Down with it, &c.* Which he  
 changed only unto this, *Root out the Babylonish or Antichristian Sect*  
*(of them) which say, &c.* The second was, *Cut off those Workers of*  
*Iniquity, whose Religion is Rebellion, and whose Faith is Faction ;* which  
 he changed no otherwise than thus, *Cut off those Workers of Iniquity,*  
*who turn Religion into Rebellion, &c.* The Alterations were but small,  
 but the clamour great which was raised about it. The *Puritans*  
 complaining, *That the Prayers so altered, were intended to reflect on*  
*them,* seemed to be conscious to themselves of turning Religion into  
 Rebellion



*Rebellion, and saying of Jerusalem (like the old Babylonish Sect) Down with it, down with it to the ground.* But he had better reason for it, than they had against it. For if the first Reformers were so careful of giving no offence to the *Romish* Party, as to expunge a Passage out of the Publick *Liturgie*, when the Queen was a *Protestant*; much greater reason had the Archbishop to correct those Passages in a formal Prayer not confirmed by Law, when the Queen was one of that Religion.

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Nothing in this or any of the rest before, which tends to the bringing in of *Popery*, the prejudice of the true *Protestant* Religion, or the suppressing of the Gospel. Had his Designs tended to the Advancing of *Popery*, he neither would have took such pains to confute their Doctrines, nor they have entertained such secret practices to destroy his Person (of which more hereafter.) Had he directed his endeavours to suppress the *Protestants*, he would not have given so much countenance to *Dury a Scot*, who entertained him with some hopes of working an Accord betwixt the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Churches. In which Service, as he wasted a great deal of time to little purpose; so he received as much Encouragement from *Canterbury*, as he had reason to expect. Welcome at all times to his Table, and speaking honourably of him upon all occasions, till the Times were changed; when either finding the impossibility of his Undertaking, or wanting a Supply of that Oyl which maintained his Lamp, he proved as true a *Scot* as the rest of that Nation; laying the blame of his miscarriage in it, on the want of Encouragement; and speaking disgracefully of the man which had given him most. Had he intended any prejudice to the Reformed Religion, Reformed according to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and the *Genevian* Forms, both of Worship and Government, he would not have so cordially advanced the General Collection for the *Palatine* Churches, or provided so heartily for the *Rochellers* and their Religion; touching which last, we find this Clause in a Prayer of his for the Duke of *Buckingham*, when he went Commander of his Majesties Forces for the *Isle of Rhe*, viz. *Bless my dear Lord the Duke, that is gone Admiral with them, that Wisdom may attend all his Counsels, and Courage and Success all his Enterprises; That by his and their means thou wilt be pleased to bring Safety to this Kingdom, Strength and Comfort to Religion, Victory and Reputation to our Country.* Had he projected any such thing as the suppressing of the Gospel, he would not have shewed himself so industrious in preventing *Socinianism* from poisoning those of riper years, in turning afternoon Sermons into Catechising for the instruction of Children; in prohibiting all Assemblies of *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, and other *Sectaries*, which oppose the Common Principles of the Christian Faith. For that his silencing of the *Arminian* Controversies, should be a means to suppress the Gospel; or his favouring of those Opinions, designed for a back-door to bring in *Popery*, no wise man can think. The Points in Con-

Diary, p. 14.



PART II. troversie between the *Calvinists* and *Arminians*, in the Reformed  
*Anno Dom.* Churches of *Calvin's* Plat-form, are agitated no less fiercely by the  
 1639. *Dominicans* on the one side, the *Jesuits* and *Franciscans* on the other  
 side, in the Church of *Rome*; the *Calvinists* holding with the *Domi-*  
*nicans*, as the *Arminians* do with the *Jesuit* and *Franciscan Friars*.  
 And therefore, why any such compliance with the *Dominicans* (the  
 principal Sticklers and Promoters in the *Inquisition*) should not be  
 looked on as a *Back-door* to bring in *Popery*, as well as a Compliance  
 in the same Points with the other two *Orders*, is beyond my reach.  
 With which I shut up my Discourse touching the Counsels and De-  
 signs which were then on foot, and conclude this year.

1640.

The next begins with a *Parliament* and *Convocation*; the one As-  
 sembled on the thirteenth, the other on the fourteenth of *April*. In  
 Calling *Parliaments*, the King directs his Writs or Letters severally  
 to the Peers and Prelates, requiring them to attend in Parliament to  
 be holden by the Advice of his Privy Council, at a certain Time  
 and Place appointed, and there to give their Counsel in some great  
 and weighty Affairs, touching himself, the safety of the Realm, and  
 the defence of the Church of *England*; A Clause being added in all  
 those to the several Bishops, to give notice to all *Deans* and *Arch-*  
*deacons* to attend the Parliament in their own Persons, all Chapters  
 by one Proxie, and the Diocesan Clergy by two; for yielding their  
 Consent and Obedience to such Laws and Ordinances as by the  
 Common Council of the Kingdom shall be then Enacted: Which  
 Clause remains still in those Letters, though not still in practice.  
 Writs are sent out also to the several Sheriffs, acquainting them with  
 his Majesties purpose of consulting in a Parliamentary way with the  
 Peers and Prelates, and other Great Men of the Realm (the Judges  
 and Officers of State, &c.) and then requiring them to cause two  
 Knights to be elected for every County, two Citizens for every Ci-  
 ty, or more Burgeses for every Burrough (according as the place is  
 privileged) in their several Shires. All of them to attend in Parli-  
 ament at the time appointed; no otherwise Impowered than the  
*Deans*, *Archdeacons*, and the rest of the Clergy by their formal  
 Writs. But in the calling of a *Convocation*, the form is otherwise;  
 for in this case the King directs his Writs to the two Archbishops,  
 requiring them for the great and weighty Reasons above-mentioned,  
 to cause a *Convocation* of the Clergy to be forthwith called, leaving  
 the nominating of the Time and Place to their discretion; though  
 for the ease of the Bishops and Clergy, commanded to attend in  
 Parliament, as before was said, the Archbishop used to nominate  
 such Time and Place as might most sort with that Attendance. On  
 the receiving of which Writ, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sends  
 his *Mandate* to the Bishop of *London*, as *Dean* of the *Episcopal Col-*  
*ledge*, requiring him to Cite and Summon all the *Bishops*, *Deans*,  
*Archdeacons*, and *Capitular Bodies*, with the whole Clergy of the  
 Province, according to the usual form, to appear before him at such  
 place



place and time as he therein nominated; and that the Procurators for the Chapter and Clergy be furnished with sufficient powers by those that sent them, not only to treat upon such points as should be propounded for the peace of the Church, and defence of the Realm of *England*, and to give their Counsel in the same, but also to (a) consent both in their own names, and in the names of them that sent them unto all such things as by mature deliberation, and consent, should be there ordained. Which *Mandate* being received by the Bishop of *London*, he sends out his Citations to the several Bishops of that Province, and they give intimation of it to the Clergy of their several Diocesses; according whereunto the Chapters and Parochial Clergy do elect their *Clerks*, binding themselves (b) under the forfeiture of all their goods, movable, and immovable, to stand to and perform whatsoever the said Clerks shall say or do in their behalf. Both Bodies, being thus assembled, are to continue their attendance in the publick Service during the pleasure of the King; the Acts of both to be invalid till confirmed by his Majesty, the one most commonly by himself, sitting upon his Royal Throne in open Parliament: the other alwaies by Letters Patents under the Great Seal; neither of the two to be dissolved but by several Writs, That for the Parliament directed to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, (as the case may vary) That for the Convocation issued out to the Metropolitans of the several Provinces. In this, and this alone, they differ as to matter of Form, that the *Peers* and People assembled in Parliament may treat, debate, and conclude of any thing which is to be tendred to the King for his Royal Assent without any other power than the first Writ, by vertue whereof they are assembled: But the Bishops and Clergy are restrained in their Convocation by the Statute of the 25 *Henry viii.* from treating, debating, forming, and concluding of any Canons or Constitutions, or doing any *Ecclesiastical* Acts, tending to the determination of Controversies, or decreeing Ceremonies, till they are licenced thereunto by the Kings Commission. All which particulars I have thought fit to touch at in this present place, because we are to relate unto them in the course of our business.

At the opening of the Parliament the Sermon was preached before his Majesty, the Peers and Prelates, by the Bishop of *Ely*. The Sermon being done, they passed in the accustomed State to the Parliament House: to which the Commons being called, his Majesty acquainted them with the indignities and affronts, even to the taking up of Arms against him, which he had suffered from some of his Subjects in *Scotland*, required their assistance to reduce them to their due obedience, advising them to go together for chusing their Speaker, and so to proceed unto their business. But all they did in order to his Commands, was the admitting of *Glanville*, a right learned Lawyer, whom his Majesty had commended to them, to be the Speaker for their House. Their Grievances must first be heard, and the

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(a) Sed ad consentiendum eis, quæ ibidem ex communi deliberatione, ad honorem Dei & Ecclesie in præmissis contingerent concendi.

(b) Sub Hypotheca omnium bonorum suorum tam mobilium quam immobilium, &c.



PART II. the safety of Religion provided for before the matter of supply was  
*Anno Dom.* to be considered. This was enough to give an hint to the Arch-  
 1640. bishop, that an enquiry would be made into all his Actions, to the  
 disturbance of the work which he had begun, and was in no small  
 hope to perfect. For remedy whereof he was resolved to make use  
 of a friend in the House of Commons for offering this motion to the  
 rest, *viz.* That a certain number of that House would joyn in Con-  
 ference with as many of the Clergy assembled in Convocation,  
 touching all doubts and differences which might happen to arise  
 amongst them in matters which concerned the Church. And this  
 he did upon this reason, that if the motion were accepted, the  
 Committee for the Clergie in Convocation, might give satisfaction  
 to that of the House of Commons in all such matters Doctrinal, or  
 points of Ceremony which should come before them: But if the  
 motion were rejected, he should then get the start in point of Repu-  
 tation amongst knowing men; the refusing of so fair an offer, bea-  
 ring witness for him that their Proceedings were directed rather by  
 power and interest, than by truth and reason. But the short life of this  
 Parliament made that Counsel useless. For the Commons doing  
 nothing which the King desired; and the King desiring nothing more,  
 than that they would speedily resolve one way or other, the Lords  
 agreed upon a Vote for desiring a Conference with the Commons,  
 the better to dispose them to this point, that his Majesties supply  
 should have precedency of the Subjects Grievances. This voted  
 by the Commons for a breach of their Priviledges, and the *Peers*  
 censured for it, as having been transported beyond their bounds,  
 To calm which heat his Majesty made offer for twelve Subsidies, to  
 relinquish all his right to the Naval aide, of late called *Ship-money*,  
 which had been anciently enjoyed by his Predecessors: But the  
 Proposition, though it came but to three years purchase, would not  
 down amongst them. At last they came unto a resolution of yield-  
 ing somewhat toward his Majesties supply; but in the grant thereof,  
 blasted his Majesties Expedition against the *Scots*, whose Cause they  
 resolved to make their own, and received thanks from them for that  
 favour in their next Remonstrance. Which coming to his Majesties  
 ears on *Munday* the fourth of *May*, he called his Council toge-  
 ther on the next Morning betimes, by whose unanimous consent he  
 dissolved the Parliament.

On *Tuesday*, *April 14*, the Convocation assembled in the Chap-  
 ter-house of the Church of *St. Paul*, from whence they waited on  
 his Grace and the rest of the Bishops, to hear the Sermon in the  
 Quire. The Sermon preacht by *Turner*, *Residentary* of the Church.  
 His Text was taken out of *Mat. 10. 16. Behold I send you forth as*  
*Sheep in the midst of wolves*, which he followed home unto the Pur-  
 pose. In the close of the Sermon he had a passage in these words, or  
 to this effect, that all the Bishops held not the Reins of Church  
 Discipline with an even hand, but that some of them were too easie  
 and



and remits in the ordering thereof. Whereby though they sought to gain to themselves the popular plause of meekness and mildness, they occasionally cast on other Bishops (more severe than themselves) the unjust imputation of Rigour and Tyranny; and therefore he advised them withall with equal strictness to urge an universal Conformity. The Sermon ended, the Clergy fell to the electing of their *Prolocutor* (as before commanded) pitching unanimously on Dr. *Richard Steward* Clerk of his Majesties Closet, and Dean of *Chichester* to be presented the next day to the Archbishop and the rest of the Prelates in the Chappel of King *Henry vii.* at *Westminster*, to which the Synod was adjourned. The next day being come (after a Protestation made in writing by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries of that Church for not acknowledging the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the rest of the Bishops, to have any Jurisdiction in that place, and the admitting of the same for good and valid) they were permitted to proceed in their Convocation. The business of that day was the presenting of the Prolocutor by *Sheldon*, Warden of All-souls, his Admission by the Archbishop, and *Stewards* unwilling readiness to discharge the Office; each of them delivering their conceptions in Elegant Latine Speeches, as the custome is, but the Archbishops longer than both the rest. Which Ceremonies being performed, his Grace produced a Commission under the Great Seal, by which they were enabled (according to the said Statute of King *Henry viii.*) to propose, treat, consult, and agree upon the Exposition or Alteration of any Canon then in force, and upon such new Canons, Orders, and Constitutions, as the said Bishops and Clergy (of which the Lord Archbishop to be alwaies one) should think fit, necessary, and convenient for the honour and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better Government thereof to be performed and kept by the said Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy in their severall places; as also by the Dean of the Arches, and by all others having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Province of *Canterbury*, and by all other persons within this Realm, so far as being Members of this Church they may be concerned. Provided alwaies that no such Canons, Orders, or Constitutions, so to be considered on as aforesaid, be contrary or repugnant to the Liturgy established, or the Rubricks in it, or the 39 Articles, or any Doctrinal Orders, and Ceremonies of the Church of *England* already established; as also that nothing should be done in execution of the same, till being exhibited to his Majesty in writing, to be allowed, approved, confirmed, and ratified; or otherwise disallowed, annihilated, and made void as he should think fit, requisite, and convenient: and then to be allowed, approved, and confirmed by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*. Also the said Commission to continue and remain in force during the present Session of Parliament, and to expire together with it.

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## PART II.

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For the procuring of this Commission, as the Archbishop had good reason, as well for countenancing and confirming his former Actings, as for rectifying many other things which required reformation; so had his Majesty as good reasons for the granting of it, the grounds whereof contained in his Commission of June 13. for confirming all the Acts of this Convocation, are to this effect: "He had been given to understand, that many of his Subjects being misled against the Rites and Ceremonies then used in the Church of England, had taken offence at the same upon an unjust supposal, That they were not only contrary to Law, but also introductive unto Popish Superstitions; whereas it well appeared unto him upon mature deliberation, that the said Rites and Ceremonies, which were then so much quarrelled at, were not only approved of, and used by those godly and learned Divines to whom, at the time of the Reformation under King Edward vi. the compiling of the Book of Common-Prayer was committed (divers of which suffered Martyrdom in Queen Maries daies) but also again taken up by this whole Church under Queen Elizabeth. which Rites so taken up, had been so duly and ordinarily practiced for a great part of her Reign (within the memory of divers living) as that it could not then be imagined, that there would need any Rule or Law for the observation of the same, nor that they could be thought to savour of Popery. He found too plainly, that since those times, for want of an express Rule therein, and by the subtle practices of some men, the said Rites and Ceremonies began to fall into disuse; and in place thereof other Foreign and unfitting usages by little and little to creep in: But being he found withal that in the Royal Chappels, and in many other Churches most of them had been ever constantly used and observed, his Majesty could not but be very sensible of the inconvenience. And he had cause also to conceive, that the Authors and Fomenters of those Jealousies; though they coloured the same with a pretence of zeal, and did seem to strike only at some supposed iniquity in the said Ceremonies: yet aimed at his Royal Person, and would have his good Subjects think, that he himself was perverted, and did worship God in a superstitious way, and that he did intend to bring in some alteration in the Religion here established. From which how far he was, and how utterly he detested the very thought thereof, he had by his many Declarations, and upon sundry other occasions, given such assurance to the World, that no man of wisdom and discretion could ever be so beguiled as to give any serious entertainment to such brain-sick Jealousies. And as for the weaker sort, who were prone to be misled by crafty seducers, he alwaies assured himself, that as many of them as had loyal, or but charitable hearts, would from thenceforth utterly banish all such causeless fears and surmises upon those his Sacred Professions so often made, as a Defender of the Christian Faith, their King and Sovereign. He perceived in the

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next



“ next place, That the Ring-leaders of many well-minded people,  
 “ did make the more advantage (for the nourishing of such distem-  
 “ pers amongst them) because the aforesaid *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, or  
 “ some of them, were now insisted upon but only in some Diocesses,  
 “ and were not generally received in all places, nor constantly nor  
 “ uniformly practiced throughout all the Churches in the Kingdom;  
 “ and thereupon have been liable to be quarrelled and opposed by  
 “ them who use them not. In imitation therefore of the pious Ex-  
 “ amples of King *Edward vi.* Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of  
 “ Blessed Memories, he thought it most agreeable to his own Honour,  
 “ and the good of his People, to Licence the Archbishops, Bishops,  
 “ and the rest of the *Clergie* in their several *Convocations*, to make  
 “ such further Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, as should  
 “ be found necessary for the Advancing of Gods Glory, the Edifying  
 “ of the Holy Church, and the due Reverence of his Blessed Myste-  
 “ ries and Sacraments. And this he did to this end and purpose,  
 “ That as he had been ever careful and ready to cut off *Superstition*  
 “ with the one hand, so he might also expell *Profaneness* and *Irreve-*  
 “ *rence* with the other: By means whereof it might please Almighty  
 “ God to bless him, and this Church committed to his Govern-  
 “ ment, that it might at once return to the true former splendour  
 “ of Uniformity, Devotion, and holy Order; the last whereof, for  
 “ many years last past, had been much obscured by the devices of  
 “ some ill affected to it, where it had long stood from the very be-  
 “ ginning of the Reformation, and through inadvertency of some  
 “ in Authority in the Church under him.

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Such were the Motives which induced his Majesty to grant this Commission, which was exceeding acceptable to the greatest and best affected part of the whole Assembly, as being an evident demonstration of the Trust and Confidence which his Majesty had reposed in them. In a grateful acknowledgment whereof, *for the support of his Majesties Royal Estate, and the effectual furtherance of his most Royal and Extraordinary Designs abroad*, they gave him six Subsidies, after the rate of four shillings in the pound, to be paid in the six years then next following, by two equal parts or moyeties in every year; appointing a Committee to put the Grant into form, and make it ready for a Confirmation by Act of Parliament. But the first thing in which they acted by this Commission, was the tending of a *Canon* to them by the Archbishop of Canterbury, *For suppressing the further growth of Popery, and reducing Papists to the Church*; with Order to the Prolocutor and inferiour Clergy, to enlarge and perfect it as to them seemed most conducible to the end desired: But afterward considering how much it might redound to his estimation, that the said *Canon* should proceed intirely from himself alone, he recalled the Paper into his own hands; and after some time of deliberation, returned it back unto the Clergy in the very same words in which it passed.



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By which so framed and enlarged; it was Ordained, That all and every Person or Persons, of what Rank soever, having and exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as also all Persons entrusted with Cure of Souls, should use respectively all possible care and diligence, by open Conferences with the Parties, and by Censures of the Church in inferiour and higher Courts, as also by Complaints unto the Secular Power, to reduce all such to the Church of *England*, who were misled into *Papish* Superstition. Those publick Conferences to be managed by the Bishop in person (if his Occasion will permit it) or by some one or more Learned Men of his especial appointment. The time and place of such Conferences, with the Names of the Persons to be admitted to the same, to be of the Bishops nomination. Such *Papists* as refuse to appear at any of the said Conferences, to be counted obstinate; and such Ministers as should refuse to act therein, without a reasonable Cause approved by the Bishop, to be Suspended for six Months: Provided, That the place appointed for the said Conferences, be not distant above ten miles from their dwelling Houses: That in case such Conferences produce not the effect desired, all Ecclesiastical Persons shall then be careful to inform themselves of all Recusants, above the age of 12 years, in their severall Parishes, as well concerning their not coming to the Church, as their resorting to other places to hear Mass; of all such as be active in seducing the Subjects from coming to Church, and dissuading them from taking the Oath of *Allegiance*; the Names of all such to be presented, that being cited, and found obstinate, they might be publickly Excommunicated, as well in the Cathedral as their Parish Churches. The like course to be also taken by the Diocesans, in places of exempt Jurisdiction, and the Offenders to be turned over to the *High-Commission*. That the Names of all such as are presented in any Inferiour Jurisdiction, be transmitted within six Months to the Diocesans, by them to be returned, together with the Names of such as have been presented in their own Visitations, to his Majesties Justices of Assize in their severall Circuits. And the same course to be also taken in returning the Names of all such persons as have been either Married or Buried, or have had their Children Christned in any other form, than according to the Rules of the Church of *England*; to the intent they may be punished according to the Statutes in that behalf. That Information be given by all Churchwardens upon their Oaths, what persons are imployed as Schoolmasters in *Recusants* Houses; to the end that if they have not or will not subscribe, they may be forbidden and discharged from teaching Children any longer: And the Names of all Persons which entertain such Schoolmasters, to be certified at the next Assizes. Such Schoolmasters to incur the publick Censure of the Church, as do not carefully instruct the Children committed to them, in the publick Catechism; and the Names of such Parents, as either thereupon shall take away their said Children, or otherwise send



send them to be educated beyond the Seas, to be presented upon Oath at the Visitations, and certified also to the said Justices, as before is said, that the said Parents may be punished according to Law: The said Certificate to be presented to the Judges by the Bishops Registers, immediately on the Reading of the Commission, or at the end of the Charge, upon pain of Suspension for three Months from their several Offices: The said Judges and Justices being entreated and exhorted, not to fail of putting the said Laws in execution; and not to admit of any vexatious Suit or Suits, against any Churchwardens, or other sworn Officers, for doing their duty in this kind: That a *Significavit* be made in *Chancery* by all the several Bishops, of the Names of all such persons as have stood Excommunicated beyond the time limited by the Laws, desiring that the Writ *De Excommunicato capiendo* may be issued against them *ex Officio*. And finally, That no person or persons subject to the said Writ, shall be Absolved by virtue of an Appeal into any Ecclesiastical Court, till they have first taken in their own persons the usual Oath *De parendo juri, & stando mandatis Ecclesie*: With a Petition to his Majesty, in the Name of the Synod, to give command both to his Officers in *Chancery*, and the Sheriffs of the several Counties, for sending out and executing the said Writs from time to time, without any Charge to the Diocesans (whose Estates it would otherwise much exhaust) as often as it should be desired of them. Such is the substance of this *Canon*, in laying down whereof I have been the more punctual and exact, that the equal and judicious Reader may the better see what point it was, which the Archbishop aimed at, from the first beginning of his Power and Government, as before was noted. In the mean time, whilst this *Canon* was under a Review, another ready drawn was tendred to the Prolocutor by the Clerk of *Westminster*, for the better keeping of the day of his Majesties most happy *Inauguration*: By which it was decreed, according to the Example of the most pious Emperours of the Primitive Times, and our own most Godly Kings and Princes since the Reformation, and the Form of Prayer already made, and by his Majesties Authority Appointed to be used on the said days of *Inauguration*, "That all manner of persons within the Church of *England*, should from thenceforth celebrate and keep the morning of the said day, in coming diligently and reverently unto their Parish Church or Chappel at the time of Prayer, and there continue all the while that the Prayers, Preaching, or other Service of the day endureth: That for the better observing of the said day, two of the said Books should be provided at the Charge of each several Parish, by the Churchwardens of the same; with an Injunction to all Bishops, Archdeacons, and other Ordinaries, to inquire into the premises at their Visitations, and punish such as are delinquent, as in case of such as absent themselves on the other Holydays.

Another *Canon* was brought in against *Socinianism*, by the spread-



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ing of which damnable and cursed *Herese*, much mischief had already been done in the Church: For the suppressing whereof, it was ordained by the *Synod* (after some explication and correction of the words and phrases), "That no *Stationer*, *Printer*, or other person, should print, buy, sell, or disperse any Book, broaching or maintaining the said Abominable Doctrine or Positions, upon pain of Excommunication *ipso facto*, and of being proceeded against by his Majesties Attorney-General, on a Certificate thereof to be returned by the severall Ordinaries to their Metropolitan, according to the late Decree of *Star-Chamber* against Sellers of prohibited Books; That no Preacher should presume to vent any such Doctrine in any Sermon, under pain of Excommunication for the first Offence, and Deprivation for the second: That no Student in either of the Universities, nor any person in Holy Orders, excepting Graduates in Divinity, or such as have Episcopal or Archidiaconal Jurisdiction, or Doctors of Law in Holy Orders, shall be suffered to have or read any such *Socinian* Book or Discourse, under pain (if the Offender live in the University) that he shall be punished according to the strictest Statutes provided there against the publishing, reading, and maintaining of false Doctrines; or if he lived in the City or Country abroad, of a Suspension for the first Offence, Excommunication for the second, and Deprivation for the third, unless he should absolutely and *in terminis* abjure the same: That if any Lay-person should be seduced unto that Opinion, and be convicted of it, he should be Excommunicated, and not Absolved but upon due Repentance and Abjuration, and that before his *Metropolitan*, or his own Bishop at least: With severall Clauses for seizing and burning all such Books as should be found in any other hands than those before limited and expressed. Which severe course being taken by the *Convocation*, makes it a matter of no small wonder, That *Cheyne* the Usfructuary of the rich Parsonage of *Petworth*, should impute the Rise and Growth of *Socinianism*, in a Pamphlet not long after Printed, unto many of those who had been principal Actors in suppressing of those wicked and detestable *Heresies*. Another *Canon* was presented to the *Prolocutor*, by one of the Members of that Body, advanced the next year to a higher Dignity, for Restraint of *Sectaries*: By which it was decreed, "That all those Proceedings and Penalties which are mentioned in the *Canon* against *Popish Recusants*, so far forth as may be applicable, should be in full force and vigour against all *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Seperatists*, *Familists*, or other Sect or Sects, Person or Persons whatsoever, who do or shall either obstinately refuse: or ordinarily, not having a lawful impediment (that is, for the space of a Month) neglect to repair to their Parish Churches or Chappels where they inhabit, for the hearing of Divine Service established, and receiving of the Holy Communion according to Law; That the Clause in the former *Canon* against Books of *Socinianism*, should



“ should also extend to the Makers, Importers, Printers, and Pub-  
 “ lishers or Dispersers of any Book, Writing, or Scandalous Pamph-  
 “ let, devised against the Discipline and Government of the Church  
 “ of *England*; and unto the Maintainers and Abettors of any Opi-  
 “ nion or Doctrine against the same. And finally, That all despisers  
 “ and depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, who resorted  
 “ not according to Law to their Church or Chappel, to joyn in the  
 “ Publick Worship of God in the Congregation, contenting them-  
 “ selves with the hearing of Sermons only, should be carefully in-  
 “ quired after, and presented to their severall and respective Ordina-  
 “ ries; The same Proceedings and Penalties mentioned in the afore-  
 “ said *Canons*, to be used against them, unless within one whole  
 “ Month after they are first Denounced, they shall make Acknow-  
 “ ledgment and Reformation of their fault.

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So far the Bishops and Clergy had proceeded in the Work re-  
 commended to them, when the Parliament was most unhappily  
 Dissolved: And possibly the *Convocation* had expired the next day  
 also, according to the usual custom, if one of the Clergy had not  
 made the Archbishop acquainted with a Precedent in Queen *Eliza-  
 beths* Time, for the granting a Subsidy or Benevolence by *Convocation*,  
 to be Taxed and Levied by *Synodical Acts* and *Constitutions*, without  
 help of the Parliament; directing to the Records of *Convocation*  
 where it was to be found. Whereupon the *Convocation* was Ad-  
 journed from *Wednesday*, till the *Friday* following, and then till the  
 next day after, and so till *Munday*, to the great amazement of ma-  
 ny of the Members of it, who expected to have been Dissolved when  
 the Parliament was, according to that clause in the *Commission* afore-  
 said, by which it was restrained to the Time of the Parliament on-  
 ly. Much pains was taken by some of the Company, who had been  
 studied in the Records of *Convocation*, in shewing the difference be-  
 twixt the Writ for calling a Parliament, and that for assembling a  
*Convocation*; their different Forms, and the independence of the  
 one upon the other: but more especially betwixt the Writ by which  
 they were made a *Convocation*, and that *Commission* by which they  
 were enabled to the making of *Canons*; That though the *Commission*  
 was expired with the Parliament, yet the Writ continued still in  
 force; and by that Writ they were to remain a *Convocation*, until  
 they were Dissolved by another. With which Distinction, the  
 greatest part of those who before had scrupled at their Sitting, did  
 appear well satisfied; but better satisfied on the *Munday*, by a Pa-  
 per which was sent unto them from the Court. For the King being  
 made acquainted with these scrupulosities, proposed the Questi-  
 on on *Sunday May 10.* to the greatest Lawyers then about him, who  
 gave their Judgment in these words; *viz. The Convocation called by  
 the Kings Writ, is to be continued till it be dissolved by the Kings Writ,  
 notwithstanding the Dissolution of the Parliament.* Subscribed by *Finch*  
 Lord Keeper, *Manchester* Lord Privy Seal, *Littleton* Chief Justice



PART II. of the *Common Pleas*, *Bancks* Attorney-General, *whitfeild* and *Heath*  
*Anno Domini.* two of his Majesties Counsell Learned in the Laws of this Land.


1640. Incouraged with which assurance, and Animated by a New  
 Commission to remain in Force during the Pleasure of the King, they settled to their work again on Wednesday the thirteenth of that Moneth, but not without some trouble of mind in regard of the Apparent Danger which seemed to threaten them. The Archbishops house at *Lambeth* had been assaulted on Monday by a Rabble of *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and other Sectaries, to the Number of five hundred and upwards, who seeing they could not force that house resolved to turn their fury on the *Convocation*. Of which his Majesty being Informed, he caused a guard to be set about them consisting of some Companies of the trained Bands of the County of *Middlesex* under the Command of *Endymion Porter*, one of the Grooms of the *Bed-chamber*; an honest man, and of good affections to the Church and his Majesties Service. To such extremities were the poor Clergy brought during these confusions; in danger of the Kings displeasure if they Rose, of the Peoples fury if they Sate; in danger of being beaten up by tumults, when they were at their work, of being beaten down by the following Parliament, when their work was done. But they went forward howsoever to the end of their journey, and did the business as they went, dispatching more work in so short a time then could be easily imagined.

Three things there were which *Canterbury* was to take special care of in reference to the Publick peace of the Church and State; That is to say, the Reparation of the breaches made in the *Regal*, and *Episcopal* Power by the late batteries of the *Scots*; and their adherents, on the commending of the Uniformity to all parts of the Kingdom, which had been happily begun in so many places. In reference to the first, some propositions touching the institution, Power and Priviledges of Sovereign Princes, were recommended to the consideration of the Prolocutor and the Rest of the Clergy, by them to be corrected if they saw occasion; and being so corrected to pass into a Canon. The Propositions six in number, and were these that follow,

I. *The most High, and Sacred Order of Kings is of Divine Right, being the Ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime Laws of Nature, and clearly established by Express Texts, both of the Old and the New Testaments. A Supreme Power is given to this most Excellent Order by God himself in the Scriptures, which is, That Kings should Rule, and Command in their severall Dominions, all Persons of what Rank or Estate whatsoever, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, and that they should Restrain and Punish with the Temporal Sword all Stubborn and wicked doers.*

II. *The care of Gods Church is so committed to Kings in Scripture,*  
*that*



that they are commanded when the Church keeps the Right way, and LIB. IV.  
taxed when it Runs Amis; and therefore her Government belongs Anno Dom.  
in Chief unto Kings: For otherwise one man would be commended for 1640.  
another's care, and taxed but for another's negligence, which is not  
Gods way. 

III. The Power to Call and Dissolve Councils both National and  
Provincial, is the true Right of all Christian Kings within their own  
Realms, and Territories. And when in the first times of Christs  
Church, Prelates used this Power, 'twas therefore only because in  
those days they had no Christian Kings, And it was then so only used  
as in time of persecution, that is, with supposition (in case it were re-  
quired) of submitting their very lives, unto the very Laws and Com-  
mands, even of those Pagan Princes, that they might not so much as seem  
to disturb their Civil Government, which Christ came to confirm but by  
no means to undermine.

IV. For any Person or Persons to set up, maintain or avow in any the  
said Realms, or Territories Respectively, under any pretext whatsoever  
any Independent Co-active Power, either Papal or Popular (whether di-  
rectly or indirectly) is to undermine their Great Royal Office, and cun-  
ningly to overthrow the Most Sacred Ordinances which God himself hath  
established: And so it is Treasonable against God as well as against the  
King.

V. For Subjects to bear Arms against their Kings, Offensive or De-  
fensive upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to Resist the Powers  
which are ordained by God. And though they do not invade but only  
Resist, S. Paul tells them plainly, They shall receive to themselves  
damnation.

VI. And although Tribute, and Custom and Aid, and Subsidies, and  
all manner of necessary Support, and Supply, be respectively due to Kings  
from their Subjects by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations for the  
Publick Defence, care and Protection of them: yet nevertheless Sub-  
jects have not only possession of, but a true and Just Right, Title, and  
Propriety, to, and in, all their Goods, and Estates, and ought for to have:  
And these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually  
go together, for the Honourable and Comfortable support of both. For  
as it is the duty of Subjects to supply their King; so is it part of the  
Kingly office to support his Subjects, in the Propriety and Freedom of  
their Estates.

These Propositions being Read and Considered of, were generally  
past and approved without contradiction, but that a little stop was  
made touching the Necessity of Aid and Subsidie to Kings from  
their Subjects; which some thought fitter to leave at large accord-  
ing to the Laws of severall Countries then to entitle it to the Law of  
God, Nature and Nations: but after a very light dispute that clause  
was allowed of with the Rest, and a Canon presently drawn up by  
a ready hand, according to the Vote of the House to make them  
Obligatory to the Clergy in the course of their Ministries. The pre-  
amble



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amble which was sent with the Propositions, required them to be read distinctly and audibly by every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher upon some one Sunday in every Quarter of the year at Morning Prayer. And it was added by the Canons that if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, should Voluntarily or carelessly, neglect his duty in publishing the said Explications and Conclusions according to the Order above prescribed, he should be suspended by his Ordinary till his Reformation; That all Bishops, Priests and Ministers, should Teach, Preach, and Exhort their People to Obey, Honour, and Serve their King; and that they presume not to speak of his Majesties Power, any other way then in the Canon is expressed; with reference to Excommunication, and a Suspension of two years for the first Offence, and Deprivation for the second, to be inflicted by his Majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical upon all Persons whatsoever which in any Sermon, Lecture, Determination or Disputation should maintain any point of Doctrine, contrary to the said Propositions, and Explications.

In reference to the preservation of the Episcopal power, an Oath was drawn up in the Upper, and sent down to the Lower House of Convocation, by them to be debated, approved, and ratified upon Approbation; Which Oath was required to be taken by all Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, before the second day of *November* then next following to be tendered in the presence of a publike Notary, to all Priests and Deacons by the Bishop in person, or his Chancellour or some grave Divines named and appointed by the Bishop under his Episcopal Seat. In the first words of the Oath as it came from the Lords, it was expressed in these words, that every man should Swear to the *Doctrine and Discipline established in the Church of England*. And this occasioned some dispute, concerning the extent of the word Discipline, whither it comprehended the *Episcopal Government*, and the publick Forms of Divine Worship; or was to be restrained only to the use of the Keys, as it was practiced in Ecclesiastical Courts. Some would have had the words run thus, *I. A. B. do swear that I approve the Doctrines, Discipline or Government established, &c.* But against this it was objected, First, that the Government of the Church was sufficiently provided for by the following clause, in which there was an especial Enumeration of all Offices impowred in the Government of the Church; and that it was incongruous to make that Discipline and Government to be the same, and that Government should be said to contain all things, *or any thing which was necessary to Salvation*. And they that thus objected, would have had it pass in these words, *viz. I approve the Doctrine, Discipline, and Forms of worship established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary unto Salvation*. Which though it seemed, more plausible and intelligible then the other was; yet being put unto the vote, it was carried for *Discipline or Government*, under pretence of not clogging the Oath with things unnecessary



unnecessary and such as might be made capable of a variation. According to which Vote the Canon was drawn up with this title, viz. *An Oath enjoined for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government*; and the Oath it self enjoined in this form following, that is to say, I. A. B. Do swear that I do Approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government Established in the Church of England; as containing all things necessary to salvation. And that I will not endeavour by my self or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that which is so established. Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. As it stands now established, and as by Right it ought to stand; nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and Superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and seriously acknowledge, and swear, according to the plain, and Common sense and understanding of the same words, without any Equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly upon the faith of a Christian, So help me God in Jesus Christ.

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The Oath being past, the Canon was drawn up by the former hand according to such Instructions as were sent along with it. By which it was required that all Masters of Art, (the Sons of Noblemen only excepted) all Bachelors or Doctors in Divinity, Law, or Physick, all that are licenced to practice Physick, all Registers Actuaries, and Proctors, all School-masters, all such as being natives or Naturalized, do come to be incorporated into the Universities here, having taken any Degree in any Foreign University should be bound to take the said Oath; the same Oath to be Administred to all such of the persons abovenamed residing in any University, by the Governors of their several Houses; and by the Bishop Respectively, to all which should from thenceforth be admitted to *holy Orders*, or receive any Institution, Collation, or Licence for the serving of any cure: with several Penalties to all beneficed Parsons, and all such as were then in any Ecclesiastical dignity, for their Refusal of the same; that is to say, a suspension *ab officio* for the first Refusal, *à beneficio & officio*, for the second, and Deprivation for the third, a Moneths deliberation being granted betwixt each Refusal.

These two great matters being thus concluded, A message is delivered by the Prolocutor from the house of Bishops, by which the Clergy were desired to consider of the best expedient for inducing an Uniformity in the Church about the situation of the Lords Table, the Receiving of the blessed Sacrament, and the due Revenue to be used in the house of God, and to prepare a Canon to that purpose if they found it necessary. On the Receiving of which message a grand Committee was selected out of the Ablest men of the House, to take that great and weighty business into consideration, and to Report unto the House whatsoever they should do there-



PART II. in, that it might pass or be rejected as the House thought fit. The  
*Anno Dom.* Committee consisted of 27. the Prolocutor being reckoned into  
 1640. the number, their meeting to be held the same afternoon in the  
 Chappel of King *Hen. 7.* Where being met, and sitting about the  
 table provided for the use of the Bishops, the points were seri-  
 ously debated, every man speaking his opinion in them when it  
 came to his turn without interruption; beginning with the Prolo-  
 cutor, and so proceeding from man to man till it concluded  
 with the Clerk for the Church of *Westminster*; So placed of pur-  
 pose that he might answer all such arguments, as had been brought  
 against any of the points proposed, and were not answered to his  
 hand. The Prolocutor having taken the summe of every mans  
 Judgement, declared that the far Major part had appeared for  
 placing the Lords Table where the Altar stood, the drawing neer  
 unto it to receive the Sacrament, and the making of due Reverences  
 at the entring into the Church and going out of it; and thereupon  
 put it to the question, whether they thought it convenient that a  
 Canon should be prepared to that purpose or not? Which being car-  
 ried in the affirmative, without any visible dissent, one of the  
 Clerks for the Diocess of *Bristol* presented a Canon ready drawn for  
 the same effect, but drawn in such a commanding, and imperious  
 Style, that it was disliked by all the company but himself; and  
 thereupon a Sub-committee was appointed to prepare the Canon,  
 and make it ready with as much dispatch as they could conveni-  
 ently. Which was no sooner agreed on, and the Committee con-  
 tinued for some following business; but the Archdeacon of *Huntington*  
 who was one of the number, made his first appearance, so ex-  
 tremely discontented that he was not stayed for, and that the busi-  
 ness was concluded before he came, and earnestly pressing the Pro-  
 locutor, that the debate might be Resumed, or at the least his  
 Reasons might be heard against the Vote: which when the Prolocutor  
 upon very good Reasons had refused to yield too, he fell upon  
 him with such heats, and used him so exceeding coursly; that  
 on complaint made thereof and of some other intervening harsh-  
 ness, made by the Prolocutor in a full House of the Clergy, he  
 was ordered by the far Major part to quit the House, though  
 afterwards Restored again on the acknowledgment of his Errour,  
 when his heats were down. Which Rubb removed, the Canon  
 went very smoothly on without opposition, commended Ge-  
 nerally for the Modesty and Temper of it; in which Re-  
 spect I hold it worthy to be presented to the Reader in its  
 full proportion, without any Abbreviation of it as of those  
 before.



LIB. IV.

Anno Domini

1640.



A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.

**B**Ecause it is generally to be wished, that Unity of Faith were accompanied with Uniformity of Practice in the outward worship and Service of God; chiefly for the avoiding the groundless suspicion of those who are weak, and the malicious Aspersions of the professed enemies of our Religion; the one, fearing Innovations; the other, flattering themselves with a vain hope of our back-sliding unto their Popish Superstition by reason of the situation of the Communion Table, and the approaches thereunto, the Synod declareth as followeth: That the standing of the Communion Table side-way under the East window of every Chancel or Chappel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the word of God, either expressly, or by immediate deduction; and therefore that no Religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of reforming this Church from the gross superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided, that all means should be used to root out of the Minds of the People both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof; especially of the Idolatry committed in the Mass, for which cause all Popish Altars were demolished: yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, that the holy Table should stand in that place where the Altar stood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chappels of three famous and pious Princes, and in most Cathedral, and some Parochial Churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said Tables from any illegality or just suspicion of Popish Superstition or Innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient that all Churches and Chappels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the Cathedral or mother Churches, saving alwaies the general liberty left to the Bishop by Law during the time of the Administration of the holy Communion. And we declare, that this Situation of the holy Table, doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: But it is and may be called an Altar by us, in that sense which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and no other.

Can. 7.

And because experience hath shewed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, other casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing at, and others sitting under the Communion Table in time of Divine Service: For the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present Synod, that the said Communion Table in all Churches or Chappels be decently severed with Rails to preserve them from such or worse prophanations.

And because the Administration of holy things is to be performed with all possible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the Service-Book, established by Act of Parliament, Draw near, &c. that all communicants with an humble



PART II. reverence shall draw near and approach to the holy Table, there to receive  
 Anno Dom. the divine mysteries, which have heretofore in some places been unfitly  
 1640. carried up and down by the Minister, unless it should be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place, or other inconvenience, By the Bishop himself in his Jurisdiction, and other Ordinaries respectively in theirs.

And lastly, whereas the Church is the House of God, dedicated to his holy worship, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatness and goodness of his divine Majesty; certain it is, that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in it self, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We therefore think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, Members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obeysance both at their coming in and going out of the said Churches, Chancels, or Chappels, according to the most ancient custome of the Primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. The receiving therefore of this ancient and laudable Custome we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good People, not with any intention to exhibit any Religious worship to the Communion Table, the East, or Church, or any thing therein contained, in so doing; or to perform the said Gesture in the Celebration of the holy Eucharist, upon any opinion of the Corporal presence of the Body of Christ on the holy Table, or in the mystical Elements: but only for the advancement of Gods Majesty, and to give him alone that honour and glory that is due unto him, and no otherwise. And in the practice or omission of this Rite we desire that the Rule of Charity, prescribed by the Apostle, may be observed, which is, That they which use this Rite, despise not them who use it not; and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it.

No sooner was this Declaration passed, and sent up to the Lords, but on the same day, or the next, an Address was made to the Prolocutor by the Clerk for *westminster* concerning the confusion which hapned in most parts of the Church for want of one uniform body of Articles to be used in Visitations; those of the Bishop many times threatening the Archdeacons; one Bishop differing from another, the Successors from his Predecessors; and the same person not consistent to the same Articles which himself had published. By means whereof the people were much disturbed, the Rules of the Church contemned for their multiplicity, unknown by reason of their uncertainty, and despised for the inconstancy of them that made them. Of all which he desired the Convocation to provide a remedy, by setting out one Uniform Book of Articles to be the standing Rule of all Visitations for the time to come. The motion pleased the Prolocutor, and the rest of the Clergy, who thereupon desired him (in pursuit of his own project) to undertake the compiling of the said



said Book of Articles, and to present it to the House with convenient speed. Which notwithstanding, there wanted not some secret practices to illude the motion, and frustrate the design, approved of by the general Voe. Some who observed the moderation of the Articles which had been drawn for the Metropolitcal Visitation, and finding them to leave a greater liberty about placing the Communion Table, and the order of officiating the Divine Service, than the new Articles might allow of, addrest themselves unto his Grace, desiring that those Articles might be commended to the Convocation, to be a standing Rule for all Visitations in the times succeeding; which Proposition was thought to relish well enough with him at the first proposall, though afterwards on further consideration he suffered the business to proceed in the former course. It was not long before another Canon was tendred to the Prolocutor for advancing a more general Conformity than that which was contained in the Declaration. And it was tendred by the same hand which had before presented that against *Sectaries*; in reference to whom it passed without opposition or alteration. "It was enjoyned by that Canon under pain of suspension, that all Preachers, as well beneficed men as others, should positively and plainly preach and instruct the People in their publick Sermons that the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* in the Church of *England* were lawful and commendable; and that the People ought not only to conform themselves to those *Rites* and *Ceremonies*: but chearfully to submit themselves unto the Government of the Church, as it was then established under his Majesty. Another was brought in, but by whom I know not, "*Concerning the Conversation of the Clergie*, by which it was desired in compliance to the ancient Canons of the Church, and in particular to Canon 74, 75. of the year 1603. That all Clergy men in this Church, setting before their eyes the glory of God, the holiness of their Calling, and the edification of the People committed to them, should carefully avoid all excess and disorders, that by their Christian and Religious Conversation they might shine forth, as lights unto others, in all godliness and honesty; and that all those to whom the Government of the Church was committed should set themselves to countenance and encourage Godliness, Gravity, Sobriety, and all unblameable Conversation in the Ministers of it; and diligently labour, by the due execution of the Canons aforesaid, and all other Ecclesiastical Provisions made for that end, to reform all offensive and scandalous persons which were in the Ministry. Which Canon was so well approved of, that it past without any stop or resistance.

All matters going thus calmly on, the Clergy began to take into consideration the great excesses, and abuses, which were complained of in many Offices of Ecclesiastical Courts. They found the Exorbitancies of the Chancellors to be grown so great, that they condemned the lower Clergy, and thought themselves independent of

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1640.

Can. 9.

Can. 10.

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PART II. the Bishops under whom they served. They found that many abuses had been committed in the Sentences of Excommunication and Absolution, (the slovenly executing whereof had been very offensive) as also in Commutations of Penance, and conniving at unlawful Marriages, out of which some Officers in those Courts raised no small advantage; Complaint was also made of some oppressions which had been laid upon the Subject, by concurrent Jurisdictions partly, and partly by vexatious Citations, in which nothing was more aimed at, than the Officers Fees which must be paid, though nothing could be proved against the Party when he came before them. The consideration and redress of all which grievances being referred to the Committee of twenty six, the said Committee was desired by the Prolocutor to hold their meetings in his house, situate under the North-side of the Abbey-Church, and therefore most convenient both for himself and them. The Grievances were great, and yet not greater than the Clamour which was raised about them, which made the Committee very intent upon the stilling of the noise; by providing better for themselves, their Brethren, and the rest of the Subjects: but not without all due respect to the Professors in that honourable Faculty of the *Civil Laws*. Lamb Dean of the Arches, and Heath Judge of the Audience, being both Members of the Convocation, were taken into that Committee; not only to assist their Consultations in point of Law: but to moderate the fervor of their Proceedings by the Fan of Reason. The whole Reformation brought within the compass of these seven Canons: 1. Concerning Chancellors Patents. 2. Chancellors not alone to censure any of the Clergy in sundry cases. 3. Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a PRIEST. 4. Concerning Commutations, and the disposing of them. 5. Touching current Jurisdictions. 6. Concerning Licences to marry. 7. Against vexatious Citations.

Can. II.

In the first of the seven it was required, "That no Bishop should grant any Patent to any Chancellor, Commissary, or Official, for any longer time than the life of the Grantee only; That in all such Patents the Bishops should reserve to themselves and their Successors the power of giving institution to Benefices, of giving Licences to teach School or Preach, as also of exercising their Jurisdiction, either alone, or with the Chancellor, at his own discretion, all the accustomed Fees to be reserved unto the Chancellor, &c. as in former times; That no Dean and Chapter should confirm any Patent to any Chancellor, &c. wherein the said conditions were not exprest, under pain of Suspension to be inflicted on them severally by their Metropolitan; And finally, That under the heaviest Censures no reward should be taken for any of the Offices and Places abovementioned. In the composition of which Canon, as the first branch was made to cut off Reversions, so was the last added to prevent corruptions; For he most commonly sells Justice



Justice that hath bought his Office. In the second it was ordered,  
 " That no Chancellor, Commissary, or Official, unless he be in ho-  
 " ly Orders, should proceed to Suspension, or any higher Censure  
 " against any of the Clergy in any criminal cause other than neglect  
 " of appearance upon legal Citing: but that all such cases should  
 " be heard by the Bishop in person, with the assistance of his Chan-  
 " cellor or Commissary; or if the Bishops occasions will not per-  
 " mit, then by his Chancellor, or Commissary, and two grave dig-  
 " nified or beneficed Ministers of the Diocese to be assigned by the  
 " Bishop, under his Episcopal Seal, who shall hear and censure the  
 " said cause in that Consistory. By the third it was ordained, That  
 " no Excommunications or Absolutions should be good or valid in  
 " Law except they be pronounced either by the Bishop in person,  
 " or by some other in holy Orders having *Ecclesiastical* Jurisdiction,  
 " or by some grave Minister beneficed in the Diocese, being a Master  
 " of Arts at least, and appointed by the Bishop, the name of the  
 " said Priest or Minister being expressed in the Instrument under the  
 " Seal of the Court; And that no such Minister should pronounce  
 " any such Sentence but in open Consistory, or at least in some Church  
 " or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving and taking Absolution  
 " upon his knees. By the fourth it was provided, That no Chancel-  
 " lor, &c. should have power to commute any Penance in whole  
 " or in part, but either together with the Bishop in person, or with  
 " his privy in writing; That if he do it by himself, he should give  
 " up a full and just account of such Commutations once every year  
 " at *Michaelmas* to the Bishop, under pain of being suspended from  
 " his Jurisdiction for the space of a year; the said Commutations  
 " to be disposed of by the Bishop and Chancellor in such charitable  
 " and pious uses as the Law requires; and that Commutation to be  
 " signified to the place from whence the complaint proceeded,  
 " in case the crime were publicly complained of, and approved  
 " notorious.

For preventing those vexations and inconveniencies which for-  
 merly had been occasioned by concurrent Jurisdictions, It was de-  
 creed by the fifth Canon, under the several penalties therein contained,  
 " That no Register or Clerk should give, nor Apparitor execute a Ci-  
 " tation upon any Executor to appear in any Court or Office till ten  
 " daies after the Death of the Testator; And that nevertheless it  
 " might be lawful for any Executor to prove such Wills when they  
 " think good, within the said ten daies before any Ecclesiastical  
 " Judge respectively, to whose Jurisdiction the same might or did  
 " appertain. By the sixth it was ordained for the better preventing  
 " of any further invasions to be made on the Prerogative of the See  
 " of *Canterbury*, and of many other inconveniencies which did  
 " thence arise, no Licence of Marriage should be granted from any  
 " Ordinary, in whose Jurisdiction one of the parties hath not been  
 " Commorant for the space of a month, immediately before the  
 same

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Can. 13.

Can. 13.

Can. 14.

Can. 15.

Can. 16.



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“same shall be desired, under pain of such Censure as the Archbi-  
 “shop should think fit to inflict; And that the said Parties being  
 “commorant in the said Jurisdiction, as before is said, shall be  
 “made one of the Conditions of the Bond accustomedly given for  
 “securing that Office. And for preventing of vexatious Citations  
 “for the time to come, it was required by the last *Canon*, That no  
 “Citation should from thenceforth be issued out of any Ecclesiasti-  
 “cal Court, except it be upon Presentment, but such as should be  
 “sent forth under the Hand and Seal of the *Chancellor*, within thirty  
 “days after the fault committed; the Return thereof to be made  
 “on the first or second Court-day after the serving of the same:  
 “And that the Party so cited, not being convinced by two Witnes-  
 “ses, on his denial of the Fact by his corporal Oath, should be  
 “forthwith dismissed without any payment of Fees. Provided,  
 “That this Decree extend not to any grievous Crime; as Schism,  
 “Incontinence, Misbehaviour at the Church in the time of Divine  
 “Service, obstinate Inconformity, or the like. Finally, For pre-  
 “venting all unnecessary Tautologies and Repetitions of the same  
 “thing, it was declared once for all, “That whatsoever had been  
 “declared in the former *Canons*, concerning the Jurisdiction of the  
 “*Bishops*, their *Chancellors*, or *Commissaries*, should be in force (as far  
 “as by Law it was applicable) concerning all *Deans*, *Deans* and *Chap-*  
 “*ters*, *Collegiate Churches*, *Archdeacons*, and all in Holy Orders, ha-  
 “ving exempt or peculiar Jurisdiction, and their several Officers  
 “respectively.

To the Proceedings of this Committee in digesting these *Canons*,  
 the interposing of another business gave no stop at all, though it  
 seemed to be of more weight than all the rest. His Majesty on the  
 twentieth of *May* directed his Letters sealed with his Royal Signet,  
 and attested by his Signe Manual, to the Bishops and Clergy assem-  
 bled in *Convocation*, Requiring and thereby Authorising them to pro-  
 ceed in making *Synodical Constitutions*, for Levying the six *Subsidies* for-  
 merly Granted. This the most easie Task of all. The Grant of the  
 six *Subsidies* had been drawn before; and there was nothing now to  
 be altered in it, but the changing of the name of *Subsidy* into that  
 of *Benevolence*, according to the Advice of the Council-Learned;  
 by whom it was resolved, That no Moneys could be raised in the  
 name of a *Subsidy*, but by Act of Parliament. And for the *Synodi-*  
*cal Acts* or *Constitutions* for the Levying of it, they were made to  
 their hands; So that there was nothing left for them to do, but to  
 follow the Precedent which was laid before them out of the Record  
 of *Convocation*, Anno 1585. and to transcribe the same (the Names  
 and Sums being only changed) without further trouble. So that it  
 was dispatched by the *Committee*, Voted by the *Clergie*, and sent up  
 to the *Bishops* before the end of the next day. Nor did the framing  
 or compiling of the Book of *Articles*, give any stop at all to him, to  
 whom the digesting of them was committed, from attending the Ser-  
 vice



vice of the *Committee* and the House upon all occasions; though for the better Authorising of them, he had placed in the Margin before every *Article*, the *Canon*, *Rubrick*, *Law*, *Injunction*, or other Authentick Evidence upon which it was grounded. Which being finished in good time was by him openly read in the House, and by the House approved and passed without alteration: but that an Exegetical or Explanatory Clause, in the fourth *Article* of the fourth *Chapter*, touching the Reading of the Second or *Communion-Service* at the *Lords Table*, was desired by some to be omitted, which was done accordingly; Which *Articles* being too many and too long to be here inserted, the Reader may consult in the Printed Book, first published for the Visitation of the Bishop of *London*, and by him fitted in some points for the use of that Diocese. The said Clerk brought a *Canon* also with him, "For enjoyning the said Book to be only used in all *Parochial Visitations*, for the better settling of an Uniformity in the outward Government and Administration of the Church, and for the preventing of such just Grievances, which might be laid upon Churchwardens and other sworn men, by any impertinent, inconvenient, or illegal *Inquiries* in the *Articles* for *Ecclesiastical Visitations*: The same to be deposited in the Records of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. To which a Clause was added in the House of Bishops, giving a Latitude to themselves for adding some *Articles* peculiar to their several Jurisdictions, for the space of three years; The same to be allowed by their *Metropolitan*: And afterwards to content themselves with the said *Articles*, so enlarged and accommodated, for all times succeeding.

Some other things there were in Proposition and Design, that never ripened into Act or Execution. There had been a Design in deliberation, touching the drawing and digesting of an *English Pontifical*, to be approved by this *Convocation*, and tendred to his Majesties Confirmation. Which said *Pontifical* was to contain the form and manner of his Majesties late Coronation, to serve for a perpetual standing Rule on the like occasions; Another form to be observed by all Archbishops and Bishops, for Consecrating Churches, Church-yards, and Chappels; and a third for Reconciling such *Penitents* as either had done open *Penance*, or had revolted from the Faith to the Law of *Mahomet*. Which three, together with the form of *Confirmation*, and that of *Ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, which were then in force, were to make up the whole Body of the Book intended. But the Troubles of the Time growing greater and greater, it was thought expedient to defer the Prosecution of it till a fitter conjuncture. Many had took exception against the tying up of Preachers to the Form of Prayer appointed to be used before their Sermons, *Can. 55*. For whose Relief therein, a short Prayer was drawn, containing all the Heads of that in the *Canon*: And being so drawn up, it was to have been tendred by the hands of one of the *Clergie*, who would have undertaken that it should be



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universally received by all those which dislike the other. But the Archbishop chose rather to adhere to the *Canon*, than to venture on any new Experiment; that *Canon* being founded on the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Edward* vi. at the first Reformation. And so the Proposition fell without moving further. *Gryffith* a Clerk for one of the *Welsh* Diocesses, a moderate and sober man, proposed unto the House, That a new Edition might be made of the *Welsh* Church-Bible, the old one being corrupt in some places, and defective in others; which he instanced in. The Motion well approved by the *Clergie*, and by the House of Bishops committed to the care of the four *Welsh* Bishops; of whose proceeding in the Work, by reason of the following Troubles, there was little hope. Nor did the Archbishop speed much better in a Motion of his, which was, That his Majesty might be moved for the new Printing of the *Common-Prayer Book* in the *Latin* Tongue, to the end (though I cannot positively say that he expressed so much at that time) that it might be used in all *Colledges* and *Halls*, in Officiating the *Morning-Prayer*, at which none are bound to be present, but such as are presumed to understand the Language. For doing whereof, he conceived he had good ground in the first *Rubricks* after the *Preface* to the *Common-Prayer Book*, in which it is declared, *That though it be appointed in the aforesaid Preface, that all things should be Read and Sung in the English Tongue, to the end that the Congregation may be thereby Edified: yet it is not meant, but when men say Morning and Evening Prayer privately, they may say the same in any Language that they themselves do understand.* And he had also the constant example of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon.* in which the first *Morning-Prayers* were continually Officiated in the *Latin* Tongue; for the *Prebends*, *Students*, and others of the Foundation; and at the Cathedral-hours, in the *English* only, for Instruction and Devotion of the *Choir-men*, *Alms-men*, *Servants*, and all others which resort unto them.

It is a matter which deserves no small Admiration, That these *Canons* (like the first building of the Temple, without the noise of Ax and Hammer) should pass the House with such a general calm and quiet, and be received with so many Storms and Tempests when they went abroad. The very sitting of the *Convocation* condemned for an illegal Act; as if it were a Crime to outlive the Parliament. And much sport made by ignorant and malicious men, touching the Metamorphosis of an old *Convocation*, into a new *Synod*, as they scoffed it; which hath sufficiently been answered in that before. The whole Body of the *Canons* Voted by the House of Commons in the following Parliament, to be against the *Fundamental Laws* of the Realm, against the Kings *Prerogative*, *Property* of the Subject, the *Right* of *Parliaments*, and to tend to *Faction* and *Sedition*; which shall be answered as sufficiently in that which follows. The seven last passionately opposed by *Martin*, and some other Ecclesiastical Judges, before they passed the *Royal Assent*, as tending to the visible discouragement

Hist. K. Ch.  
by H. L. p.  
208.



discouragement, if not the plain overthrow of their Profession. To which it was answered by the Archbishop, and the Council too, That nothing but their Excrecences and Exorbitances, were by those *Canons* pared away; all their Preferments, with the Profits and Lawful Fees which belonged unto it, remaining as before they were. Yet the *Civilians* made not so much noise as some *Common Lawyers*, who look'd upon the Granting of a Benevolence by *Convocation*, and the Levying of it by *Synodical Acts* and *Constitutions*, as being an Ineroachment on the Priviledges and Rights of Parliament, without the Midwifery whereof, the *Clergie* could Enact no *Canons* to bind the Subjects, in such pecuniary Payments as were laid upon them. Which were it so, and that the *Clergie* could not give away their own without leave from others, they must needs be the greatest Slaves the Sun ever shined on: Whereas in truth, the *Clergie* in *Convocation* have as much power to give away the money of the *Clergie* by whom they are chosen to that Imployment; as the Commons in Parliament have to command the Money of the Cities, Towns, and Counties for which they serve. For in the choosing of the Clerks for the *Convocation*, there is an Instrument drawn and sealed by the *Clergy*, in which they bind themselves to the *Archdeacon* or *Archdeacons* of their several Diocesses, upon pain of forfeiting all their Lands and Goods, to allow, stand to, and perform whatsoever their said Clerks or Proctors shall say, do, or condescend to on their behalf. Greater Authority than this, as the Commons have not; so why the *Clergie* in the *Convocation* should not make use of this Authority as they see occasion, I can find no reason. Nor is it a speculative Authority only, and not reducible unto Practice; an Authority which was then in force, but not in use, as is distinguished in some Cases. They had a Precedent for it in Queen *Elizabeths* time, as before was noted; not then beheld as an Ineroachment on the Right of Parliaments. But then was then, and now is now; the change of Times (without any alteration of the Laws) diversifying the same Action into good and bad.

But nothing raised so much noise and clamour, as the Oath required by the sixth *Canon*; Exclaimed against both from the *Pulpit* and the *Press*; Reproached in printed Pamphlets, and unprinted Scribbles; and glad they were to find such an excellent Advantage, as the discovering of an *Exc.* in the Body of it, did unhappily give them. This voiced abroad to be the greatest *Mystery of Iniquity* which these last Ages had produced, containing in it so much of the *Depths of Satan*; that as no man could see the bottom of the Iniquity: so neither they that made the Oath, nor they that were to take it, understood the *Mystery*. But unto this it hath been answered, as unto the fact, That in all the *Canons* which were made before this (being five in number) there was a particular enumeration of all the persons, vested with any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; that is to say, *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, *Deans and Chapters*, and other

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1640.

Se ratum,  
gratum &  
acceptum  
habere; quic-  
quid dicti  
Procuratores  
sui dixerint,  
fecerint, vel  
constiterint.



PART II. persons having peculiar or exempt Jurisdiction; which having been  
*Anno Dom.* repeated distinctly or particularly in such of the *Canons* as were first  
 1640. made, was in the first drawing of their Oath, for avoiding of a Tautology so often iterated, cut off with this *&c.* with an intention nevertheless to make the Enumeration perfect (and consequently to expunge this unlucky *&c.*) before it came to be Engrossed. But the King being weary of the Charge and Clamour, which the keeping of a Guard on the *Convocation* did expose him to, did hasten them to a Conclusion by so many Messages brought by *Vane* and others, that in the haste this unlucky *&c.* was forgotten, and so committed to the Press accordingly. It hath been secondly answered, as in point of Reason, That the *&c.* as it stands in that part of the Oath, is so restrained and limited by the following words, *viz. as it stands now established*, that there can be no danger of any *Mystery of Iniquity* in it: So that in the Construction of this Text, the *&c.* as it now remains, is a meer impertinency: For being left in, it signifieth nothing, in regard of the Restriction following; and being left out, the sense is currant and compleat without it. Which all those witty Gentlemen who so often spoke, and others of less wit and quality, which so frequently writ against this Oath, could not chuse but see: but that they were not willing to see any thing which might make against them. The Paramount Objection being thus refell'd, the rest which have been made against it will be easily satisfied. It hath been charged by some, That the exacting of an Oath not to consent to the Alteration of the Government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, *&c.* is an affront to the fundamental Rules of Civil Politie. To which it hath been answered, That it is indeed an affront to Government, not to submit or yield Obedience unto *Civil Sanctions* when made, and legally established: But it is no affront not to give consent to any such *Establishments*, while they are in Treaty; for then the liberty of assenting or dissenting, of Yea or Nay, would be taken away from every Member in the Houses of Parliament, and every Man must give consent to every Bill which is offered to him. But besides this, there were but few of the *Convocation* whose consent was likely to be asked, when any change of Church-Government should be set on foot; so that their dissenting or assenting was not much material: but only so far as by their readiness of consenting to such Innovations in the Publick Government, they might encourage others to proceed against it. Here then is no affront to Government, much less to the Fundamentals of it; the Oath not binding any man not to yield Obedience, but not to give consent to such Alteration. As for the last Objection, That he who takes the Oath declares therein, *That he takes it willingly*, being constrained so to do under grievous Penalties. This as it comes last, is the least considerable; for if this were a Crime in the *Convocation*, it was such a Crime as the High Court of Parliament hath been guilty of, in drawing up the Oath of Allegiance in the third year



year of King *James*; in which the Party is to swear, That he makes *that Recognition* not only *heartily* and *truly*, but also *willingly*: and yet the taking of that Oath is imposed on all the Subjects, under several Penalties, if any of them shall refuse it.

LIB. IV.  
Anno Dom.  
1640.  
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And yet these Quarrels at the Oath, the Unparliamentary Levying of the said Benevolence, and the pretended Illegality of their very Sitting after the Parliament expired, were but the out-sides of the business, but only colours and disguises to conceal the chief cause of their displeasure from the publick view. Somewhat there was which galled them more than all these together; that is to say, the *Propositions* for asserting the *Regal Power*, making it absolute and independent with reference both to *Pope* and *People*, to the great discontent and trouble of the Popular Party, since better known by the name of *Commonwealths-men*. Which since the *English* were not confident enough to speak out at first, we must take their meaning from the *Scots*, who in the Articles exhibited against our Archbishop by their Commissioners, have expressly charged him with this Crime, *viz.* "That he made *Canons* and *Constitutions* against them, their just and necessary defence; Ordaining under all highest Pain, That hereafter the Clergy should Preach four times in the year such Doctrine as was contrary not only to their Proceedings, but to the Doctrine and Proceedings of other Reformed Kirks, to the Judgment of all sound Divines and Politicks; as tending to the utter slavery and ruining of all Estates and Kingdoms, and to the dishonour of Kings and Monarchs. This the true cause of those high Displeasures, conceived by some prevailing Members of the House of Commons, and openly declared by their Words and Actions, branding those innocent *Canons* for a tendency to *Faction* and *Sedition*, which they most laboured to suppress; condemning all that Voted to them, in great sums of Money; and afterwards destroying them one by one, as they came in their way. Compared with this, neither the Benevolence, nor the Oath, nor any thing else before objected, was esteemed considerable; though all were joyned together to amuze the People, and make them fearful of some Plot, not only to subvert Religion, but their Civil Rights.

Cant. Deons,  
p. 56.

But the best is, that howsoever some few men for their private ends reproached these *Canons*, as before; his Sacred Majesty, the Lords of his most Honourable Privy-Council, the Reverend Judges, and the Great Lawyers of the Council-Learned, conceived otherwise of them; in the hearing of all which they were publickly read by the Archbishops procurement, before they were tendred to the Clergy to be subscribed: and by all which they were approved, not without thanks to the Archbishop from the King himself, for his pains therein. And certainly it had been strange that they should pass the Approbation of the Judges and Learned Lawyers, had they contained any thing against the *Fundamental Laws of the Land*, the *Property of the Subject*, and the *Rights of Parliaments*; or been approved



PART II. proved by the Lords of his Majesties Privy-Council, had any  
*Anno Dom.* thing been contained in them derogatory to the Kings Prerogative,  
 1640. or tending to *Faction* and *Sedition*. So far they were from being liable to Condemnation in those respects, that Justice *Crook* (whose Argument in the Case of Ship-money was Printed afterwards by Order from the House of Commons) is credibly affirmed to have lifted up his hands, and to have given hearty Thanks to Almighty God, that he had lived to see so good Effects of a *Convocation*. On these Encouragements, and such a solemn Approbation, the Clergy were called up to the House of Bishops, to be present at the subscribing of them; which was accordingly performed *May 29.* by the Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons in their Seniority, and promiscuously by the rest of the Clergy, till all the Members had Subscribed; every mans heart going together with his hand, as it is to be presumed from all men of that holy Profession. Recusant there was none, but the Bishop of *Glocester*, suspected of some inclinations to the *Romish* Religion in the Times preceding; which inclinations he declared more manifestly by this Refusal; for which there could be no imaginable Reason to prevail upon him, but the severity of the *Canon* for suppressing the Growth of *Popery*. Some pains was taken with him in the way of perswasion, and some Commands laid on him by his Metropolitan, as President of the *Convocation*: But when neither of the two Endeavours could remove him from his former obstinacy, the Prolocutor and Clergy were required to return to their House again, and to consider of the Penalty which he had incurred, according to the Rules and Practice of the Catholick Church in National and Provincial Councils. Which being done, the Prolocutor had no sooner put the Question, but the Clergy unanimously condemned him to a Suspension *a Beneficio & Officio*; and found at their return, that the House of Bishops (who had had some speech thereof before) had pronounced the same Sentence against him also. A Sentence which might have produced more dangerous effects on this obstinate Prelate, if he had not prevented it in time by his submission. For the Sentence being reduced into Writing, subscribed by the Archbishops hand, and publicly pronounced in the *Convocation*, his Majesty took such just offence at so great a scandal, that he committed him to Prison, where he staid not long; for on the tenth of *July* he made acknowledgment of his fault before the Lords of the Council, and took the Oath enjoined in the sixth *Canon*, for preserving the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, against all *Popish* Doctrines which were thereunto repugnant. Upon the doing whereof, his Majesty was graciously pleased to restore him to his former Liberty; though this Submission appeared within few years after, to be made either with some mental Reservation, or Jesuitical Equivocation, which he came prepared with. For in the time of his last Sicknes, he declared himself to be a Member of the Church of *Rome*, and caused it so to be expressed in



in his last Will and Testament, that the news thereof might spread the further, and his Apostacy stand upon Record to all future Ages. A Scandal so unseasonably given, as if the Devil himself had watched an opportunity to despise this Church,

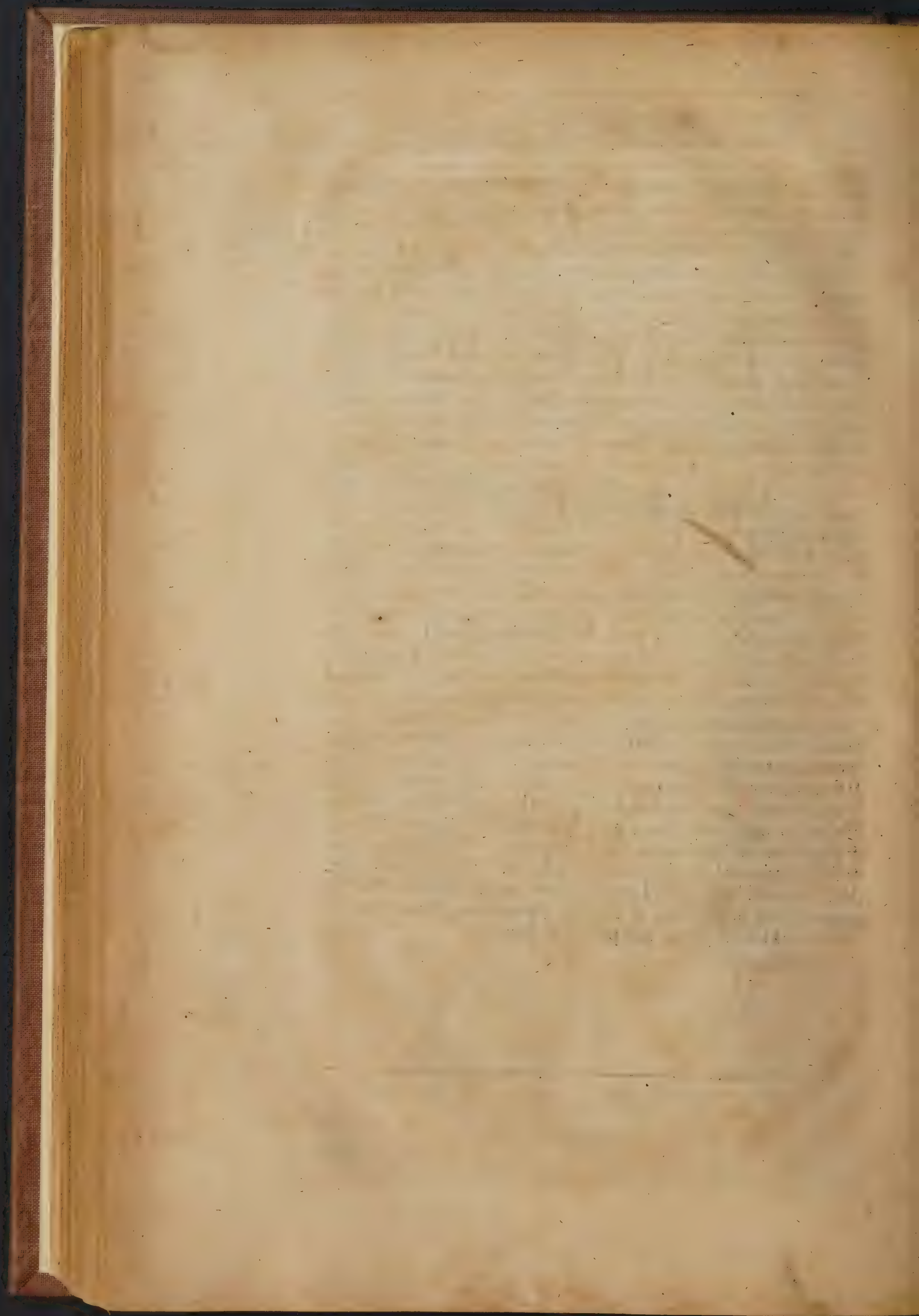
LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1640.

But these things hapned not till after. The Sentence of Suspension was no sooner pronounced, but the Archbishop giving great thanks to the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy for their pains and diligence, in doing so much Work in so little time, produced his Majesties Writ for dissolving the said *Convocation*; which he accordingly executed, and dissolved the same. The Acts whereof being transmitted unto *York*, were by the *Convocation* for that Province perused, debated, and approved without any disputing; and so presented to his Majesty with their Names subscribed, according to the ancient Custom. There remained now nothing more to do, for giving these *Canons* the Authority and Reputation of his Majesties Ecclesiastical Laws, but the signifying of his Royal Assent, and confirming them by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*. And this his Majesty, upon mature deliberation, was graciously pleased to do, commanding in the same, "That they should be diligently observed, executed, and equally kept by all his Subjects, both within the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* respectively: That for the better observation of them, all Ministers should audibly and distinctly read all the said *Canons* in the Church or Chappel in which they Minister, at the time of Divine Service; The Book of the said *Canons* to be provided before *Michaelmas*, at the charge of their Parishes: And finally, That all Archbishops and Bishops, and others having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, shall take special care that the said *Canons* and *Ordinances* be in all points duly observed; not sparing to execute the Penalties in them severally mentioned, upon any that shall wittingly or wilfully break or neglect to observe the same, as they tendred the Honour of God, the Peace of the Church, the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and their Duties and Service to his Majesty their King and Sovereign. With which his Majesties Letters Patents, bearing date on *June 13*. confirmatory of the Acts of the said *Convocations*, I conclude the fourth and busiest part of this present History,









# THE L I F E

O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

## WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

LIB. V.

Extending from the end of the Convocation, Anno 1640. till  
the day of his Death, Jan. 10<sup>th</sup> 1644.



Thus have we brought this Renowned Pre-  
late, and with him the Church unto the ve-  
ry Battlement and Pinacle of External Glo-  
ries. But such is the vicissitude of humane  
affairs, that being carried to the height they  
begin to fall; it being no otherwise with the  
fortunes of States or Men, then it is with  
Plants, which have their times of taking  
Root, their Growing, Flourishing, Matu-

rity, and then their Fading, and decay. And therefore it was very  
well observed by *Paterculus*, an old *Roman* Historian, that when ei-  
ther Emulation or natural Courage had given to any man an edge  
to ascend to the highest, after they had (a) attained that height, they  
were according to the course of Nature to descend again; and that  
it was no otherwise (b) with States and Nations then with Private  
men. It was just fourscore years from the beginning of the *Reforma-*  
*tion* under Queen *Eliz.* to the Pacification made at *Berwick*, when  
the King so unfortunately dismissed his Forces, and thereby left him-  
self and his party in a worse condition then before the raising of his

Mmm

Army.

Anno Domini.  
1640.

(a) Naturaliter  
quod procedere  
non potest, recc-  
dit, Vell. Pat.  
Hist. Lib. i.

(b) Gentium,  
urbium, et civi-  
rum nunc sunt  
fortuna, nunc  
senescit, aliquan-  
do interit. Ibid.



PART II. Army. The Church till then might seem to be in the *Ascendent* in the point of *Culminating*; and was then ready to decline, which *Anno Dom.* our Judicious *Hooker* (c) had before presaged: Who had assigned her fourscore years for her growth and flourishing, and nothing afterwards but sorrow and disconsolation. For taking notice of the inclination of the times to Sacrilege, and Spoil, and Rapine; and finding nothing more frequent in the mouths of men, then this, "that they which endowed Churches with Lands poisoned Religion; that Tithes and Oblations are now in the sight of God but as the sacrificed blood of Goats; and that fulness of bread having made the Children wanton, it was without any scruple to be taken away from them, He made upon the whole matter, this ensuing Judgement: By this means (saith he) or the like suggestions received with all joy, and with like sedulity practiced in certain parts of the Christian World, they have brought to pass that as *David* doth say of man, so it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole Religion and service of God, *The time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threescore and ten years, or if strength do serve unto fourscore, what followeth is like to be small joy for them whosoever they be that behold the same.* An Observation which seems to favour more of the Prophet, then it did of the Priest; and to have as much Divination, as Divinity in it.

(c) *Ecclesiast.*  
*Polit. Lib. 5.*  
*Sect. 79.*

Thus also in reference to himself, he was now growing towards the term of 70 years, which the *Psalmist* had assigned to the Life of man; and there wanted not many sad Presages of his Fall and Death. He was much given to take notice of his Dreams, and commit them to writing, Amongst which I find this for one, that on Friday night the 24<sup>th</sup> of Jan. 1639. his father (who died 46 years before) came to him, and that to his thinking he was as well, and as cheerful, as ever he saw him; that his Father asked him what he did there; that after some speech he demanded of his Father how long he would stay there; and that his Father made this Answer, that he would stay till he had him along with him. A dream which made such Impression on him as to add this Note to it in his Breviate, that *though he was not moved with Dreams, yet he thought fit to remember this.* On Friday night just a Moneth before, being the 27<sup>th</sup> of December and the night following the day of *S. John* the Evangelist, there was raised such a violent Tempest that many of the Boats which were drawn to Land at *Lambeth*, were dashed one against the other, and were broke to pieces; and that the shafts of two Chimneys were blown down upon the Roof of his Chamber, and beat down both the Lead and Rafter upon his bed; in which ruine he must needs have Perished, if the Roughness of the water had not forced him to keep his Chamber at *White-hall*. A mischance somewhat of this nature befel the same night at *Croyden* (a retiring place belonging to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) where one of the Pinacles fell from the Steeple, beat down the Lead and Roof of the Church



Church above twenty foot square. But that which was more remarkable then either of these, happened the same night at the Metropolitan Church in the City of *Canterbury*; where one of the Pinacles upon the top of the *Bell-frey* Tower, which carried a vane, with this Archbishops Arms upon it, was violently struck down, but born a good distance from the Steeple, to fall upon the Roof of the Cloyster under which the Arms of the Archiepiscopal See it self, were engraven in stone; which Arms being broken to pieces by the fall of the other, gave occasion unto one who loved him not, to collect this Interence, that the *Arms of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, breaking down the Arms of the See of Canterbury; not only portended his own fall, but the Ruine of the Metropolitan dignity by the weight thereof.* Of these mis-fortunes, (which some men perhaps may call Presages) he took not so much notice, as he did of an accident which happened on *S. Simon and Jude's* eve, not above a week before the beginning of the late long Parliament, which drew him to his final Ruine. On which day going into his upper study to send some Manuscripts to *Oxon*, he found his Picture at full Length, and taken as near unto the life as the Pensil was able to express it, to be fallen on the Floor, and lying flat upon its face, the string being broke by which it was hanged against the wall. At the sight whereof he took such a sudden apprehension, that he began to fear it as an *Omen* of that ruine which was coming toward him, and which every day began to be threatned to him, as the Parliament grew nearer and nearer to consult about it. Which accidents happening one in the neck of another, gave him some occasion to look back on a former misfortune, which chanced on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *Septemb.* 1633. being the very day of his Translation to the See of *Canterbury*; When the Ferry Boat transporting his Coach and Horses with many of his Servants in it, sunk to the bottom of the *Thames*. And though he lost neither man nor Horse by the misadventure, yet much discourse was made upon it, and most beheld it, as a sign of no good Fortune, which should befall him in the course of his Future Actions.

But worse Presages then all these, were the breaking out of divers Plots and Practices against him, by the Opposite Factions; not only the *Puritans* but the *Papists*, conspiring against him, and both Resolved to bring him to his Fatal end by some means or other. The *Papists* which had hope to effect great matters by the Power and Prevalency of the Queen, found the Archbishop so averse from their courses, and the King so resolute in the maintainance of the true Protestant Religion here by Law established, that they perceived it necessary to remove them both out of the way, before any thing could be effected answerable to their expectation. A confederacy was formed amongst them, consisting of some of the most subtle heads in the whole Jesuitical party; by whom it was con-

LIB. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1640.



PART II. cluded to foment the broils began in *Scotland*, and to heighten the  
*Anno Dom.* combustions there, that the King being drawn into a War might  
 1640. give them the better opportunity to effect their enterprize for sending him and the Archbishop to the other world. Which being by one of the party on compunction of Conscience, made known to *Andreas ab Habernsfield*, who had been Chaplain as some said to the Queen of *Bohemia*, they both together gave intimation of it, to *Sir William Boswel*, his Majesties Resident at the *Hague*; having first bound him by his Oath not to reveal the same to any man Living but to the Archbishop himself, and by the Archbishop to the King. This signified by *Boswel's* Letters of the 9<sup>th</sup> of *Septemb.* Together with a general draught of the design transmitted to *Canterbury* under the hand of *Habernsfield* himself, the first discoverer of the plot. On the Receipt of which dispatches the Archbishop giving directions to *Boswel* to proceed to a further discovery of it, sends the Intelligence with all speed imaginable, by his Letters of the 11<sup>th</sup> of the same Moneth to the King at *York*; beseeching nothing more then his secrecy in it, that he would not trust his Pockets with those dangerous Papers; and finally, that he would declare what his Pleasure was for the Prosecution of the business. And so far both the King and he had very good Reason to be sensible of the dangers which were threatned to them. But when the large discovery was brought unto him transmitted in *Boswel's* letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> of *Octob.* he found some names in it, which discredited the whole Relation as well in his Majesties Judgement as his own. For besides his naming of some profest *Papists*, as the Dutches of *Buckingham*, the Countesses of *Arundel* and *Newport*, *Mountague*, *Digby*, and *Winter*, of whose Fidelity the King was not willing to have any suspicion, he named the Earl of *Arundel*, *Windebank*, Principal Secretarie of State, and *Porter* one of the Grooms of the *Bed-Chamber*, whom he charged to be the Kings utter enemies, and such as betrayed his secrets to the Popes *Nuncio* upon all occasions; all which his Majesty beheld as men of most approved Loyalty and affections to him; By reason whereof no further credit being given to the Advertisement, which they had from *Boswel*, the danger so much feared at first, became more slighted and neglected then consisted with his Majesties safety, and the condition of the times which were apt to mischief; For though the Party who first brake the Ice to this Intelligence, might be mistaken in the names of some of the Accomplices, which were interested in the designe, whose Relations unto those of the Church of *Rome* might give some ground for the mistake; yet the calamities which soon after fell upon them both, the deplorable death of the Archbishop first, and his Majesty afterwards, declare sufficiently, that there was some greater Reality in the Plot then the King was willing to believe. But it had been a Maxime with King *James*, his Father, *That Suspicion was the sickness and disease of a Tyrant*; which laid him open to all the



the subtle Practices of malicious cunning. And it had been taken up by this King for an *Axiom* also, *That it was better to be deceived than to distrust*; which paved a plain and easie way to all those misfortunes which in the whole course of his Reign, especially for ten years last past, had been brought upon him.

LIB. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1640.

And as for *Canterbury* himself he had so many dangers threatened from the *Puritan* Faction as made him bend his whole thoughts to prevent their Practices, who had already declared their Purpose towards his Destruction. For a brute being maliciously spread abroad, that the late Parliament had been dissolved by his Procurement, the Rabble became so inflamed, that a Paper was pasted up at the *Exchange*, on *Saterday* the ninth of *May*, advising and animating the Apprentices to Sack his House at *Lambeth* on the *Munday* following. This gave him a sufficient warning to expect a storm, and to prepare himself against it; which he did with so much care and courage, that though he was assaulted that night with a confused Raskal Rabble of five hundred persons, yet they were not able either to force the House, or do any visible harm unto it. The next day he procured some pieces of Cannon, which he caused to be planted for defence of the great Gate which leads into the house, and strengthened all the lesser doors which opened towards the Garden, and other places; so that there was no danger to be feared from the like alarms, though prudently he withdrew to his Chamber at *Whitehall* till the Rage of the People was blown over. Some of the principal Actors in this Sedition being apprehended and committed to the Goal in *Southwark*, were forcibly delivered by others of their Accomplices, who brake open that and all the other Prisons in that *Precinct*; for which one *Benstead*, who appeared in the head of that Riot, was on the 21. of *May* condemned for Treason, and was accordingly drawn, hanged, and quartered, for a terrour to others. Which seasonable Execution put an end to the Outrage, but not to the malice of the People; Libels against him being scattered in most parts of the City. For though about the end of *August* a Paper was dropt in the *Covent Garden*, encouraging the Souldiers and Apprentices to fall upon him in the Kings Absence (his Majesty being then newly gone against the *Scots*) yet there was no Tumult raised upon it; the People standing in more fear of the Hangman than to expose themselves again to the Knife and Halter. Howsoever thinking it as unsafe as it was imprudent to tempt the Rabble to bestow another visit on him at his house in *Lambeth*, he gave order that the *High Commission* should be kept in *St. Pauls*, and he did well and wisely in it. For the Commissioners sitting there, on *October 22.* were violently assaulted by a mixt multitude of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Puritans*; of all sorts to the number of 2000. and upwards, crying out they would have no *Bishops*, nor no *High Commission*. In which Tumult, having frightened away the Judges, Advocates, and Officers of the Court, they brake down all the

Seats



PART II. Seats and Benches which they found in the *Consistory*, putting the  
*Anno Dom.* King to a new necessity of keeping a Guard upon that Church, as be-  
 1640. fore at *Westminster*, not only at the next sitting of the said Commis-  
 sioners, but at the first meeting of the *Convocation*, which soon after  
 followed. And though one *Quatreman* had appeared in the head of  
 this company, and animated all the rest to commit these insolencies;  
 yet there was nothing done in order to his Punishment or Apprehen-  
 sion: the Party being grown so audacious in their disorders, partly  
 upon the near approach of the Parliament, but principally by the  
 coming in of the *Scots*, that they contemned the Law, and defied  
 the Magistrates.

For the *Scots*, being put into a stock of Reputation by the Kings  
 Recalling of his Forces the year before, had took up store of Arms  
 and Ammunition (as before was said) upon days of Payment. Ad-  
 vertised of his Majesties Preparation to make war upon them, and  
 confident of a strong party which they had in *England*, they entred  
 the Realm in hostile manner, taking in all places of importance  
 which they found in their way. And having put by his Majesties For-  
 ces near a place called *Newbourn*, they past over the *Tine*, and present-  
 ly made themselves Masters of the strong Town of *New-Castle*, by  
 which they put a bridle into the mouths of the *Londoners*, his Maje-  
 sties Forces looking on, or not very far distant. The news of this  
 Invasion being brought to the King, on *August 20.* he began a Posting  
 Journey towards his Army in the *North*: But he neither found the  
 same men, nor the same affections, as he had so unfortunately dis-  
 charged the year before. Many of these Souldiers being so ill prin-  
 cipated, or so ill perswaded, that in their marchings through the  
 Country they brake into Churches, pulled up the Railes, threw  
 down the Communion Tables, defac'd the Common-Prayer-Books,  
 tore the Surplices, and committed many other Acts of outrageous  
 insolence. The chief Command he had entrusted to the Earl of  
*Northumberland*, whom he had before made Admiral of his Royal  
 Navy for defence of the Kingdom, honoured him with the *Order of*  
*the Garter*, and made him one of the Lords of his *Privy Council*;  
 so that no greater characters of Power and Favour could be imprin-  
 ted on a Subject. The Office of Lieutenant General he had com-  
 mitted unto the Earl of *Strafford* Lord *Lieutenant of Ireland*, of  
 whose Fidelity and Courage he could make no question; And the  
 Command of the Horse to *Edward Lord Conway*, whose Father had  
 been raised by King *James* from a private condition to be one of his  
 principal Secretaries, and a Peer of the Realm. Of which three great  
 Commanders it was observed, that one had sufficient health, but  
 had no will to the business; That another had a good will to it, but  
 wanted health; and that a third had neither the one nor the other.  
 And yet as crasic and infirm as the Earl of *Strafford* found himself, he  
 chearfully undertook the charge of the Army in the Generals ab-  
 sence, and signified by Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that  
 he



he durst venture upon the peril of his head to drive the *Scots* out of *England*: but that he did not hold it Counsellable, as the case then stood. If any other of the Lords had advised the King to try his Fortune in a Battel, he doubted not of sending them home in more haste than they came: but the *Scots* had rendred him unfit to make the motion, for fear it might be thought that he studied more his own Concernments, than he did the Kings.

For these Invadors, finding by whose Counsels his Majesty governed his Affairs, resolved to draw them into discredit, both with Prince and People. And to that end it was declared in a Remonstrance, publisht before their taking Arms, "That their Propositions and Desires, so necessary and vital unto that Kingdom, could find no access unto the ears of the gracious King by reason of the powerful Diversion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, who (strengthened with the high and mighty Faction of *Papists* near his Majesty) did only side in all matters of Temporal and Spiritual affairs; making the necessity of their Service to his Majesty to appear in being the only fit Instruments (under the pretext of vindicating his Majesties Honour) to oppress both the just Liberties of his Free Subjects, and the true Reformed Religion in all his Kingdoms. Seconding this Remonstrance with another Pamphlet, called, *The Intention of the Army*; they signified therein to the good People of *England*, that they had no design either to waste their Goods, or spoyle their Country: but only to become Petitioners to his Sacred Majesty to call a Parliament, and to bring the said Archbishop and Lord *Lieutenant* to their condign Punishments. In which those modest men express, "That as they desired the unworthy Authors of their trouble, who had come out from themselves, to be tried at home, according to their own Laws; so they would press no further Proceſs against *Canterbury*, and the *Lieutenant of Ireland*, and the rest of those pernicious Counsellors in *England*, whom they called the Authors of all the miseries of both Kingdoms, than what their own Parliament should discern to be their just deserving. And that the *English* might see the better whom they chiefly aimed at, a book was published by the name of *Laudensium Autocatacrifis*, or the *Canterburians Self-conviction*; in which the Author of it did endeavour to prove, out of the Books, Speeches, and Writings of the Archbishop himself, as also of some Bishops, and other learned men, who had exercised their Pens in the late disputes, That there was a strange design in hand for bringing in *Superstition*, *Popery*, and *Arminianism*, to the subversion of the Gospel, and of suppressing the Religion here by Law established.

But as these Reproaches moved not him, so neither did their Remonstrance, or any other of their Scribbles distract his Majesties Resolutions, untill he found himself assaulted by a Petition from some Lords in the South, which threatned more danger at his back than he

L. B. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1640.

Remonst. of  
the Scots, p. 7


Intent. of the  
Army. p. 7.



PART II. he had cause to fear from the Northern Tempest which blew directly  
*Anno Dom.* in his teeth; Complaint was made in this Petition of the many in-  
 1640. conveniences which had been drawn upon this Kingdom by his Ma-  
 jesties engagings against the *Scots*; as also of the great encrease of  
*Popery*; the pressing of the present payment of *Ship-money*; the  
 dissolving of former Parliaments; Monopolies, Innovations, and  
 some other gr'evances, amongst which the *Canons* which were made  
 in the late *Convocation* could not be omitted. For Remedy whereof,  
 his Majesty is desired to call a Parliament, to bring the Authors of  
 the said pretended grievances to a Legal Trial, and to compose the  
 present War without Bloudshed; Subscribed by the Earls of *Essex*,  
*Hartford*, *Rutland*, *Bedford*, *Exeter*, *Warwick*, *Moulgrave*, and  
*Bullingbrooke*, the Lords *Say*, *Mandevil*, *Brooke*, and *Howard*; pre-  
 sented to the King at *York* on the third of *September*; And seconded  
 by another from the *City of London* to the same effect. His Majesty,  
 being thus between two Millstones, could find no better way to ex-  
 tricate himself out of these perplexities, than to call the great Coun-  
 cil of his Peers, to whom at their first meeting, on the 24 of the  
 same month, he signified his purpose to hold a Parliament in *London*  
 on the third of *November*; and by their Counsel entertained a Tre-  
 aty with those of *Scotland*, who building on the confidence which  
 they had in some Lords of *England*, had petitioned for it. Accord-  
 ing unto which Advice a Commission is directed to eight Earls, and  
 as many Barons of the English Nation, (seven of which had sub-  
 scribed the former Petition) enabling them to treat with the *Scots*  
 Commissioners, to hear their Grievances and Demands, and to re-  
 port the same to his Majesty, and the Lords of his Council. These  
 points being gained, which the *Puritan* Faction in both Kingdoms  
 had chiefly aimed at, the *Scots* were insolent enough in their Propo-  
 sals, Requiring freedom of Commerce, Reparation of their former  
 Losses, and most especially the maintenance of their Army at the  
 charge of the *English*; without which no Cessation would be hark-  
 ned to. Satisfaction being given them in their last Demand, and  
 good Assurances for the two first, they decline *York*, as being unsafe  
 for their Commissioners, and procure *Rippon* to be named, for the  
 place of the Treaty; where the Lord Lieutenant was of less influ-  
 ence than he was at *York*; and where being further from the King,  
 they might shuffle the Cards, and play the Game to their best con-  
 tinentment. The rest of *October*, from the end of the first week of it,  
 when they excepted against *York*, was drilled on, in requiring that  
 some persons of quality, intrusted by the *Scottish* Nation, might  
 have more Offices than they had about his Majesty, and the Queen,  
 and in the Court of the Prince. That a Declaration might be made  
 for naturalizing and settling the Capacities and mutual Priviledges of  
 the Subjects in both Kingdoms: but chiefly that there might be an  
 Unity and Uniformity in Church-Government, as a special means  
 for conserving of the Peace between the two Nations. And thus they  
 entertained



entertained the time till the beginning of the Parliament, which removed the Treaty from *Rippon* to *London*, where the *Scots* were sure of more Friends, and of warmer Quarters, than the Northern Counties could afford them.

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In the mean time it may be asked what became all this while of the *Irish* Army, consisting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, which had been raised with so much zeal by the Earl of *Strafford* at the beginning of the Spring; and by the power whereof (kept ever since in constant pay and continual exercise) his Majesty might have reduced the *Scots* to their due obedience, as was declared by the Earl at the Council Table on *May 6.* being the next day after the dissolving of the former Parliament. Which Army if it had been put over into *Cumberland* (to which from the Port of *Carickfergus* in *Ireland* is but a short and easie passage) they might have got upon the Back of the *Scots*, and caught the wretched People in a pretty Pitfall; so that having the *English* Army before them, and the *Irish* behind them, they could not but be ground to powder as between two Millstones. But this design, if it were ever thought of, was never put in execution; so as that Army was dissolved without doing any thing in order to his Majesties Service: the Commons in the following Parliament not thinking themselves or their affairs in any security as long as those Forces were maintained and held together. It may be asked in the next place, why the Parliament, called at such a time, and on such an occasion, (that is to say, the over-running of the Northern parts of the Kingdom by a *Scottish* Army) should be held at *Westminster*; when *York* (where the King was then in Person) lay nearer to the danger and the Scene of Action, and to the place of Treaty betwixt the Nations. These Reasons were sufficient to have moved the King to hold this Parliament at *York*, and not at *Westminster*, had he known nothing of the disaffections and engagements of the neighbouring City, as he knew too much. And he had some good Prejudents too, which might have added no small weight to the consideration: For when King *Edward* was busie in the Conquest of *Wales*, he called his Parliament to *Acton Burnel*, being in the *Marches* of that Country; and when he turned his Forces to the Conquest of *Scotland*, he called his Parliament to *Carlisle* (if my memory fail me not) being on the borders of that Kingdom. Had the King made choice of the like Place for this present Parliament (which he did afterward endeavour to alter when it was too late (he had undoubtedly prevented all those inconveniencies (or rather mischiefs) which the Pride, Purse, Faction, and Tumultuousness of the *Londoners*, did afterwards inforce upon him. And finally, It might be asked, What might move his Majesty to transfer the Treaty from *Rippon* to *London*, where the Commissioners of the *Scots* were Complemented, Feasted, and presented by the wanton Citizens; Their Lodgings more frequented for Prayers and Sermons, than the houses of Foreign Embassadors had ever been for hearing *Mass* by any of



PART II. the *English Papists*. By means whereof they had the greater opportunity to enflame that City, and make it capable of any impression which they thought fit to imprint upon it; exprest not long after by their going down in such huge multitudes after Alderman *Pennington*, to present a Petition to the Parliament, subscribed by some Thousands of hands against the Government of Bishops here by Law established; as afterwards in no less number to clamour at the Parliament doors for Justice on the Earl of *Strafford*, which were the points most aimed at by the *Scottish Covenanters*. To which no Answer can be given, but that all these things were so disposed of by the supreme and over-ruling power of the Heavenly Providence, contrary to all reason of State, and Civil Prudence.

But to proceed, the third of *November* drawing on, when the Parliament was to take beginning, A Letter was writ to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, advertising, that the Parliament of the twentieth year of King *Henry viii.* which began in the Fall of Cardinal *Wolsey*, continued in the Diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Clergy, and ended in the dissolution of the *Abbeys* and Religious Houses, was begun on the third day of *November*; and therefore that for good-luck sake he would move the King to Respite the first sitting of it for a day or two longer: But the Archbishop not harkning to this Advertisement, the Parliament had its first sitting at the time appointed. Which Parliament as it began in the Fall and Ruine of the Archbishop himself, and was continued in the total Dissipation of the remaining *Rites* and Priviledges of the *English* Clergy; so did it not end till it had subverted the *Episcopal* Government, dissolved, as much as in them was, all *Capitular* Bodies, and left the *Cathedrals* of this Land (not presently ruined I confess, but) without means to keep them up for the time to come. The day appointed being come, his Majesty declined the accustomed way of riding in a Magnificent Pomp from *Whitehall* to the Church of *Westminster*, and making his entry there at the great Western Gate: but rather chose to pass thither privately by water, attended by such of the Lords as could accommodate themselves with convenient Barges. Entering the Church at the Little door which openeth toward the East, he was received by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries under a Canopy of State, and so conducted to the place where he heard the Sermon; the performance of which work was commended by his Grace of *Canterbury* to the Bishop of *Oxon.* and by him learnedly discharged. The Sermon being done, his Majesty, attended by the Peers and Prelates, returned the same way to *Westminster Hall*, and from thence went to the Parliament House; where causing the Commons to be called before him, he acquainted both Houses with the Insolencies committed by the *Scots*, who not content to embroyle their own Country had invaded this; requiring their timely assistance to drive the Rebels out of the Kingdom, and casting himself upon the good affections of his *English Subjects*. The Commons



mons were not more willing to hear that his Majesty was resolved to cast himself wholly on their good affections, than many zealous Patriots seemed to be troubled at it; knowing how ill it sorts with Kings when they have no way to subsist, or carry on their great Designs, but by casting themselves wholly on the love of the People. These on the other side were not better pleased with hearing his Majesty call the *Scots* by the name of *Rebels*, whom he had too long courted by the name of his *Scottish* Subjects, than the Prevailing Members in the House of Commons were offended at it; the name of *Rebels* rendring them incapable of those many Favours which were designed them by that House. And the displeasure went so high, that his Majesty finding into what condition he had cast himself, was fain to call both Houses before him within two daies after, (A) there to Explain, or rather to Retract so harsh a Title, calling them afterwards by the name of his *Subjects of Scotland*, as he used to do; which gave the Commons such a sense of their Power, and of his Compliance, that they resolved to husband both to their best advantage, and not so easily to part with their Friends of *Scotland*, as his Majesty first hoped they would. The differences might have been agreed at *York* or *Rippon*, if the Commissioners of the *Scots* had been as forward as the *English*; but the *Scots* so delayed them (as his Majesty noted in that Speech) that it was not possible to end it there. The *Scots* had other work to do besides their own, and must be kept in pay at the charge of the *English*, till they had brought his Majesty into such a condition, that it was not safe for him to deny them any thing, which they had the confidence to require. Such a beginning had this long and unhappy Parliament, unhappy to the King, and to all that loved his Power or Person; most men who looked on his Affairs with the eye of Judgment, presaging that this thrifty omission of the Publick Pomp in the present Conjunctions, would prove as inauspicious to him as the like neglect had done at his Coronation; and that this Parliament which began without solemnity would prove a Parliament of sorrows unto him and his.

With little better Fortune did the Convocation take beginning at *S. Pauls* Church on the morrow after, handselled at their first meeting by the sad news of the Decease of *Dr. Neile*, Archbishop of *York*, which had been brought unto the Town the day before. A man he was who had past through all Degrees and Orders in the Church of *England*, and thereby made acquainted with the conveniencies, or distresses, incident to all conditions. He had served the Church as Schoolmaster, Curate, Vicar, Parson, Master of the *Savoy*, Dean of *Westminster*, Clerk of the Closet to both Kings successively, Bishop of *Rochester*, *Lichfield*, *Lincoln*, *Durham*, and *Winchester*, and finally, Archbishop of *York*, in which place he died. Many good Offices he had done to the Church and Church-men in his attendance at the Court, crossing the *Scots* in most of their suits, their Ecclesiastical Preferments, which greedily and ambitiously

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(A) Reliquie  
Carolina, p. 3



PART II. they hunted after, and thereby drawing on himself the general hatred  
*Anno Dom.* not only of the *Scots*, but *Scotizing* English. But of this Prelate  
 1640. we have spoke so much upon other occasions, that we may save  
 the labour of any further addition, than that he died as full of years  
 as he was of honours, an affectionate Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his Clergy, a bountiful Patron to his Chaplains, and a true friend to all which relied upon him; more fortunate in the time of his death than the course of his life, in being prevented by that blessed opportunity from seeing those calamities which afterwards fell upon the King, the Church, and all that wish well to either of them; which must have been more grievous to him than a thousand deaths. But this bad news retarded not the Convocation from proceeding forwards, the Prelates and Clergy attending the Archbishop from the Chapter-house into the Chaire, where they heard the Sermon, Preached at that time by *Bargrave* then Dean of *Canterbury*; which done, the Clergy settled to the choice of a Prolocutor, electing the same man who had before discharged the Place with so much dexterity. Adjourned to *Westminster*, and Protestation made by the Sub-Dean and Prebends, according to the usual custom, the Prolocutor was presented to the Archbishop and Bishops in the Chappel of King *Henry vii.* at what time the Archbishop in an eloquent but sad Oration, bemoaned the infelicities which he saw hanging over the Church, advising every one there present to perform their Duties, and not to be wanting to themselves, or the cause of Religion, as far forth as they were concerned in their several places. Nothing more done of any moment in this Convocation, but that a motion was made by *Warmistre*, one of the Clerks for the Diocess of *Worcester*, to this effect; viz. That they should endeavour (according to the *Levitical* Laws) to cover the Pit which they had opened, and to prevent their Adversaries intention by condemning such offensive Canons as were made in the last Convocation. He had before offered at many things in that Convocation, but such was his ill-luck, that the Vote was for the most part passed before he spake; nor had he better fortune in his motion now, than his offers then, the Members of that House not being willing to condemn themselves till they were accused. So that not having any other way to obtain his purpose, he caused a long Speech, which he had made upon this occasion, to be put in Print; bitter enough against some Canons and Proceedings in the former Session: but such as could not save him from a Sequestration, when the rest of the Clergy were brought under the same condition.

Whilst these things were acting on the Stage of *Westminster*, the Earl of *Strafford* was not Idle in acting his part at *York*, amongst the Souldiers, whose affections he had gained so far, that he was generally beheld with esteem and veneration. He had before sufficient proof, how strongly the *Scots* aimed at his destruction, expressed in their Remonstrance, and the Intentions of their Army, (as they called



called the Pamphlet ) but more especially by the refusal of the *Scots* Commissioners to hold the Treaty at *York*, and the reasons given for their refusal ; for in a Paper of theirs, presented on *October 8.* " They " had insisted on the danger apprehended by them in going to *York*, " and casting themselves and others, who might be joyned with them, " into the hands of an Army commanded by the Lord Lieutenant " of *Ireland*, against whom ( as a chief Incendiary according to " their demands, which was the subject of the Treaty it self ) they " resolved to proceed. They complained also in that Paper, That in the Parliament of *Ireland* he had proceeded against them as Traitors and Rebels ; That he honoured them in his common talk with no better Titles ; That his Commission was to destroy them ; And that by all means, and by all occasions, he had hindered all Propositions tending to a Pacification, for fear himself might be excluded from the benefit of it. He was not without a strong presumption, that the *Scots* were animated unto these Demands, and encouraged to invade the Kingdom, by some of those which were of greatest Prevalency in both Houses of Parliament. And lying so near the *Scots*, in the head of his Army, he had not only gained assurance ( as he conceived ) in many particulars to confirm it, but that there was a Confederacy made between the Heads of the *Covenanters* and some of the leading Members of both Houses, his most Capital Enemies, to subject the Government of the Church, and innovate in that of the Civil State ; which Intelligence being digested into the Form of an Impeachment, he intended to present to the House of Peers as soon as he had taken his place amongst them : and to that end prepared for his last Journey to *London*, from whence he never was to return alive. Calling together some of his especial Friends, and many of the chief Officers and Commanders which remained in the Army, he made them acquainted with his purpose of going to *Westminster* to attend the Parliament, leaving to them the Charge of his Majesties Forces, and the preserving of those parts from the spoil of the Enemy. An Enterprize from which he was dissuaded by most of his Friends, alledging that he could not chuse but know, that the *Scots*, and *Scotizing English* had most infallibly resolved on his destruction ; and that innocency was no Armour of Proof against the fiery Darts of malicious Power ; That seeing such a storm hang over his head, rather keep himself in the *English* Army, ( being under his Command, which he had gained upon exceedingly by his noble carriage ) or pass over into *Ireland*, where the Army rested wholly at his Devotion ; or transport himself to some Foreign Kingdom, till fairer weather here ( in reference to his own safety and the publick peace ) should invite him home ; That it was no betraying of his innocency to decline a Trial where Partiality held the Scales, and Self-ends backt with Power, and made blind with Prejudice, were like to over-ballance Justice ; That if Sentence should

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PART II. be passed against him for default of appearance (which was the  
*Anno Dom.* worst that could befall him) yet he would then keep his head on his  
 1640. shoulders until better times, and in the mean season might do his  
 Majesty as good Service in the Courts of many Foreign Princes, as  
 if he were sitting in *white-hall* at the Council Table.

Turning a deaf ear to these considerations, he Resolved to prosecute his design, but was scarce entred into the House of Peers, when followed at the heels by *Pym* (whom it concerned as much as any) who fearing or knowing his intendments, impeacht him of high Treason, in the name of all the Commons of *England*, requiring in their names that he might be sequestred from the House, and Committed to Custody. And here again it was conceived that the Earl shewed not that *praesentiam animi*, that readines of Courage and Resolution, which formerly had conducted him through so many difficulties, in giving over his design; For though he lost the opportunity of striking the first blow, yet he had time enough to strike the second, which might have been a very great Advantage to his preservation. For had he offered his impeachment, and prosecuted it in the same paces and method as that was, which was brought against him, it is possible enough that the business on both sides might have been hushed up without hurt to either. And for so doing he wanted not a fair Example in the second Parliament of this King, when the Earl of *Bristol* being impeached of high Treason by the Kings Attorney at the instance and procurement of the Duke of *Buckingham*, retorted presently a recrimination or impeachment against the Duke, and by that means took of the edge of that great Adversary from proceeding further. Nor gave it little cause of wonder unto many wise men, that a person of so great Spirit and knowledge, should give himself up so tamely on a general accusation only, without any particular Act of Treason charged upon him, or any proof offered to make good that charge; not only to the loss of his Liberty as a private Person: but to the forfeiture of his Priviledge as a Member of Parliament. But the impeachment being made, his Restraint desired, and nothing by him offered to the Contrary, he was committed the same day (*Novemb. 11.*) to the Custody of the Gentleman *Usher*, called the Black-rod, and not long after to the Tower; Sir *George Ratcliff* one of his especial confidants, being presently sent for out of *Ireland* by a Serjeant at Arms, as concriminal with him. In this condition he remained, till the 16<sup>th</sup> of *Decemb.* without any particular Charge against him; Which at the last was brought into the House of Peers by the *Scots*, and presented in their Names by Lord *Paget* one of the Members of that House. In which they did inform against him, in reference to matters which concerned Religion, that in promoting the late pretended Innovations he had been as forward as *Canterbury* himself; and to that end had preferred his Chaplain *Bramhall* to the See of *Derrie*, and *Chappel* to the Colledge of *Dublin*; that he had threatened to burn



burn the Articles of *Ireland*; agreed upon in Convocation *Anno* LIB. V.  
1615. by the hand of the Hangman, and would not hearken to the *Anno Dom.*  
*Primate*, when he desired a Ratification of them by Act of Parlia-  
ment, for preventing and suppressing the said Innovations; that he  
countenanced divers books against them and their Covenant, which  
were Printed at *Dublin*, and caused all Persons above the age of  
sixteen years, to abjure the said Covenant by a solemn Oath, or other-  
wise to be Imprisoned or to fly that Kingdom; that at his last  
coming into *England* he had openly said; that if ever he returned un-  
to the Honourable Sword he would not leave any of the *Scots* in that  
Kingdom, either Root or Branch; and that he did advise the  
great Council of Peers assembled at *York*, to send them  
back again in their own blood, and that he might whip them  
out of *England*.

In further pursuance of this Charge, it was prest against him in  
the Articles Exhibited by the House of Commons on the 16<sup>h</sup> of  
*February* (for so long it was, before he heard any more news from  
them) That he maintained a correspondence with the *Papists* of  
*Ireland*, endeavoured to raise hostility between *England* and *Scot-*  
*land*, and had consented to the betraying of *New-castle* into the  
hands of the *Scots*; to the end that the *English* being nettled by so  
great a loss, might be more Cordially engaged in the War against  
them; that he gave a Warrant under his hand to some Bishops in the  
Church of *Ireland*, and their Chancellors and other Officers, to  
Arrest the Bodies of such of the meaner sort, as after Citation,  
should refuse to appear before them, or should refuse to under-  
go and perform all Lawful decrees and sentences, given or issued  
out against them, and the said persons to keep in the next Common  
Goal, till their Submission to the said Orders and Decrees, and  
otherwise shew some Reason to the Contrary to the Lords of the  
Counsel; that in the Moneth of *May* in the year 1639. he caused  
a new Oath to be contrived, Enforced especially upon those of  
the *Scottish* Nation in the Realm of *Ireland*, by which the party  
was obliged to Renounce the Covenant, and to swear that he would  
not *Protest* against any of his Majesties Royal Commands, but sub-  
mit himself in all obedience thereunto, and had put divers grie-  
vous fines upon many of them on their Refusal of the same; that he  
required the like Oath for the Observation of all Rites and Cere-  
monies then established, or from thenceforth to be established, by  
the Kings Authority, saying, that he would prosecute all Repugners  
of them to the very Blood. The Rest of the Articles relating unto  
Civil matters I omit of purpose, as neither being pertinent or pro-  
per to my Present History; observing only in this place, that for the  
better carrying on of their charge against him, they had gained  
two points, more necessary to be craved than fit to be granted; The  
first was (which they carried in the House of Lords by a Major  
Vote) that no Bishop should be of that Committee for the Prepa-  
ratory



PART II. ratory Examinations in the present case, under colour that they  
*Anno Dom.* were excluded from acting in it by some Ancient Canons, as in  
 1640. *Causa sanguinis*, or the cause of blood; concerning which a brief  
 discourse entituled *De jure Paritatis Episcoporum*, was presented to his  
 Grace of *Canterbury*, and some other Bishops for asserting all their  
 Rights of *Peerage* (and this of being of that Committee amongst the  
 rest) which either by Law or Ancient Custom did belong unto  
 them. The second was that the Lords of the Council should be  
 examined upon Oath, for any thing which was said or done by the  
 Earl of *Stafford* at the Council Table, Which being yielded by  
 the King; though tending visibly to the Derogation of his  
 Power, and the discouragement of all such as either were  
 or should be of his Privy Council, the Archbishop was accord-  
 ingly Examined on *December 4<sup>th</sup>* being the next day after the  
 said Condescension.

Not was it long before the like Oath was required and obtained  
 by them against the Archbishop himself; being the next man whom  
 the *Scots* and their Confederates in both houses, had an eye upon.  
 He knew there was some danger coming toward him by the said  
 combination, but thought not at the first it would reach so far, as  
 to touch his Life. The most he looked for, as he told the Author  
 of these Collections on the second or third day after the beginning  
 of the Parliament, was to be sequestred from his Majesties Councils,  
 and confin'd to his Diocess; to which he profess himself as willing  
 as any of his Enemies were desirous of it. And as it seems his Ene-  
 mies at the first had no further thoughts. For it appeareth by a  
 passage in his *Diary* that on Thursday *Decemb. 24<sup>th</sup>* four Earls of  
 Great Power in the Upper House declared unto a Parliament man,  
 that they were resolved to Sequester him only from the Kings  
 Council, and deprive him of the Archiepiscopal dignity, and no  
 more then so; which though it were too much, and favoured of  
 too little Justice to be so resolved before any particular charge was  
 brought against him: yet I consider it as an Argument of their first  
 intentions, that they aimed not at his Life, but at his removal. In  
 Order whereunto it was thought expedient, that his Majesty  
 should be moved to release the Bishop of *Lincoln* from his long  
 Imprisonment, and to restore him to his place in the house of  
 Peers; knowing full well how Active an Instrument they were sure  
 to find him, by reason of some former grudges, not only against  
 the Archbishop but the Earl of *Stafford*. Which motion being  
 made and granted he was conducted into the Abby Church by six  
 of the Bishops, and there officiated (it being a day of Humilia-  
 tion) as Dean of *westminster*; more honoured at the first by the  
 Lords and Commons, then ever any of his Order, his person  
 looked upon as Sacred, his words deemed as Oracles. And he conti-  
 nued in this height, till having served their turn against the Arch-  
 bishop, and the Lord Lieutenant, he began sensibly to decline, and  
 grew



grew at last to be generally the most hated man of all the *Hierarchy*. L I B. V.  
 Orders are also made by the House of Commons for releasing such *Anno Dom.*  
 as were Imprisoned by the *Star-Chamber*, *Council-Table*, or *High-* 1640.  
*Commission*; and more particularly for the remanding of *Bastwick*,  
*Prynne*, and *Burton*, from the several Islands, to which they were  
 before confined. Upon which general Goal-delivery, *Burton* and  
*Prynne* had so contrived it as to come together, met on their way  
 as far as *Brainford* by some thousands of the *Puritan* Faction out of  
*London*, and *South-wark*, and by them silently conducted with  
 Bays and Rosemary in their hands, to their several Houses to the  
 intolerable affront of the Courts of Justice, and his Majesties Go-  
 vernment, his Majestie conniving at the insolency or not daring to  
 punish it. Not well reposed after the toil and trouble of so long a  
 journey, *Prynne*, joyns himself with *Bagshaw* before remembred, and  
 both together are admitted to a private conference with the Bishop  
 of *Lincoln* in the beginning of *December*, which boded no great  
 good to the Church or State, or any who had formerly appeared in  
 defence of either.

These preparations being made, the Project was carried on a main;  
 For on the 16<sup>th</sup> of that month the Canons made in the late Con-  
 vocation, were condemned in the House of Commons, as being  
 against the *Kings Prerogative*, the *Fundamental Laws of the Realm*,  
 the *Liberty and Property of the Subject*, and containing divers other  
 things tending to *Sedition*, and of dangerous Consequence. A Vote was  
 also past for making *Canterbury* the Principal Author of the said  
 Canons; for a Committee to be nominated to enquire into all his  
 former Actions; and for preparing a Bill against all those of the said  
 Convocation by whom these Canons were subscribed: but the sor-  
 rows of that day, did not end there neither. For on the same, a  
 charge was laid against him in the house of Peers by the *Scots* Com-  
 missioners (that being the day in which they had accused the Earl  
 of *Strafford*) for doing ill offices, and being an Incendiary between  
 the Nations. And in pursuance of the plot, on *Fryday* the 18<sup>th</sup> of  
 the same Moneth, he was Impeacht by *Hollis* in the name of all the  
 Commons of *England*, of no less then *Treason*; and thereupon,  
 without any particular charge against him, he was committed to  
 the custody of the Gentleman Usher, leave only being granted  
 him, to repair to his house at *Lambeth*, for the Collecting of such  
 Papers as were necessary for his Justification. At *Maxwells* house  
 (for so was the Usher of the Black-Rod called) he remained ten  
 weeks, before so much as any General charge against him, was  
 brought up to the Lords. During which time he gained so much on  
 the good opinion of the Gentle-woman of the House, that she re-  
 ported him to some of her Gossips, to be one of the goodest men,  
 and most Pious Souls, but with all one of the stillest fellows to  
 hold talk with a Lady that ever she met with in all her life. On  
 the 26<sup>th</sup> of *February*, This charge was brought up to the Lords

O o o

by



PART II. by *Vane* the younger, consisting of fourteen General Articles, which  
*Anno Dom.* Generals he craved time to prove in particular; and thereupon a  
 1640. Vote was passed for transmitting the Prisoner to the Tower, with  
 leave however to remain at *Maxwell's* till the *Munday* following. Which day being come, he was conveyed in *Maxwell's* Coach without any disturbance, till he came to the end of *Cheapside*, from whence he was followed by a railing Rabble of rude and uncivil People, to the very Gates of the Tower: Where having taken up his Lodging, and settled his small Family in convenient Rooms, he diligently resorted to the Publick Chappel of that place at all times of Worship, being present at the Prayers and Sermons, and sometimes hearing himself uncivilly reviled, and pointed at as it were, by some factious Preachers, sent thither of purpose to disgrace and vex him. All which Indignities he endured with such Christian meekness, as rendred him one of the great Examples both of Patience and Piety in these latter Times.

The principal things contained in the Charge of the *Scots* Commissioners, were these that follow; viz. That he had press'd upon that Kirk many Innovations in Religion, contained in the Liturgie and Book of Canons, contrary to the Liberties and Laws thereof; That he had written many Letters to *Ballentine* Bishop of *Dumblane*, and Dean of the Kings Chappel in Scotland, in which he required him and the rest of the Bishops to be present at the Divine Service in their Whites, and blamed the said Bishop for his negligence and slackness in it, and taxing him for Preaching Orthodox Doctrine against Arminianism; That he had caused the said Bishop to be reprehended for commanding a Solemn Fast to be kept in his Diocess on the Lords day, as if they had offended in it against Christianity it self; That he gave order for the taking down of Stone walls and Galleries in the Churches of *Edenborough*, to no other end but for the setting up of Altars, and Adoration toward the East; That for their Supplicating against these Novations, they were encountred by him with terrible Proclamations from his Majesty, declared Rebels in all the Parish-Churches of England, and a war kindled against them by his Arts and Practices; That after the Pacification made at *Berwick*, he frequently spake against it as dishonourable, and unfit to be kept; their Covenant by him called ungodly, and divers Oaths imposed upon their Countrymen to abjure the same; That he spared not in the presence of the King and their Commissioners to rail against the General Assembly held at *Glasco*, and put his Hand unto a Warrant for Imprisoning some of those Commissioners, sent from the Parliament of Scotland for the Peace of both Nations; That when the late Parliament could not be moved to assist in the War against them, he had caused the same to be dissolved, and continued the Convocation to make Canons against them and their Doctrines, to be published four times in every year; That he had caused six Subsidies to be Levied on the Clergy for maintaining the war, and Prayer to be made in all Parish-Churches, That shame might cover their faces, as Enemies



mies to God and the King : *And finally, That he was so industrious in advancing Popery in all the three Kingdoms, that the Pope himself could not have been more Popish, had he been in his place.* Such was the Charge exhibited by the Scots Commissioners ; in which was nothing criminal enough to deserve Imprisonment, much less to threaten him with Death. And as for that brought up from the House of Commons, it consisted of fourteen General Articles, as before was said, ushered in with a short Preamble made by Pym, and shut up with a larger Aggravation of the Offences comprehended in the several Articles ; the substance of which Articles was to this effect : 1. *That he had Traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and to perswade his Majesty, That he might Lawfully raise Money of the Subject, without their common Consent in Parliament.* 2. *That to this end he had caused divers Sermons to be Preached, and Books to be Printed, against the Authority of Parliaments, and for asserting an absolute and unlimited Power over the Persons and Goods of the Subjects, to be not only in the King, but also in himself and the rest of the Bishops ; and had been a great Promoter of such by whom the said Books and Sermons had been made and published.* 3. *That by several Messages, Letters, Threatnings, &c. he had interrupted and perverted the Course of Justice in Westminster-Hall, whereby sundry of his Majesties Subjects had been stopp'd in their just Suits, and thereby made subject to his will.* 4. *That he had traiterously and corruptly sold Justice to such as had Causes depending before him, and taken unlawful Gifts and Bribes of his Majesties Subjects ; and had advised and procured his Majesty to sell Places of Judicature and other Offices.* 5. *That he had caused a Book of Canons to be Composed and Published without lawful Authority, in which were many things contained contrary to the Kings Prerogative, the Fundamental Laws, &c. and had caused many of the same to surreptitiously passed, and afterwards by fear and compulsion to be subscribed by the Prelates and Clerks there assembled, notwithstanding they had never been Voted and Passed in the Convocation.* 6. *That he hath assumed to himself a Papal and Tyrannical Power, both in Ecclesiastical and Temporal Matters, over his Majesties Subjects in this Realm, and other places, to the disherison of the Crown, dishonour of his Majesty, and derogation of his Supreme Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters.* 7. *That he had endeavoured to alter and subvert Gods true Religion, by Law established in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry ; and to that end had maintained many Popish Doctrines, enjoined many Popish and Superstitious Ceremonies, and cruelly vexed and persecuted such as refused to conform unto them.* 8. *That in order thereunto he had intruded into the Rights of many of his Majesties Officers and Subjects, in procuring to himself the Nomination of divers Persons to Ecclesiastical Benefices ; and had taken upon him the commendation of Chaplains to the King, promoting and commending none but*

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PART II. *such as were Popishly affected, or otherwise unsound in Doctrine, or corrupt in Manners.* 9. *That to the same intent he had chosen such men to be his Chaplains, whom he knew to be notoriously disaffected to the Reformed Religion; and had committed unto them, or some of them, the Licencing of Books to be Printed, whereby many false and Superstitious Books had been Published, to the great scandal of Religion, and the seducing of many of his Majesties Subjects.* 10. *That he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome, confederating to that end with divers Popish Priests and Jesuits, holding Intelligence with the Pope, and permitting a Popish Hierarchy or Ecclesiastical Government to be established in this Kingdom.* 11. *That in his own Person, and by others under his Command, he had caused divers Godly and Orthodox Ministers of Gods Word to be Silenced, Suspended, and otherwise grieved, without any lawful or just cause, hindred the Preaching of Gods Word, cherished Prophaneness and Ignorance amongst the People, and compelled many of his Majesties Subjects to forsake the Kingdom.* 12. *That he had endeavoured to cause discord between the Church of England, and other Reformed Churches; and to that end had suppressed and abrogated the Priviledges and Immunities which had been by his Majesty and his Royal Ancestors granted to the Dutch and French Churches in this Kingdom.* 13. *That he had endeavoured to stir up war between his Majesties Kingdoms of England and Scotland; and to that end had laboured to introduce into the Kingdom of Scotland divers Innovations both in Religion and Government: for their refusing whereof, he first advised his Majesty to subdue them by force of Arms, and afterwards to break the Pacification made between the Kingdoms; forcing the Clergie to contribute toward the Maintenance of the War.* 14. *And finally, That to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his traitorous courses, he had laboured to divert the ancient course of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments.* This was the substance of the Charge, to which afterwards they added other which were more Particulars, when they found themselves ready for his Tryal, Anno 1644. and there we shall hear further of them. I note here only by the way, That one of those which had been added to make up the Tale, and create a greater hatred of him, as *selling Justice, taking Bribes, &c.* (for which never any Man of Place and Power was more clearly innocent) was found so far unfit for a Prosecution, that it was suppressed. An excellent Evidence of his Integrity and Uprightness, in such a long-continued course of Power and Favour.

But Sorrows seldom come alone. The Danger first, and afterwards the questioning of so great a Prelate, left the Church open to the Assaults of a potent Faction, and the poor Clergy destitute of a constant Patron. The first Assault against the Church, was made at St. Margarets Church in Westminster, on a day of Publick Humiliation, November 17. the same on which the Bishop of Lincoln was re-estated with such Triumph in the Abby-Church: At what time the



the Minister Officiating the Second Service at the Communion-Table, according to the ancient Custom, was unexpectedly interrupted by the naming and singing of a Psalm; to the great amazement of all sober and well-minded men. And at the Meeting of some *Anabaptists* to the number of 80. at a House in *Southwark*, it was preached, That the Statute 35 *Eliz. for restraining the Queens Majesties Subjects in their due Obedience*, was no good Law, because made by Bishops; striking at once both at the *Liturgie* and Government of the Church by Law established. The Bishops left out of the Committee for Examinations, in the business of the Earl of *Strafford*; and in all other Committees, by the fraud and artifice of the Clerk of the Parliament, not named in such proportion to the Temporal Peers, as had been accustomed. The same Clerk at the Reading of such Bills as came into that House, turned his back toward them in disdain, that they might not distinctly hear what he read; as if their consenting or dissenting to the point in question, had been judged unnecessary. And to prepare the way the better for their Declination, *Pennington* attended by some hundreds of the Raskal Rabble, presents a Petition to the Commons, in the name of the City of *London*, subscribed by 15000 hands of several qualities, most of them indigent in Estate, and of known disaffections to the present Government. In which Petition it was prayed, That the Government of Bishops might be abolished; That Rites and Ceremonies might be press'd no longer upon the consciences of the weak; and that many other things at which they found themselves grieved, might be also abrogated. After which followed many bitter Speeches made against them by the Lord *Faulkland*, *Bagshaw*, *White*, and others, in the House of Commons; by the Lords *Say* and *Brook* in the House of Peers; by *Brook* alone in a Printed Pamphlet, in which he reproacheth them as born of the Dregs of the People: the names of the Lords Spiritual being spitefully left out of all Bills which passed this Session, to shew how insignificant they were in an Act of Parliament. And all this seconded by many Petitions of like nature, in the name of many whole Counties and Populous Cities, and in their names presented to the Houses of Parliament; though the said Petitions, for the most part, were never either seen or heard of by the greatest and most considerable number of those in whose names they were subscribed. Which coming to his Majesties knowledge, he called both Houses unto *Whitehall*, *January 25*. "Where he informed  
" them of the Distractions that were then occasioned through the  
" connivence of the Parliament, there being some men who more  
" maliciously than ignorantly, would put no difference between Re-  
" formation and Alteration of Government; from whence it came,  
" that Divine Service was irreverently interrupted, and *Petitions* in  
" an indirect way procured and presented; That he was willing to  
" concur with them for reforming all Innovations both in Church  
" and Commonwealth, and for reducing all things to the same con-  
" dition

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dition in which they stood in the best and happiest times of Queen Elizabeth; That he could not but take notice of many Petitions given in the name of divers Counties, against the established Government of the Church; and of the great threatnings against the Bishops, That they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at least their Voices to be taken away; That if upon serious debate, they could shew him that the Bishops had some Temporal Authority not so necessary for the Government of the Church, and upholding Episcopal Jurisdiction, he would not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down: And finally, If they had encroached too much upon the Temporality, he was content that all Abuses of that kind should be redressed; and that he would go with them so far, and no further. And to say truth, it concerned the King to look about him, when his own Regal Power, not that of the Bishops only, was so openly strook at; it being Preached by the said Anabaptists but the Week before, *That he could not make a good Law, because not PERFECTLY REGENERATE, and was only to be obeyed in Civil Matters.* But all this little edified with such of the Lords and Commons as had the carrying on of the Plot against Episcopacy: they found the temper of the King; and having got him on the Anvile, they resolved to hammer him.

As an Expedient to the Work, it was found necessary to question and disgrace all those, who either had been active in advancing those Publick Orders, which were now branded by the name of Innovations, or otherwise industrious in his Majesties Service; some to be sacrificed to the pleasure of particular Persons, others to satisfy the fury or discontentments of the People generally. Of the first sort were *Pocklington* and *Bray*, both Doctors in Divinity; the first of late made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, the second Chaplain of long time to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This last had Licenced two of *Pocklington's* Books, the one being a Sermon Preached at a Visitation before the Bishop of *Lincoln*, the other a Discourse of *Altars*, and the most proper situation of the Lords Table, in which were many Passages against that Bishop: To pacifie which offended Deity, *Pocklington* must be sacrificed on his own *Altar*, deprived of all his Preferments at the present, and made incapable of receiving others for the time to come: *Bray* being enjoined to Preach a Recantation-Sermon in *St. Margarets Church*, and therein to retract one and thirty Articles which the Bishop had collected out of those Books. *Heylyn* had been Petitioned against by *Prynne* at his first coming home, as a subservient Instrument (under the Archbishop himself) of all his Sufferings; and was kept four days in Examination: but finally dismiss'd without shame or censure. *Cosens* (informed against by *Smart* (who had been deprived for his factious Inconformity, of some good Preferments in the Bishoprick and Church of *Durham*) was under a great Storm at first: but being one that would not shrink in the wetting, he stood stoutly to



to it, and in conclusion was dismissed without any other loss but of Time and Charges. The like happened also unto Heywood Vicar of St. Giles's in the Fields, Squire of St. Leonard's in Shoreditch, and Finch of Christchurch. The Articles against which four, and some others more, being for the most part of the same nature and effect, as namely, Railing in the Communion-Table, Adoration toward it, Calling up the Parishioners to the Rail to receive the Sacrament, Reading the Second Service at the Table so placed, Preaching in Surplices and Hoods, Administring the Sacrament in Copes, Beautifying and Adorning Churches with Painted Glasse, and others of the like condition; which either were to be held for Crimes in the Clergy generally, or else accounted none in them. And though the Informations were so slight and inconsiderable, that none of those who were impeach'd, could legally be made obnoxious to any Punishment; and that the credit of the Informers, not proved by Oath (which the Commons had no power to give) was the chief ground of their Proceedings: yet that these poor men might appear more monstrous in the eye of the World, the Articles against Pocklington, Cosens, Heywood, Squire, Finch, &c. were ordered to be put in Print, without care taken whether they were true or not. They knew full well, that when dirt was once thrown upon any man, (a) some of it must needs stick upon him, or about his Garments, how careful soever he might be to wipe it off.

This course they also held with the Bishop of Ely, impeaching him of many pretended Misdemeanours in the See of Norwich, viz. That he deprived or banished within the space of two years, fifty godly, learned, painful Ministers; His placing the Communion Table Altar-wise, and causing a Rail to be set before it; The practicing of Superstition in his own Person, his bowing toward it, Consecrating the Bread and Wine at the West side of the Table, with his back toward the People, and elevating the same above his head, that the People might see it, (which last Points, as they made most noise, so they found least proof) causing the Seats in all places to be so contrived, that the people must of necessity kneel toward the East, according to the pious Custom of the Primitive Times; Turning all afternoons Sermons into Catechisings by Question and Answer, according to the Kings Instructions; Appointing no Prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermons, but that prescribed by the Canon; and that the Bells should give no other warning for Sermons, than they did for Prayers, that the People might resort unto the Church at all times alike, as by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm they were bound to do. In consideration whereof, it was resolved upon the Question to be the Opinion of that House, That the said Bishop was unfit to hold or exercise any Office or Dignity in the Church or Commonwealth: and that a Message should be sent to the Lords, desiring them to joyn with the Commons in Petitioning his Majesty to remove him both from his Person

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(a) *And after columiare, necesse est ut aliquid hereat.*

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*Report of the Com. against Wren.*



PART II. Person and Service. By which this wise Prelate understood, that his neerfulness to the Kings Person was his greatest Crime; and thereupon, in imitation of the Castor (having first obtained his Majesties consent thereto) he discontinued that attendance which might occasion more danger to him than it brought in profit. Which Prosecutions of the Clergy, but this last especially, have brought me unto the year 1641. Which brought more trouble to the Country Clergy than the last year had done to those which lived in London. The Committee Authorised by the House of Commons for Affairs of Religion, finding their work begin to fail them, and that Informations came not up so fast as had been expected, dispatched Instructions into all parts of the Kingdom for an enquiry to be made into the Lives and Actions of the Clergy in their several Parishes. And that the Inquisition might be made with the greater diligence, not only such as were in Authority, but every ingenious Person was required to be very Active in improving the present opportunity, by giving true Information of all the Parishes in their several Counties. I know it was pretended by the said Instructions, that enquiry should be made into Pluralities and defect of maintenance, as well as into scandalous and unpreaching Ministers; yet the main business was to bring the Clergy on the Stage, and find some matter of complaint against them. Quite contrary in this to the Emperour Trajan, who in the midst of the Persecutions, which he had raised against the Church, commanded by his Imperial Edict, (a) *That no strict Inquisition should be made of those who did profess the Faith of Christ; but only that they should be punished, if accidentally or by the voice of Common Fame they should be offered unto judgment.* What mischief hereupon ensued in animating the Parishioners against their Minister, seducing Servants to accuse and betray their Masters, alienating the affections of the Clergy from one another, and by that means subjecting them to that dissipation which soon after followed, shall be shewn hereafter, so far forth as it comes within the compass of this present History.

(a) *Christiano-  
rum gentem,  
exquirendam  
non esse; si vero  
incidant aliqui,  
puniri debere.*  
Euseb. Hist.  
Eccl. l. 3. c. 30.

But whilst these clouds were gathering together in the Country, as great a tempest seemed to be brewing in the City, which threatened no less danger to the Church it self than those proceedings to the Clergy. For in the beginning of this year we find some Divines of name and note, convened in the Dean of *westminsters* Lodgings, to consult about matters of the Church; the occasion this: The Convocation was then sitting, but not impowered by his Majesties Commission to act in any thing of concernment. It was therefore ordered by the Peers *March 21.* that a Committee of ten Earls, ten Bishops, and ten Barons should be nominated, in the name of the rest, for settling the affairs of the Church; by whom a Sub-Committee was the same day named to prepare such matters as were to be discoursed and concluded by them, the Bishop of *Lincoln* being in the Chair for both. Which Sub-Committee being made up of the Di-

vines



vines above-mentioned, consisted of three Bishops, nine Doctors in Divinity, and four of some inferiour Degree in the Universities; some of them being Prelatical, and some Presbyterian in point of Government, but all of them *Calvinians* in point of Doctrine. Beginning first with points of Doctrine, complaint was made that the whole body of *Arminianism*, and many particular points of *Popery* (for so they called all which agreed not with *Calvin's* sense) had been of late maintained in Books and Sermons, and sometimes also in the Divinity Schools. And then descending to matter of Discipline, they discoursed of many Innovations, which they conceived to have been thrust upon the Church, most of them in disposing and adorning the Communion Table, and the more reverent Administration of the holy Sacraments; some of them positively required, or at least directed by the Laws of the Land, as reading the Communion Service at the Lords Table on Sundaies and Holidiaies, reading the Litany in the midst of the Church, the Ministers turning toward the East in the Creed and Prayers, and praying no otherwise before Sermons than in the words of the *Canon*; some of them never having been disused in many Parochial Churches, and retained in most Cathedrals since the Reformation, as standing at the Hymns, and the *Gloria Patri*, placing the Table Altarwise, and adoring toward it; some being left indifferent at the choice of the Minister, as the saying or singing of the *Te Deum* in Parochial Churches, officiating the Communion and the dayly prayers in the Latine tongue, in several Colledges and Halls, by and amongst such as are not ignorant of that Language; And others not of so great moment, as to make any visible alteration in the face of the Church, or sensible disturbance in the minds of the People: Which therefore might have been as well forborne as practiced, till confirmed by Authority, or otherwise might have been borne without any such clamour, as either out of ignorance or malice had been raised against them.

They also took into consideration some Rubricks in the Book of Common Prayer, and other things, which they thought fit to be rectified in it. Amongst which they advised some things not to be utterly disliked, *viz.* That the Hymns, Sentences, Epistles and Gospels, should be reprinted according to the new Translation; That the Meeter in the Psalms should be corrected, and allowed of Publickly; and that no Anthems should be sung in Colledges or Cathedral Churches but such as were taken out of the Scripture, or the publick Liturgy; That fewer Lessons might be read out of the Books called Apocryphal, and the Lessons to be read distinctly, exclusive of the Liberty which is given to sing them as appears by the *Rubrick*; That the Rubrick should be cleared concerning the Ministers power for repulsing scandalous and notorious sinners from the holy Communion; and that the general Confession before the Communion be ordered to be said by the Minister only, the People repeating it after him; That these words in the Form of Matrimony, *viz. with*

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PART II. *my body I thee worship*, may be explained and made more intelligible; And that instead of binding the married Couple to receive the Communion on their Wedding day (which is seldom done) they may be obliged to receive it on the Sunday after, or the next Communion day following; That none be licenced to marry, or have their Banes asked, who shall not first bring a Certificate from their Minister, that they are instructed in the Catechism; and that it be not required that the Infant be dipt in the water (as is enjoined by the Rubrick) in the case of extremity. Some Passages they observed impertinently, and not worth the altering, as the expunging of some Saints (which they falsely called *Legendaries*) out of the Kalendar; The constant adding of the Doxology at the end of the *Pater noster*; Reading of Morning and Evening Prayer dayly by the Curate, if not otherwise letted; The leaving out of the *Benedicite*, and the changing of the Psalm used in the Churching of Women; That those words (*which only worke great marvels*) be left out of the Prayer for the Bishops and Clergy; That *Grievous sins* instead of *Deadly sins* be used in the Letany; That the *sanctifying* of the Flood *Jordan*, be changed into *sanctifying* the Element of water, in the Form of Baptism; That those words, *In sure and certain hope of Resurrection*, which are used at Burials, may be changed to these, *Knowing assuredly that the dead shall rise again*; And that the Commination should be read at the Desk, and not in the Pulpit: all which remaining as they did could give no offence, and might have easily been changed to give some content. And finally, some things there were of which they desired a Reformation, which seemed to have so much of the *Anti-Papist*, that they came close to the *Puritan*, viz. That the Vestments prescribed by the first Liturgy of King Edward vi. should not be required, and the rule in that case to be altered; That the Alms should be gathered rather after, than before the Communion; These words, *This is my body*, *This is my bloud*, not to be Printed in great Letters; and that a Rubrick be inserted to declare, that kneeling at the Communion is required only in relation to the Prayer of the distribution, *Preserve thee body and soul*, &c. That weekly Communion every Sunday be changed to monthly in Colledges and Cathedral Churches; That the *Cross* in Baptism be either explained, or quite disused; and that in the Form of Confirmation these words importing, that Children baptized, are *undoubtedly saved*, be no longer used; That no times of Restraint may be laid on Marriage; And that the *Authoritative* Form of *Absolution* in the Visitation of the sick may be turned to a Pronouncing or declaring of it.

I have the longer stood on the result of these Consultations, because of the different apprehensions which were had of the Consequents and Issue of them. Some hoped for a great Reformation to be prepared by them, and settled by the Grand Committee both in Doctrine and Discipline; and others as much feared (the affections of the



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the men considered) that Doctrinal Calvinism being once settled, more alterations would be made in the Publick Liturgy than at first appeared, till it was brought more near the Form of the Gallick Churches, after the Platform of Geneva. Certain I am, that the imprisoned Archbishop had no fancy to it, fearing least the Assembly of Divines in Jerusalem-Chamber (so the place was called) might weaken the foundations of Jerusalem in the Church of England; That this Assembly on the matter might prove the National Synod of England, to the great dishonour of the Church; and that when their Conclusions were brought unto the great Committee, the business would be over-ruled by the Temporal Lords, as double in number to the Bishops. But whatsoever his fears were they were soon removed, that Meeting being scattered, about the middle of May, upon the bringing in of a Bill against Deans and Chapters; which so divided the Convenors both in their persons and affections that they never after met together. Concerning which we are to know, that not only most of the Lords of the Lower House, and many Lower-House Lords in the Upper House, resolving to pull up Episcopacy by the very roots, thought it convenient to begin with lopping the Branches as laying no pretence to Divine Institution. The voting of which Bill exceedingly amazed all those of the Prelatical Clergy, as knowing at what Root it struck; though none seemed presently concerned in it but such as had some benefit or subsistence in those foundations. To still the great noise which was raised about it, the Commons seemed not unwilling that some of the Cathedral Clergy should advocate for the continuance of those Capitular Bodies, and others of the contrary Party to present their Reasons for their Dissolution. The time appointed being come, Hacket, Archdeacon of Bedford, and one of the Prebends of St. Pauls, pleaded both learnedly and stoutly in behalf of those Churches; and Burges of Watford, who not long before brought down his Myrmidons to cry for Justice against Strafford, to the Parliament doors, was all for down with them, down with them to the very ground. But though they differed in their Doctrine; yet they agreed well enough in their applications: Burges declaring it unlawful, as well as Hacket, that the Revenues of those Churches should otherwise be employed than to pious uses. This seemed to put the business to a stand for the present time, but Canterbury knowing with what ease it might be resumed, advised the drawing of a Petition to both Houses of Parliament in the name of the University of Oxon. which had a great stock going in the Ship of the Church, not only for the preservation of the Episcopal Government, but of those Foundations, as being both the Encouragements and Rewards of Learning. In which Petition having spoken in few words of the Antiquity and Succession of Bishops from the Apostles themselves, they insist more at large upon such Suggestions as might best justify and endear the cause of Cathedral Churches; which being the most material of all those



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And we become further Suiters (saith that University) for the continuance of the Pious Foundations of Cathedral Churches with their Lands and Revenues: As Dedicate to the Service and Honour of God, soon after the Plantation of Christianity in the English Nation; As thought fit and usefully to be preserved for that end, when the Nurseries of Superstition were demolished, and so continued in the last and best times since the Blessed Reformation under King Edward the sixth, Queen Elizabeth, and King James, Princes Renowned through the world for their Piety and Wisdom; As approved and confirmed by the Laws of this Land, Ancient and Modern: As the Principal and outward motive, and encouragements of all Students, especially in Divinity, and the fittest Reward of some deep and Eminent Scholars: As Producing or Nourishing in all Ages, many Godly and Learned men who have most strongly asserted the truth of the Religion we Profess, against the many fierce oppositions of our Adversaries of Rome: As affording a competent Portion in an Ingenious way to many younger brothers of good Parentage, who devote themselves to the Ministry of the Gospel: As the only means of subsistence to a multitude of Officers, and other Ministers, who with their families depend upon them, and are wholly maintained by them: As the main Authors or upholders of divers Schools, Hospitals, High-ways, Bridges, and other Pious works: As special causes of much Profit and advantages to those Cities where they are situate; Not only by Relieving the Poor, and keeping convenient Hospitality: but by occasioning a frequent Resort of strangers from other parts to the great benefit of all trades-men and inhabitants, in those places: As the goodly Monuments of our Predecessors Piety, and present Honour of this Kingdom in the Eye of Foreign Nations: As the Chief support of many thousand families of the Layety who enjoy fair Estates under them in a free way: As yielding a constant and ample Revenue to the Crown: And as by which many of the Learned Professors in our Universities are maintained. The subversion or alienation whereof must (as we conceive) not only be attended with such consequences as will redound to the Scandal of many well affected to our Religion, but open the mouths of our Adversaries, and of Posterity against us, and as likely in time to draw after it harder conditions upon a considerable part of the Layety, and Universal cheapness and contempt upon the Clergy, a lamentable drooping and defection of Industry and knowledge in the Universities; which is easie to foresee but will be hard to Remedy.

The like petition came from Cambridge, as much concerned in this common cause, as their sister of Oxon. But neither of them could prevail so far as take off the edge of the ax, which had been thus laid at the Root of the tree, though it did blunt it at the present. For they which had the managing of the Design, finding that the Cathedral Churches were too strongly Cemented, to be demolished



ed at an Instant, considered seasonably for themselves, that the furthest way about, did many times prove the nearest way to the journey's end; A Bill was therefore passed in the House of Commons and sent up to the Lords, by which it was to be Enacted (if their Vote had carried it); First, that the Bishops should have no Voices in Parliament; Secondly, that they should not be Commissioners for the Peace, or Judges in any Temporal Courts; And that they should not sit in the *Star-chamber* nor be Privy Counsellors. Which Bill being Voted part by part; The two last parts were passed, by a general consent, not above one or two dissenting: But the first branch was carried in the Negative by such an Unison consent in the Lords then present, that if the Bishops had not Voted in defence of themselves, the Temporal Lords alone who appeared for them, had carried it by sixteen Voices. The point being still upon debate, those Lords which had shewed themselves against the Bishops, resolved to put it to the Fortune of another day, protesting that the Former manner of Voting the said Bill by *Branches* was both *Unparliamentary* and *Illegal*; and therefore that the *Bill* was either *wholly* to be passed, or ejected *wholly*: which being condescended to, the whole *Bill* was utterly cast out of the House by so many voices, that the Bishops might have spared their own till another time. And though according to the Rules of all former Parliaments that a Bill which had been once cast out of the House, should never be prest again the same Session; yet this Bill found a way to it within few moneths after, and almost twelve years before the end of this Session, as we shall see too soon in the course of this History. In the mean time, the *Anti-Prelatical* party in the house of Peers so bestirred themselves, that they prevailed upon the Rest to put a lower valuation on the Bishops then they had done formerly; insomuch, that at a Solemn Fast following not long after, the Temporal Lords took Precedence of the Bishops, contrary to the Custom of their Predecessors in all times foregoing: the Bishops not thinking it convenient to contend for place, at such time as their whole *Order* was in danger of *Falling*. Which being observed by the Lord *Spencer*; *Is this*, said he, *a day of Humiliation, wherein we shew so great a Pride, in taking place of those to whom it was allowed by all our Ancestors?* A day of *Humiliation* if it might be called; it was made such to the Bishops only, the Temporal Lords being never higher in their Exaltation.

But now we must look back on the Earl of *Strafford*, the prosecution of whose Impeachment had been long delaid upon some probable hope, that the displeasures of his greatest adversaries might be mitigated by some Court-preferments. In Order whereunto it was agreed upon (if my intelligence or memory fail not); that the Earl of *Bedford* should be made Lord *Treasurer*, and *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Earl of *Essex* Governour of the Prince, and that *Hambden* should be made his Tutor, the Lord *Say* Master

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PART II. of the *wards*, and *Hollis* Principal Secretary in the Place of *winde-  
Anno Dom.* bank; the *Deputieship* of *Ireland* was disposed of also; and some  
1641. command appointed for the Earl of *warwick* in the Royal Navy.  
Which Earls together with the Earl of *Hartford*, and the Lord  
*Kimbolton* (eldest Son to the Earl of *Manchester*) were taken at this  
time into his Majesties Council, that they might witnes to the  
Rest of that Party, with what sincerity and Piety his Majesties Af-  
fairs were Governed at the Council Table. And in Relation to this  
purpose the Bishop of *London* delivered to the King the *Treasurers  
Staff*, the Earl of *New-castle* relinquished the Governance of the  
Prince, and the Lord *Cottington* resigned his Offices both in the  
*Exchequer*, and the Court of *wards*, there being no doubt but that  
Bishop *Duppa* in Order to so good a work, would relinquish the  
Tutorship of the Prince, when it should be required of him: So  
gallantly did these great persons deny themselves, to advance the  
*Service of their Master*. But before all these things were fully set-  
tled and performed, the Kings mind was altered, (but by whom  
altered, hath been more conjectured then affirmed for certain)  
which so exasperated them who were concerned in this designa-  
tion, that they persued the Earl of *Strafford* with the great eager-  
ness. And somewhat to this purpose was hinted in the Kings De-  
claration of the 12<sup>th</sup> of *August*; in which he signified *what over-  
tures had been made by them, and with what importunity for Offices  
and preferments, what great services should have been done for him,  
and what other undertaking even to have saved the Life of the Earl  
of Strafford*. By which discovery as he blemished the Reputes of  
some Principal Members in the eyes of many of the people; so he  
gave no small cause of wonder to many others, when they were told  
from his own Pen, at how cheap a *Rate* (a *Rate* which would have  
cost him nothing) he might have saved the Life of such an able and  
deserving Minister.

This design being thus unhappily dashed, the Earl was called un-  
to his Tryal on the 22<sup>h</sup> day of *March* last past; which being con-  
tinued many days with great expectation, his Adversaries (though  
the ablest men in the House of Commons) perceived that his De-  
fences were so strong, and their proof so weak that they thought  
it not safe to leave the Judgement of the Cause to the House of  
Peers in way of Judicature. For finding that their proofs amounted  
not to a *Legal Evidence*; and that nothing but *Legal Evidence*, could  
prevail, in a Court of Judicature, they Resolved to Steer their course  
by another wind, and to call the *Legislative* power to their assist-  
ance; according unto which both *Lords*, and *Commons* might pro-  
ceed by the Light of their own Understanding without further Te-  
stimony. And so it was declared by *Saint-Johns* then Solicitor Ge-  
neral in a conference between the Committees of both Houses,  
*April 29. 1641*. Where it is said, *That although single Testimony  
might be sufficient to satisfie private Consciences, yet how far it would  
have*



have been satisfactory in a judicial way, where forms of Law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas in this way of Bill, private satisfaction to each mans Conscience, is sufficient, although no Evidence had been given in at all. Thus they Resolved it in this Case; But knowing of what dangerous consequence it might be to the Lives, and Fortunes of themselves and the Rest of Subjects, a saving clause was added to the Bill of *Attainder*, that it should not be drawn into Example for the time to come. By which it was Provided, That no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or Interpret any Act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason, nor in any other manner, then he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been made.

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His Majesty understanding how things were carried, Resolved to use his best endeavours to preserve the man, who had deserved so bravely of him. And therefore in a Speech to both Houses of Parliament on the first of May, absolved him from all Treasons charged upon him; conjuring them by the merit of his former graces, and the hopes of greater, not to compel him to do any thing against his conscience, to which no worldly consideration whatsoever, should be able to tempt him. This put the Lords to such a stand, who were before enclinable enough to that unfortunate Gentleman, that multitudes of the Rabble were brought down out of London and Southwark, to cry for speedy Justice, and Execution; the names of such as had not voted to the Bill, being posted up in the Palace-yard, by the Title of *Straffordians*, and Enemies to the Commonwealth. Which course so terrified the Lords, that most of them withdrawing themselves from the House of Peers, the *Attainder* passed, and certain Bishops nominated to attend the King, for satisfying his Conscience, and perswading him to sign that Destructive Bill. Never was Poor Prince, brought to so sad an Exigent, betwixt his Conscience on the one side, and the Fears of such a Publick Rupture on the other, as seemed to threaten nothing but destruction to himself and his Family. But humane frailty, and the continual Solicitation of some about him, so prevailed at last, that on Munday morning the ninth of May, he put a most unwilling hand to that fatal Bill, Issuing a Commission unto certain Lords to pass the same into an Act, and with the same to speed another (which he had also signed with the same Penful of Ink) for the continuance of the present Parliament during the pleasure of the Houses. The Act thus past on Munday Morning, the Earl was brought unto the Scaffold on the Wednesday following, desiring earnestly, but in vain, to Exchange some words with the Archbishop before his Death; Which gave occasion to a report, that a little before his Death he had charged his misfortunes, oversights and misdemeanours upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the Prime Author of the same; and had bitterly Curs'd the day of their

first



PART II. first acquaintance: Which being so scandalous and dishonourable  
*Anno Dom.* to this great Prelate, I shall lay down the whole truth in this par-  
 1641. ticular, as it came from the Archbishops own mouth, in the pre-  
 ~~~~~ sence of *Balfore a Scot*, and then Lieutenant of the Tower, who was  
 required to attest to each period of it.

*Relation of  
 the Answer,  
 &c. of the  
 E. of Straf-  
 ford. p. 99.*

The Lord *Strafford* the night before the Execution, sent for the Lieutenant of the Tower, and asked him whether it were possible he might speak with the Archbishop: The Lieutenant told him, he might not do it without Order from the Parliament. Whereupon the Earl replied, You shall hear what passeth between us; for it is not a time now either for him to plot Heresie, or me to plot Treason. The Lieutenant answered, That he was limited; and therefore desired his Lordship would Petition the Parliament for that Favour. No (said he) I have gotten my dispatch from them, and will trouble them no more; I am now Petitioning an Higher Court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor Error teared. But my Lord, said he, (turning to the Primate of *Ireland*, whose company he had procured of the Houses in that fatal Exigent) I will tell you what I should have spoken to my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*. You shall desire the Archbishop to lend me his Prayers this night, and to give me his Blessing when I do go abroad to morrow; and to be in his Window, that by my last Farewell I may give him thanks for this, and all other his former Favours. The Primate having delivered the Message without delay, the Archbishop replied, That in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second: but he feared his weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last Departure. The next morning at his coming forth he drew near to the Archbishops Lodging, and said to the Lieutenant, Though I do not see the Archbishop, yet give me leave I pray you to do my last observance towards his Rooms. In the mean time the Archbishop, advertised of his approach, came out to the Window; Then the Earl bowing himself to the ground, My Lord (said he) *your Prayers and your Blessing*. The Archbishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both: but overcome with grief, fell to the ground in *Animi deliquio*. The Earl bowing the second time, said, Farewell my Lord, God protect your Innocency. And because he feared, that it might perhaps be thought an effeminacy or unbecoming weakness in him to sink down in that manner, he added, That he hoped by Gods Assistance, and his own Innocency, that when he came to his own Execution (which he daily longed for) the World should perceive he had been more sensible of the Lord *Strafford's* Loss, than of his own: And good reason it should be so (said he) for the Gentleman was more serviceable to the Church (he would not mention the State) than either himself, or any of all the Church-men had ever been. A gallant Farewell to so eminent and beloved a Friend.

Thus march'd this Great Man to the Scaffold; more like a General



ral in the Head of an Army, to breath out Victory; than like a  
 Condemned Man, to undergo the Sentence of death. The Lieute-  
 nant of the Tower desired him to take Coach, for fear the People  
 should rush in upon him and tear him in pieces. No (said he to the  
 Lieutenant) I dare look Death in the face, and I hope the People  
 too; Have you a care that I do not escape, and I care not how I  
 die, whether by the hand of the Executioner, or the madness and  
 fury of the People; If that may give them better content, it is all  
 one to me. In his last Speech upon the Scaffold, he declared, That  
 in all his Employments, since he had the honour to serve his Maje-  
 sty, he never had any thing in the purpose of his heart, but what  
 tended to the joynt and individual prosperity both of King and Peo-  
 ple; That he was so far from being an Enemy to Parliaments (which  
 had been charged amongst his Crimes) that he did always think the  
 Parliaments of *England* to be the most happy Constitution that any  
 Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God  
 to make the King and People happy; That he acquitted all the  
 World for his death, heartily beseeching the God of Heaven to for-  
 give all them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purpo-  
 ses of his heart, he was not guilty of the Offences which he was to  
 die for; That it was a great comfort to him, that his Majesty con-  
 ceived him not meriting so severe and heavy a Punishment, as the  
 utmost execution of this Sentence: And finally, (after many other  
 Expressions) That he died a true Son of the Church of *England*, in  
 which he had been born and bred; for the Peace and Prosperity  
 whereof he most heartily prayed. Turning his eyes unto his Bro-  
 ther Sir *George Wentworth*, he desired him to charge his Son to fear  
 God, to continue an obedient Son to the Church of *England*, and  
 not to meddle with Church-Livings, as that which would prove a  
 Moth or Canker to him in his Estate. And having several times re-  
 commended his prepared Soul to the Mercies of God, he submitted  
 his Neck with most Christian Magnanimity to the stroke of the Ax,  
 which took his Head from him at one blow, before he had filled up  
 the number of fifty years. "A man on whom his Majesty looked  
 "as one whose great Abilities might rather make a Prince afraid,  
 "than ashamed to employ him in the greatest Affairs of State: For  
 "those were prone to create in him great confidence of Undertak-  
 "ings, and this was like enough to betray him to great Errors,  
 "and many Enemies; whereof he could not but contract good store,  
 "while moving in so high a Sphere, and with so vigorous a Lustre,  
 "he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious Exhalations, which  
 "condensed by a Popular *Odium*, were capable to cast a Cloud upon  
 "the highest Merit and Integrity. So far he stood commended by  
 the Pen of his sorrowful Sovereign, who never could sufficiently be-  
 wail his own Infelicity, in giving way unto an Act of such high In-  
 justice (as he calls it there) of which he gives this Testimony in his  
*Meditation* on the Death of this unfortunate Earl, "That he was so  
 "far

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*Eicon Basil.*  
 p. 5.



PART II. "far from excusing or denying that Compliance on his part (for ple-  
*Anno Dom.* "nary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in his own judg-  
 1641. "ment he thought not by any clear Law, guilty of death; that he did  
 ~~~~~ "never bear any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which, as  
 "a sign of his Repentance, he had often with sorrow confessed both  
 "to God and Men, as an Act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered  
 "more a fear of Man than of God, whose Name and Place on Earth  
 "no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid Inconveniences of State  
 "by Acts of so high Injustice, as no Publick Convenience can com-  
 "pensate.

The loss of this Gentlemans Life after such a manner, so terrified the rest of his Majesties Servants; that as some had deserted him in the first appearance of his Troubles: so there were few that durst stand to him, or put him upon resolute or courageous Counsels, when he most wanted such Assistance. In which respect, it was no hard matter for the Houses of Parliament to wire-draw him by degrees to such Condescensions, as finally left the Church without any Authority, and the Crown with little more Prerogative than a Titular and precarious Empire. He had before passed an Act for Triennial Parliaments, to be called in his default by Sheriffs and Constables; and signed a Bill for the continuance of the present Parliament during the pleasure of the Houses, at such time as he passed away this poor Gentlemans Life. He must now give up so much of his Power at once, as would disable him from subsisting by any other means than the Alms of his Parliament; or keeping down those factious and seditious Humours, for which the ordinary Courts of Justice, tied to Formalities of Law, could provide no remedy. In reference to the first, having kept him hungry and in appetite for seven Months and more, from their first meeting in *November*, they present him with a Bill for *Tonnage and Poundage*, to be paid only for the three Months following; and that too clogged in the Preamble with such a Condition, as to disclaim all such Right unto, it as had been formerly enjoyed by his Predecessors. They prepared also other Bills, for Repealing the Statute concerning *Knighthood*, made by K. *Edward ii.* and then made rather for the ease of the Subject, than the advantage of the Crown; as also, For abolishing his Pretensions to the Raising of *Ship-money*, For retrenching the *Perambulations* of his Forests, For suppressing the Court of *Stanneries* in *Cornwal*, And the long-continued Jurisdiction of his Clerk of the Market. And in relation to the other, they prepared two Bills more; the one for putting down the Court of *Star-Chamber*, the other for destroying the *High-Commission*, without which bridles there had been no ruling of the *Paritan* Faction. But as in the Bill for putting down the *Star-Chamber*, there were some Clauses which extended to the overthrow of the Court of the *Marches*, and the Council established in the North, and for Regulating the Authority of the Council-Table; so in that for destroying the *High-Commission*, there was a Clause which took



took away the Coercive power of Bishops, Chancellors, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Judges. To these two last (the Royal Assent having been passed unto all the former without any difficulty) the King was pleased to demur, which bred such a heat amongst the Commons, that he was forced on *Munday* the fifth of *July*, (being but two daies after his passing of the other) to make an excuse for this small delay; the business being of such importance as the Altering in a great measure those Fundamental Laws, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, which so many of his Predecessors had established. How great a blow was given by the first Act to the Royal Authority I leave to be considered by our Civil Historians. What the Church suffered by the second will appear by these words, in which it was Enacted (under the several penalties therein contained) "That from the fifth day of *August* then next following no Archbishop, or Bishops, or any other Person or Persons, having "or exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction under the Kings Majesty, within the Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, should "award, impose or inflict any Pain, Penalty, Fine, Amercement, "Imprisonment, or any Corporal Punishment for any Contempt, "Misdemeanour, Crime, Offence, Matter, or Thing whatsoever, "belonging to Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Cognizance or Jurisdiction; "or should *Ex Officio*, or at the instance or promotion of any person whatsoever, urge, enforce, tender, give, or minister unto any "Churchwarden, Sideman, or person whatsoever, any Corporal "Oath, whereby they shall be obliged to make any Presentment "concerning others, or confess any thing against themselves, which "might make them lyable, or expose them to any Censure, Pain, "Penalty of what sort soever." Which in effect was to take away the Power of Ecclesiastical Censures, belonging naturally and originally to the Episcopal Function, that is to say, Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations, (all which are both inflicted and renounced as Pains or Penalties) to the no small encouragement of Inconformity, Incontinency, and all other irregular Courses, both in Clergy and Laity, because it nourisht an opinion of impunity in the hearts of those who formerly had been awed respectively by those several Censures. For when the Subject fears neither Pain nor Penalty, the Superiour under whom he lives will find little obedience, and the Laws much less.

But we have too long left our Archbishop in his cares and sorrows, and therefore must return to ease him of some part of his cares, though his sorrows continued as before. Hitherto he had given himself no improbable hopes of being called unto his Trial, and given such strong proof of his integrity and innocence from the Crimes objected, as might restore him to a capacity of doing those good offices to the University as that place of *Chancellor* did require. But finding by the late proceedings of the Houses of Parliament in the business of his dear Friend the Earl of *Strafford*, that his affairs

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Bill. Regia.

p. 308.



PART II. were like to grow from bad to worse, he would no longer undergo  
*Anno Dom.* the name of that Office which he was not able to perform. Resolved  
 1641. to put the University into such a condition as might enable them to  
 proceed in the choice of a more fortunate Patron, he acquaints the  
 King with his intent by the Bishop of London; and finding his Majesties  
 Concurrence in opinion with him, he sends his Resignation in  
 his Letter of June 28. Which being published, and excepted in  
 the Convocation of the University on July 1. The Earl of Pembroke  
 was now elected to succeed him, who had before been named in  
 competition for the Office with him.

*M*Y Present Condition (saith the Letter) is not unknown to the  
 whole world, yet by few pitied or deplored; The righteous God  
 best knows the Justice of my sufferings, on whom both in life and death  
 I will ever depend: the last of which shall be unto me most welcome, in  
 that my life is now burdensome unto me, my mind attended with variety  
 of sad and grievous thoughts, my soul continually vexed with Anxieties  
 and troubles, groaning under the burden of a displeased Parliament,  
 my name aspersed and grossly abused by the multiplicity of Libellous  
 Pamphlets, and my self debarred from wonted access to the best of Prin-  
 ces; and it is Vox Populi that I am Popishly affected. How earnest I  
 have been in my Disputations, Exhortations, and otherwise to quench  
 such sparks, lest they should become Coals, I hope after my death you will  
 all acknowledge; yet in the midst of all my afflictions there is nothing  
 more hath so nearly touched me as the remembrance of your free and joy-  
 ful acceptance of me to be your Chancellour, and that I am now shut  
 up from being able to do you that Service which you might justly expect  
 from me. When I first received this honour I intended to have carried  
 it with me to my Grave; neither were my hopes any less, since the Par-  
 liament (called by his Majesties Royal Command) committed me to this  
 Royal Prison. But sith (by reason of matters of greater consequence yet  
 in hand) the Parliament is pleased to procrastinate my Trial, I do here-  
 by as thankfully resign my Office of being Chancellor, as ever I received  
 that Dignity, entreating you to Elect some Honourable Person, who  
 upon all occasions may be ready to serve you; and I beseech God send you  
 such an one as may do all things for his glory, and the furtherance of  
 your most famous University. This is the continual Prayer of

Tower, June 28,  
 1641.

Your dejected Friend and Chancellour,

Being the last time I shall write so,

Will. Cant.

This Resignation having eased him of some part of his cares, it  
 was no small refreshment to him in the midst of his sorrows, that  
 notwithstanding all the clamour about *Innovations*, the Parliament  
 had



had made no Order to alter any thing which he had laboured to establish. The Commons might perhaps have some thoughts that way, but they either kept them to themselves, or found but little comfort in them when they suffered them to go abroad, or shew themselves in any motion to the House of Lords. The Peers were then so far from entertaining any such extravagant Fancies, that taking notice of the Irregular Zeal of some forward men, who had not patience enough to attend the leisure of Authority, they joyned together with the Prelates, in this Order of *January 16.* for putting a stop to their Exorbitancies at the first breaking out. For by that Order it was signified to be the pleasure of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in the High Court of Parliament, "That the Divine Service  
"be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this  
"Realm: And that all such as shall disturb that wholsom Order,  
"shall be severely punished according to the Law: And the Par-  
"sons, Vicars, and Curates in the several Parishes shall forbear to  
"introduce any Rites or Ceremonies that may give offence, other-  
"wise than those which are established by the Laws of the Land. Which last Clause being couched in such general terms, related only to such Rites and Ceremonies, as otherwise might have been introduced for the time to come; not unto such as had been entertained and settled by any former Authority. Countenanced and secured by which Declaration, the Ordinaries went on chearfully in the exercise of their Jurisdiction, suffering no alteration or disturbance to pass unquestioned, if any troublesome or unquiet person did begin to stir. But no sooner was the Coercive power of Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Judges restrained, or rather utterly abolished, by the late Act of Parliament; and the Kings Journey into *Scotland* left men and matters at more liberty than before they were: but presently the House of Commons took upon them such a Reformation (so it must be called) in which they neither found concurrence of the House of Peers, or could expect it from the King. But finding that they were strong enough to set up for themselves, without working Journey-work any longer unto either of them, they made the following Order of *September 8.* to be the first Experiment or Essay of their undertakings. For though in a Conference, had the same day with the Lords, they desired their consent therein, and that the Lords returned them no other Answer than by sending them the next day (being the day of the Recess) a Copy of the former Order of *January 16.* in which they desired then to concur; yet *Pym*, who governed the Committee during that Recess, dispatcht his Mandate of the 29<sup>th</sup>. of the same month over all the Kingdom, requiring all Ministers and Churchwardens to publish the said Order in their several Churches, to see it put in execution, and cause Certificates to be made thereof by the time appointed. Which Order being the Leading Card to the Game that followed, was *verbatim* thus: *viz.*

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~~~~~

whereas



## PART II.

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**W**Hereas divers Innovations in or about the worship of God have been lately practised in this Kingdom, by enjoyning some things, and prohibiting others, without warrant of Law, to the great grievance and discontent of his Majesties Subjects; For the suppression of such Innovations, and for preservation of the Publick Peace, It is this day Ordered by the Commons in Parliament assembled, That the Churchwardens of every Parish Church or Chappel respectively doth forthwith remove the Communion Table from the East end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel into some other convenient place, and that they take away the Railes, and Level the Chancels as heretofore they were before the late Innovations. That all Crucifixes, scandalous Pictures, of any one or more Persons of the Trinity, and all Images of the Virgin Mary shall be taken away and abolished; and that all Tapers, Candlesticks, and Basons be removed from the Communion Table. That all Corporal Bowing at the Name of JESUS, or toward the East end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, or towards the Communion Table be henceforth forborne. That the Orders aforesaid be observed in all the severall Cathedral Churches of this Kingdom, and all the Colledges, Churches, or Chappels in the two Universities, or any other part of this Kingdom, and in the Temple Church, and the Chappels of other Inns of Court, by the Deans of the said Cathedral Churches, by the Vice-Chancellours of the said Universities, and by the Heads and Governours of the severall Colledges and Halls aforesaid, and by the Benchers and Readers in the said Inns of Court respectively. That the Lords day shall be duly observed and sanctified: All Dancing, or other Sports either before or after Divine Service be forborne and restrained; and that the Preaching of Gods Word be permitted in the Afternoon in the severall Churches and Chappels of this Kingdom, and that Ministers and Preachers be encouraged thereunto. That the Vice-Chancellours of the Universities, Heads and Governours of Colledges, all Parsons, Vicars, Churchwardens, do make Certificate of the performance of these Orders: and if the same shall not be observed in any places aforementioned, upon complaint thereof made to the two next Justices of the Peace, Major, and Head-Officers of Cities and Towns Corporate, It is ordered, That the said Justices, Major, and other Head-Officer respectively shall examine the truth of all such complaints, and certifie by whose default the same are committed. All which Certificates are to be delivered in Parliament before the thirtieth of October next ensuing, Anno 1641.

It may be justly wondred at, that all this while we have heard nothing of the Scots, the chief promoters of these mischiefs; but we may rest our selves assured that they were not idle, soliciting their affairs both openly and underhand, *instant in season, and out of season*, till they had brought about all ends which invited them hither. They had made sure work with the Lord Lieutenant, and feared not the Resurrection of the Lord Archbishop though *Doomed* at that time



time only to a Civil death. They had gratified the Commons in procuring all the Acts of Parliament before remembred, and paring the Bishops nails to the very quick, by the only terrour of their Arms; and were reciprocally gratified by them with a gift of three hundred thousand pounds of good English money, in the name of a *brotherly assistance*, for their pretended former losses, which could not rationally be computed to the tenth part of that Sum. And in relation to that Treaty they gained in a manner all those points which had been first insisted on in the meeting at *Rippon*, and many additions also, which were brought in afterwards by *Londen*. In their Demand concerning Unity in Religion, and Uniformity in Church-Government, the Answer favoured rather of delay than satisfaction; amounting to no more than this, "That his Majesty, with the Advice of both Houses of Parliament, did well approve of the actions of his Subjects of *Scotland*, in their desires of having a Conformity of Church-Government between the two Nations; And that as the Parliament had already taken into consideration the Reformation of Church-Government, so they would proceed therein in due time as should best conduce to the glory of God, and peace of the Church and of both Kingdoms. Which Condescensions and Conclusions being ratified on *August 7.* by Act of Parliament in *England*, a Provision was also made for the security of all his Majesties Party in reference to the former troubles, excluding only the Scottish Prelates, and four more of that Nation, from the benefit of it. And that being done, his Majesty set forwards toward *Scotland* on *Tuesday* the tenth of the same month, giving order as he went for the Disbanding of both Armies, that they might be no further charge or trouble to him. Welcomed he was with great joy to the City of *Edenborough*, in regard he came with full desires and resolutions of giving all satisfaction to that People which they could expect, though to the Diminution of his Royal Rights and just Prerogative. He was resolved to sweeten and Caress them with all Acts of Grace, that so they might reciprocate with him in their Love and Loyalty, though therein he found himself deceived. For he not only ratified all the Transactions of the Treaty confirmed in *England* by Act of Parliament, in that Kingdom; but by like Act abolished the Episcopal Government, and yielded to an alienation of all Church-Lands, restored by his Father or himself for the maintenance of it. A matter of most woful consequence to the Church of *England*. For the House of Commons being advertised of these Transactions, prest him with their continual importunities after his Return, to subvert the Government of Bishops here in *England*, in the destruction whereof he had been pleased to gratifie his *Scottish* Subjects, which could not be reputed so considerable in his estimation, nor were so in the eye of the World as the English were. What followed hereupon we may hear too soon.

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This



## PART II.

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This good success of the *Scots* encouraged the *Irish Papists* to attempt the like, and to attempt it in the same way the *Scots* had gone; that is to say, by seizing his Majesties Towns, Forts and Castles, putting themselves into the body of an Army, banishing and imprisoning all such as opposed their Practices, and then Petitioning the King for a publick exercise of their Religion. And they had this great furtherance to promote their hopes; For when the King was prest by the Commons for the disbanding of the *Irish Army*, a suite was made unto him by the Embassadour of *Spain*, that he might have leave to lift three or four thousand of them for his Masters Service in the Wars; to which motion his Majesty readily condescending gave order in it accordingly. But the Commons never thinking themselves safe, as long as any of that Army had a Sword in his hand, never left importuning the King (whom they had now brought to the condition of denying nothing which they asked) till they had made him eat his word, and revoke those Orders to his great dishonour; which so exasperated that Army consisting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, that it was no hard matter for those who had the managing of that Plot to make sure of them. And then considering that the *Scots* by raising of an Army had gained from the King an abolition of the *Episcopal* Order, the Rescinding of his own and his Fathers Acts about the reducing of that Church to some Uniformity with this, and settled their Kirk in such a way as best pleased their own humours, Why might not the *Irish Papists* hope, that by the help of such an Army, ready raised to their hands, or easily drawn together, though dispersed at present, they might obtain the like indulgences and grants for their Religion? The 23 of *October* was the day designed for the seizing of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and many places of great Importance in that Kingdom: But failing in the main design, which had been discovered the night before by one *O Conally*, they brake out into open Arms, dealing no better with the Protestants there, than the Covenanters had done with the Royal Party in *Scotland*. Of this *Rebellion* (for it must be called a *Rebellion* in the *Irish*, though not in the *Scots*) his Majesty gives present notice to the Houses of Parliament, requiring their Counsel and assistance for the extinguishing of that Flame, before it had wasted and consumed that Kingdom. But neither the necessity of the Protestants there, nor the Kings importunity here, could perswade them to Levy one man toward the suppression of those Rebels, till the King had disclaimed his power of pressing Souldiers in an Act of Parliament, and thereby laid himself open to such Acts of violence, as were then hammering against him.

But to proceed, his Majesty having settled his Affairs in *Scotland* to the full contentment of the People by granting them the Acts of Grace before remembred, and giving some addition of Honour to his greatest enemies, (amongst whom *Lesly*, who commanded their two late Armies, most undeservedly was advanced to the Title of

Earl



Earl of *Leven*) prepared in the beginning of *Novemb.* for his journey L I B. V.  
 to *London*; where he was welcomed by the Lord Mayor, and Anno Dom.  
 Citizens with all imaginable expressions of Love and Duty. But the 1641.  
 Commons at the other end of the Town entertain'd him with a  
 sharp Declaration, Entituled, *The Remonstrance of the State of the*  
*Kingdom*, which they presented to him at *Hampton-Court*, with a  
 Petition thereunto annexed, within few days after his return; In  
 which it was desired amongst other things, that he would please to  
 pass an Act for depriving the Bishops of their place and Vote in Par-  
 liament: which Bill had formerly been cast out of the House of  
 Peers, as before was said, and was not by the course of Parliaments  
 to be offered again. To this Demand and others which concerned  
 Religion he returned this Answer, "That for preserving the peace Bibl. Reg.  
 "and safety of this Kingdom from the designs of the Popish party, Sect. 4. c. 4.  
 "he had and would still concur with all the just desires of his peo-  
 "ple, in a Parliamentary way; That for the depriving of the Bi-  
 "shops of their Votes in Parliament, he wisht them to consider  
 "that their right was grounded upon the Fundamental Law of the  
 "Kingdom, and constitution of Parliament; That he conceived the  
 "taking away of the *High Commission* had well moderated the *In-*  
 "ordinate power of the Clergy, but if there continued any usur-  
 "pations, or Excesses in their *jurisdictions*, he then neither had nor  
 "would protect them; That he would willingly concur in the re-  
 "moval of any illegal *Innovations*, which had crept into the  
 "Church; That if the Parliament should advise to call a National  
 "*Synod*, which might duly Examine such Ceremonies, as gave just  
 "cause of offence to any, he would take it into consideration and ap-  
 "ply himself to give due satisfaction therein; That he was very  
 "sorry to hear *Corruptions in Religion* to be Objected in such Gene-  
 "ral terms, since he was perswaded in his Conscience that no  
 "Church could be found upon earth, that professed the true Re-  
 "ligion with more purity of Doctrine then the Church of *England*  
 "at that time; That by the grace of God he was resolved to main-  
 "tain both the Government and Doctrine of it in their Glory and  
 "Purity, and not only against all invasions of *Popery*, but from the  
 "Irreverence of those many *Schismatics*, and *Separatists* where-  
 "with of Late this Kingdom and the City of *London* did so much a-  
 "bound, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church  
 "and State, for the suppressing of whom he required their aid and  
 "timely assistance.

This Resolute, and Religious Answer did not so satisfie the Com-  
 mons, but that they were Resolved to persue the Enterprize till  
 they had gained the Point they aimed at. Some endeavours had  
 formerly been used by the Earl of *Essex* and the Baron of *Kimbolton*  
 to perswade the Bishops, so far to gratifie the importunate desires  
 of the house of Commons, as voluntarily to Relinquish their Votes  
 in Parliament; upon assurance that the Peers would be bound in



PART II. Honour to preserve them in all the essential parts of their calling  
*Anno Dom.* and Function. But the Bishops who had little or nothing left to  
 1641. keep them up in Reputation amongst the People, but their Rights  
 of Peerage, could not be easily entreated to betray themselves,  
 and become *Felones de se* (as the Lawyers Phrase it) as long as his  
 Majesty would be pleased to maintain their Interest, and in theirs,  
 His own. Doubly Repulst, the Apprentices are drawn in huge multi-  
 tudes to cry at the Parliament doors *No Bishops, No Bishops*; Petitions  
 daily brought against them as the *Common Grievances*, imputing to  
 them the decay of Trade, and the obstruction of all businesses in  
 both Houses of Parliament; their Persons presented with Revilings,  
 and sometimes with stones, so that they could neither come out of  
 their Coaches if they came by Land, nor out of their Barges if they  
 came by water, without manifest danger of their lives; the Abby  
 of *Westminster* Violently Assaulted, and as Couragiously defended by  
 the Scholars, Choiremen, Officers, and other Servants, concluding  
 in the death of *Wiseman* a Knight of *Kent*, who having taken on him-  
 self the Conduct of the Tumult, was killed by one of the Defen-  
 dants, with a Tile from the Battlements. Hereupon *Williams* the  
 Late Bishop of *Lincoln* having been translated unto *York*, invites as  
 many of the Bishops as were left in *London* to a Private Conference  
 to be held amongst them in the Lodgings of the Dean of *Westminster*;  
 where they subscribed to a *Protestation*, and Petition to be presented  
 to his Majesty in the House of *Peers*, containing a Relation of the  
 abuses offered them for some days last past, together with a Decla-  
 ration of their sense and meaning, for the time to come. The  
 Apprehension of their own dangers inclined them willingly to any  
 such course, as visibly conduced to the preservation of their Rights  
 as Bishops, and their lives as men; For both which the subscribing  
 of this Petition and Protestation, and the entring of it in the Jour-  
 nal of the House of Lords, seems to have provided. It was about  
 the middle of *Christmas*, when some of the Bishops were retired in-  
 to the Countrey, others not returned from their *Recess*, and no fewer  
 then five Sees, either vacant, or not filled Actually, at the present;  
 so that no more of them met at this Assembly, then the Archbishop  
 of *York*, the bishops of *Durham*, *Lichfield*, *Glocester*, *Norwich*, *Asaph*,  
*Wells*, *Hereford*, *Oxon*, *Ely*, *Peterborough*, and *Landaff*; all which sub-  
 scribed this last preservative for their Place and Persons. And being  
 it was the last *flash* of their dying *light*, I shall not think it improper  
 to keep it from *Expiring*, as long as I can, by serving as a *Prolonger*  
 to it in this present History; Now the Petition, and Protestation  
 was as followeth.

Hush. Exa St.  
 Collec. p. 41.

W<sup>H</sup>ereas the Petitioners are called up by Several and Respective  
 writs, and under great Penalties to attend the Parliament,  
 and have a clear and indubitable right to vote in Bills and other mat-  
 ters whatsoever, Debateable in Parliament by the Ancient Customs,  
 Laws



Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be Protected by your Majesty quietly to attend and prosecute that Great Service. They humbly Remonstrate and Protest before God, Your Majesty, and the Noble Lords and Peers now Assembled in Parliament; that as they had an Indubitate Right to sit and Vote in the House of Lords: so are they, if they may be Protected from force and violence, most willing and Ready to Perform their Duties accordingly. And that they do abominate All Actions or Opinions tending to Popery or the maintainance thereof, as also all propension and Inclination to any Malignant Party or any other Side or Party whatsoever, to the which their own Reasons and Conscience shall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at several times Violently Menaced, Affronted, and Assaulted by multitudes of People in their coming to perform their Services in that Honourable House, and lately chased away and put in danger of their lives, and can find no Redress or Protection upon sundry Complaints, made to both Houses in these particulars; They humbly protest before Your Majesty and the Noble House of Peers, That, saving unto themselves all their Right, and Interests of Sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not Sit or vote in the House of Peers, until Your Majesty shall further secure them from all Affronts, Indignities, and Dangers in the Premises. Lastly, whereas these fears are not built upon Conceits, but upon such Grounds and Objects as may well terrifie Men of Resolution and much Constancy, they do in all Humility and Duty Protest before Your Majesty and the Peers of the Most Honourable House of Parliament, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as of themselves Null and of None Effect, which in their Absence, since the 27<sup>th</sup> of this Instant Moneth of December, 1641. have already passed; As likewise, that all such as shall hereafter Pass in the Most Honourable House, during the time of this their Forced and Violent Absence from the said Most Honourable House: not denying but if their absenting of themselves were wilful and Voluntary, that Most Honourable House might Proceed in all their Premises, their Absence or this Protestation Notwithstanding. And humbly beseeching Your Most Excellent Majesty to Command the Clerk of the House of Peers, to Enter this their Petition and Protestation among his Records.

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They will ever Pray God to bless, &c.

This Petition being presented to his Majesty, was by him delivered to the Lord Keeper Littleton, to be Communicated the next day, being the 30<sup>th</sup> of Decemb. to the House of Peers: But the Lord Keeper contrary to his Majesties directions, did first impart it to some of the Preaching party in both Houses of Parliament; and after, as the plot was laid, to the Peers in general. Upon the Reading whereof a conference was desired with the House of Commons, to whom the Lord Keeper whom they had under the Lash, was pleased to signifie, that this Petition, and Protestation of the twelve Bishops.



PART II. shops, contained matters of high and dangerous consequence, extending Anno Dom. to the deep intrenching upon the Fundamental Priviledges and Being of 1641. Parliament. Whereupon the said twelve Bishops were Impeached by the Commons of high Treason. The Usher called Black-Rod, Commanded to find them out, and to bring them to the Bar in the House of Peers, which by reason of their scattered and divided Lodgings, could not be effected till eight of the Clock at night, at what time being brought together their offence was signified unto them, and an Order presently made for their commitment to the Tower, whither they were all carried the next day, Except the Bishops of *Durham* and *Lichfield* who found the favour (the one by reason of his Eminent Learning, and both of them in regard of their age and Infirmities) to stand committed to the custody of the Gentleman Usher. Our Archbishop had now more Neighbours then he desired, but not more company then before, it being prudently Ordered amongst themselves, that none of them should bestow any visits on him, for fear of giving some advantage to their common enemy; as if they had been hatching some conspiracy against the Publick: But they refrained not on either side from sending messages of Love and consolation unto one another; those mutual civilities being almost every day performed betwixt the two Archbishops also, though very much differing both in their Counsels and Affections in the times foregoing. The Archbishop of *York* was now so much declined in favour, that he stood in as bad terms with the Common People, as the other did. His picture cut in Brass, attired in his Episcopal Robes, with his square Cap upon his head, and Bandileers about his Neck, shouldering a Musket upon one of his shoulders in one hand, and a Rest in the other, either presaging that which followed, or else relating unto that which had passed in defence of the Abbey; Together with which a book was Printed, in which he was Resembled to the *Decoy-Duck*, (alluding to the *Decoyes* in *Lincolnshire* where he had been Bishop) restored to Liberty on design, that he might bring more company with him at his coming back, and a device Ingraven for the Front of the Book, which represented the conceit; and that not unhappily. Certain I am that our Archbishop in the midst of those sorrows seemed much pleased with the Fancy, whither out of his great Love to wit, or some other self-satisfaction which he found therein, is beyond my knowledge.

These Bishops being thus secured, and no body left in a manner to sollicite the Common Cause but the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, the Bill against their Votes passed currantly in the House of Peers on *February* 6. the Citizens who before had feasted the King with such signs of Affection, now celebrating the Concurrence of the House against his Interest, with Bells and Bonfires. Nor was it long before the King gave over the Cause, for which he had so long contended; For either



either terrified with the Apprehension of his own Dangers; or wrought on by the importunity of some about him, he signed the Bill at *Canterbury* on *February 14.* to which place he had accompanied the Queen in her way toward *Holland*: And by that Bill it was desired to be Enacted, "That no Archbishop, Bishop, or any other Person in Holy Orders, from *February 15.* then next following, should have any Seat or Place, Suffrage or Voice, use or execute any Power or Authority in the Parliaments of this Realm; nor should be of the Privy-Council of his Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, or Justices of the Peace of *Oyer and Terminer*, or *Gaol-delivery*; or execute any Temporal Authority, by vertue of any Commission: but should be wholly disabled, or be unable to have, receive, use, or execute any of the said Offices, Places, Powers, Authorities, and Things aforesaid. The passing of which Act, what specious Pretences soever were given out for it, redounded little to his Majesties Benefit, and far less to his Comfort. For by cutting off so many of his Friends at a blow, he lost his Power in the House of Peers, and not long after was deprived of his Negative Voice, when the great Business of the *Militia* came to be disputed. And though he pleased himself sometimes with this perswasion, of their contentedness in suffering a present diminution of their Rights and Honours, for his sake and the Commonwealths; yet was it no small trouble to his Conscience at other times, that he had added this to the former injury, in consenting to the taking away of the Coercive Power of their Jurisdiction, for this we find to be one of those three things which lay heaviest on him, in the time of his Solitude and Sufferings, as appears by this passage in one of his Prayers, viz. *was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent Blood to be spilt by a false pretended Justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of worship to be set up in Scotland? Or injured the Bishops in England?* By which we see, that the injury done unto the Bishops of *England*, is put into the same scale with his permitting a wrong way of worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and the shedding of the innocent Blood of the Earl of *Strafford*. And if this Act proved so unpleasant to the King, it must needs be grievous to the Bishops themselves; to none more than the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had set so great a part of his affections on the preserving of this Church in her Power and Glory. Whose sense hereof is thus express'd, by one who for the time was his greatest Adversary, (a) *That it struck proud Canterbury to the heart, and undermined all his Prelatical Designs to advance the Bishops Pomp and Power*; whether with greater bitterness or truth, is hard to say.

Their great hope was (though it was such a hope as that of *Abraham*, which the Scripture calls a *hope against hope*) that having pared the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, and impaired their Power, they would have suffered them to enjoy their Function with Peace and quiet, as the only remaining Ornament and Honour of the Church

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Bibl. Regia:

Eicon Basil.  
cap. 17.

(a) *Encyclopaedia*  
p. 35.



PART II. of England. Conform therein unto the gallantry of the Ancient Romans, who when they had brought the Carthaginians unto that condition, as to compel them to deliver up their Ships, Arms, and Elephants, and to make neither War nor Peace without their permission, (a) esteemed it an especial honour to their Commonwealth, to preserve the City which was no longer to be feared, though formerly it had contended for the Superiority. But the Bishops Crimes were still unpunished: And as the old Roman Citizen cried out upon his fine Country-house and pleasant Gardens, when he found his name posted up amongst the *Proscripts*, in the time of *Sylla*; so might these Holy men complain of those fair Houses and goodly Manors which belonged to their Episcopal Sees, as the only means of the Subversion of their Sacred Calling. This had been formerly resolved on, but was not to be done at once, as before was noted; nor to be followed now, but on some such colour as was pretended for depriving them of their Jurisdiction and Place in Parliament. It was pretended for suppressing the Court of *High-Commission*, and the coercive Power of Jurisdiction, That the Prelates had abused them both, *to the insufferable wrong and oppression of his Majesties Subjects*; And for the taking away of their Votes in Parliament, with all other Civil Power in Church-men, That it was found to be an occasion of great mischief both to Church and State, *the Office of the Ministry being of such great importance as to take up the whole Man*. And now to make way for the Abolition of the Calling it self, it was given out amongst the People to have been made of no use to the Church, by the Bishops themselves; against whom these Objections were put in every mans mouth, That they had laid aside the use of *Confirming* Children, though required by Law, whereby they had deprived themselves of that dependence, which People of all sorts formerly had fastned on them; That they had altogether neglected the duty of Preaching, under the colour of attending their several Governments; That in their several Governments they stood only as Cyphers, transmitting their whole Jurisdiction to their Chancellors and under-Officers; That none of them used to sit in their *Consistories*, for hearing Grievances, and Administring Justice to the Subject, whether Clergy or Laity, leaving them for a prey to Registers, Proctors, and Apparitors, who most unconscionably extorted from them what they pleased; That few or none of them held their Visitations in person, whereby the face of the Bishop was unknown to the greatest part of the Clergy, and the greatest part of the Clergy was unknown to him, to the discouragement of the Godly and painful Ministers, and the encouragement of vicious and irregular Parsons; That few of them lived in their Episcopal Cities, and some there were who had never seen them, whereby the Poor (which commonly abound most in populous places) wanted that Relief, and those of the better sort that Hospitality, which they had reason to expect; the Divine Service in the mean time

I. 64 I.

(a) Nihil speciosius Carthagine, que non timeretur.


L. Flor. Hist. l. 2.

Act of Parl.  
16 Car.



time performed irreverently and perfunctorily in the Cathedrals of those Cities, for want of the Bishops Residence and Superintention; That they had transferred the solemn giving of *Orders* from the said Cathedrals, to the Chappels of their private Houses, or some obscure Churches in the Country; not having nor requiring the Assistance of their Deans and Chapters, as they ought to do; That they engrossed a sole or solitary Power to themselves alone, in the Sentence of Deprivation and Degradation, without the Presences and Consents of their said Deans and Chapters, or any Members of the same, contrary to the *Canons* in that behalf; by which last Acts they had rendred those Capitular Bodies as useles to the Church as they were themselves: And finally, That seeing they did nothing which belonged unto the place of a Bishop, but the receiving of their Rents, living in ease and worldly pomp, and domineering over the rest of their Brethren, it was expedient to remove the Function out of the Church, and turn their Lands and Houses unto better uses. This I remember to have been the substance of those Objections made by some of the Gentry, and put into the mouths of the Common People; in which if any thing were true (as I hope there was not) such Bishops as offended in the Premises, or in any of them, have the less reason to complain of their own misfortunes, and the more cause to be complained of, for giving such Advantages to the Enemies of their Power and Function. Nor was the alienating of their Lands and Houses the Total Sum of the Design, though a great part of it. As long as the *Episcopal* Jurisdiction stood, much *Grist* was carried from the *Mills* in *Westminster-Hall*, Toll whereof was taken by the Bishops Officers; Therefore those Courts to be suppressed (which could not be more easily done, than in abolishing the Bishops whose Courts they were) that so the managing of all Causes, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, might be brought into the hands of those who thought they could not thrive sufficiently by their own *Common Law*, as long as any other *Law* was *Common*, besides their own. By means whereof, all Offices and Preferments in the Admiral, Archiepiscopal, and Diocesan Courts, being taken from the Civil Lawyers, nothing can follow thereupon but the discouragement and discontinuance of those Noble Studies, which formerly were found so advantagious to the State and Nation.

It is not to be thought that such a general Concussion should befall the Church, so many Practices entertained against it, and so many Endeavours used for the Ruine of it; and that no man should lend a helping hand to support the Fabrick, or to uphold the Sacred Ark when he saw it tottering. Some well-affected in both Houses, appeared stoutly for it; amongst which, none more cordially than the Lord *George Digby*, in a Speech made upon occasion of the City-Petition, and Sir *Lucius Cary* Viscount *Faulkland*, both Members of the House of Commons: Which last, though he expressed much bitterness against the Bishops, in one of his Speeches made in the

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first heats and agitation of business; yet afterwards in another of them he shewed himself an especial Advocate in behalf of the Episcopal Order. In which Speech of his it is affirmed, "That the ground of this Government by Episcopacy is so ancient, and so general, so uncontradicted in the first and best times that our most laborious Antiquaries can find no Nation, no City, no Church, no Houses under any other, that our first Ecclesiastical Authors tell us of; That the Apostles not only allowed but founded Bishops, so that the Tradition for some Books of Scripture, which we receive as Canonical, is both less ancient, less general, and less uncontradicted than that is. So he when he was come again to his former temper, and not yet entred nor initiated into Court preferments. Nor was the point only canvassed within those walls, but managed in a more publick way by the Pens of some, than there it had been tossed on the Tongues of others. The Bishop of Exon. leads the way, presenting *An humble Remonstrance* to the High Court of Parliament in behalf of *Liturgie* and *Episcopacy*, which presently was encountred with an answer to it, wherein the *Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy* is pretended to be discussed, &c. This Answer framed by a Juncto of five Presbyterian Ministers in or about the City of London, the first Letters of whose names being laid together made up the word *Smeectymnuus*, which appears only for the Author. The Bishop hereunto replies in a *Vindication* (by which name he called it) which *Vindication* had an Answer or Rejoinder to it, by the same *Smeectymnuus*. During which Interseats of Arms, and exchange of Pens, a Discourse was published by Sir Thomas Ashton Knight and Baronet. In the first part whereof he gives us *A survey of the Inconveniences of the Presbyterian Discipline, and the inconsistencies thereof, with the constitution of this State*. And in the second, *The original Institution, Succession, and Jurisdiction of the ancient and venerable order of Bishops*. This last part seconded within the compass of this year by the *History of Episcopacy*, first published as the work of *Theophilus Churchman*, and not till many years after, owned by the Authors name. The next year bringing forth a book of Dr. Taylors, called *Episcopacy asserted*, and the *Aerionastix* of John Theyer, &c. All of them backt, and the two last encouraged by many Petitions to his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament, not only from the two Universities, whom it most concerned; but from several Counties of the Kingdom, of which more hereafter.

I shall conclude this year with a remembrance of some change of Officers in the Court, but of more in the Church: *Windebanke*, Secretary of State, being questioned for releasing divers Priests and Jesuites, contrary to the established Laws, conveyed himself over into *France*; and *Finch* Lord Keeper, on some distrust which he had of his safety, for acting too zealously in the Forrest-business, and the case of *Shipmoney*, withdrew at the same time into *Holland*. *Pembroke*



broke, Lord Chamberlain of the household, was discharged of his Office by the King upon just displeasures, before his late going into Scotland; The Earl of Newcastle for the Reasons before remembred, had relinquished his charge of the Princes Person, and Cottington his Offices in the Exchequer and Court of Wards; Neile Archbishop of York died some few daies before the beginning of the Parliament, Mountague of Chichester, Bancroft of Oxon. Davenant of Salisbury, Potter of Carlisle, and Thornborough of Worcester within few months after. Nature abhorreth nothing more than Vacuity, and it proved to be very agreeable to the Rules of Polity, not to suffer their preferments to lye longer in a state of Vacancy. To fill these Places, the Earl of Hertford (about that time advanced to the Title of Marquis) was made and sworn Governour of the Prince; Essex, Lord Chamberlain of the Household; Say, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries; Littleton, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, preferred to the honour of Lord Keeper; Faulkland made Secretary of Estate, and Culpepper Chancellour of the Exchequer: Which two last being Members of the House of Commons, and well acquainted with such designs as were then in Project, and men of good parts withall, were thought worth the gaining, and fastned to the Court by these great Preferments. Next for the Vacancies in the Church they were supplied by preferring Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, to the See of York; and Winiff, Dean of St. Pauls, to the See of Lincoln; Duppa of Chichester, to Salisbury; and King, then Dean of Rochester, to succeed at Chichester; Hall, Bishop of Exon. translated to Norwich; and Brownrigg, Master of Catharine Hall in Cambridge, preferred to Exon. Skinner of Bristol removed to Oxon. and Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Albons, advanced to Bristol; the Bishoprick of Carlisle was given in Commendam to the Primate of Ireland, during the troubles in that Kingdom; and Worcester, by the power of Hamilton, conferred on Prideaux, who formerly had been his Tutor; all of them of good parts and merit, and under some especial Character of esteem and favour in the eyes of the People, though some of them declined afterwards from their former height. Nor were there more Changes after these, till the suppressing of Episcopacy by the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, bearing date October 9. anno 1646. but that Frewen, Dean of Gloucester, and President of Magdalen Colledge in Oxon. was consecrated Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield on the death of Wright, in the beginning of the year 1644. and Howel, one of the Prebends of Windsor, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, was preferred to the Bishoprick of Bristol on the death of Westfield, before the end of the same year.

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The passing of this Act forementioned, put the imprisoned Bishops in some hope of a speedy deliverance; though it proved not so quick as they expected. For though on Munday February 14. an Order came that they might put in bail if they would; that they should have their hearing on the Friday following, and that some

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PART II. of them went out of the *Tower* the morrow after, as appears by  
*Anno Dom.* *Breviate*, fol. 25. yet the Commons took it so indignly, that either  
 1642. that Order was revoked, or the Bishops had some private Adver-  
 tisement to return and continue where they were. The Bishops be-  
 ing deprived of their right of Peerage, must be supposed to stand on  
 the same ground with the rest of the People; and consequently to be  
 accountable for their Actions to the House of Commons, whose  
 Priviledges, if the Peers invade, they must look to hear of it, as well  
 as the poor Bishops had done before. And on these terms the busi-  
 ness stood till *May 5.* being just eighteen weeks from their first Im-  
 prisonment; at which time, without making suite to the House of  
 Commons, the Peers releast them upon baile, and dismist them to  
 their severall dwellings. There they continued all of them at their  
 own disposing, till the War forced them to provide themselves of  
 safer quarters, except the Bishop of *Ely* only, who, within few  
 months after he was discharged from the *Tower*, was seised on by  
 a party of Souldiers at his house of *Dowham*, and brought back  
 again to the *Tower*, where he continued till the end of the  
 year 1659. without any Charge or Accusation produced against  
 him.

But as for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as he first took possession  
 of that Fatal Lodging before any of the rest came to him; so he  
 continued there after their dismissal, without hope of finding his  
 passage out of it by any other door than the door of Death: which  
 as he did not look for before it came, so when it came he did not  
 fear it. He had then been fifteen months a Prisoner since his first  
 Commitment to that place, as far from being brought unto his Tri-  
 al as he was at the first; and is to lye there as much longer before  
 he should hear any thing of them which might tend that way: only  
 they had some pulls at him from one time to another, to keep him in  
 remembrance of his present condition, and to prepare him by de-  
 grees to his last dissolution. For on *October 23.* in the year foregoing,  
 the House of Peers sequestred his Jurisdiction from him, confer-  
 ring it on *Brent*, and others of his under-officers; and ordered that  
 he should bestow none of the Benefices within his gift without ac-  
 quainting them with the name and quality of the party whom he  
 intended to prefer, leaving to them the Approbation, if they saw cause  
 for it. And on *October 15.* this present year, for so long he remain-  
 ed without further disturbance, it was resolved upon the Question,  
 That the Fines, Rents, and Profits of Archbishops and Bishops,  
 should be sequestred for the use and service of the Commonwealth.  
 In which though he was no more concerned, yet he was as much  
 concerned as any other of the Episcopal Order; so much the more, as  
 being sure to find less favour, whensoever that Vote should be put  
 in execution by them that made it. For on the ninth of *November*  
 following, his house at *Lambeth* was forcibly possessed by a Party of  
 Souldiers to keep it for the publick Service, and 78 pounds of his  
 Rents



Rents as forcibly taken from some of his Officers, by an Order under the hands of some of the Lords upon pretence of imploying it to the maintenance of his Majesties Children. But upon his Petition, shortly after he had an Order for securing of his Goods and Books, though he secured them rather from the power of the Souldiers than from the hands of any other on whom the Houses should bestow them, when they saw time for it. Upon the neck of that came another Order to bar him from having Conference with any of the other Prisoners; or speaking with any other, but in the presence of the Warder who was appointed to attend him; and from having the Liberty of the Tower; or from sending any of his Servants into the City but on occasion of providing Victuals, and other necessities. Not long after, the Souldiers brake open the doors of his Chappel in *Lambeth* house, and began to make foul work with the Organs there: but before any great hurt was done, their Captain came, and put a period to their fury. On *December 21.* his Saddle-horse was seised on by Order from some Members in the House of Commons; and on *23. Leighton* the Schismatick, who had before been sentenced in the *Star-Chamber* for his libellous and seditious Pamphlets, came with an Order from that house to dispossess the Souldiers of their quarters there, and turn his house into a Prison. His Wood and Coals seised on, without any permission to make any use of them for himself. On *March 14.* he had word brought him of a plot for sending him and Bishop *Wren*, his fellow Prisoner to perpetual Exile in *New-England*; and that *Wells*, a factious Preacher, which came lately thence, had laid wagers of it: but when the matter came in agitation in the House of Commons, it appeared to be so horrible and foul a practice, that it was generally rejected. In the beginning of *May 1643* the Windows in his Chappel were defaced, and the steps torn up; his Goods and Books seised on by *Leighton*, and some others. And on the sixteenth of the same month he was served with an Order of both Houses, debarring him from bestowing any of his Benefices, which either were or should be vacant for the time to come. And on the last day of the same an Order issued from some Members of that close Committee, directed unto *Prynne* and others, to seise on all his Letters and Papers, to be perused by such as should be Authorised to that end and purpose.

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So far they had proceeded in pulling him from himself piecemeal, before they were ready for his Trial; or seemed to have any thoughts which might look that way. They had then a greater game to play, and on this occasion. His Majesty at his late being in *Scotland* expostulated with some of the chief amongst them touching their late coming into *England* in an hostile manner, and found that some who were now leading men in the Houses of Parliament had invited them to it; and having furnished himself with some proofs for it, he commanded his Attorney General to impeach some of them of High Treason; that is to say, the Lord *Kimbolton*,



PART II. Member of the House of Peers, *Hollis, Pym, Haslerig, Stroud*, and  
*Anno Dom. Hambden*, of the House of Commons. But sending a Serjeant at  
 1642. Arms to Arrest their persons, there came a countermand from the  
 House of Commons, by which the Serjeant was deferred from doing his office, and the Members had the opportunity of putting themselves into the Sanctuary of the City. The next day, being *January 4.* his Majesty being no otherwise attended than with his ordinary Servants, and some few Gentlemen, armed no otherwise than with Swords and Courage; went to the House of Commons to demand the five Members, that he might proceed against them in a way of Justice; but his intention was discovered; and the birds flown before his coming. And this was voted by the House of Commons for such an unexpiable breach of Priviledge, that neither the Kings qualifying of that Action, nor his desisting from the prosecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction; nothing must satisfy their *Jealousies*, and secure their *Fears*, but the putting the *Tower of London* into their hands, together with the Command of the *Royal Navy*, as also of the *Forts, Castles*, and the *Train-bands* of the Kingdom, all comprehended under the name of the *Militia*; which if his Majesty would fling after all the rest, they would continue *his most loyal and obedient subjects*. On this the King demurs a while, but having shipt the Queen for *Holland*, and got the Prince into his own power, he becoms more resolute, and stoutly stands on the denial. But finding the Members too strong for him, and *London*, by reason of the continual tumults, to be a dangerous Neighbour to him, he withdraws to *York*; that being in a place of safety he might the better find a way to compose those differences which now began to embroil the Kingdom. At *Hull* he had a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, provided for the late intended War against the *Scots*, and laid up there when the occasion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to possess himself, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town he was denied entrance by *Hotham*, who by the appointment of the House of Commons had took charge of that place. The Gentry of *Yorkshire*, who had Petitioned the King to secure that *Magazine*, became hereby more firmly united to him. The like had been done also by the *Yeomanry*, and those of the inferiour sort, if his proceedings had not been undermined by a Committee of four Gentlemen, all the Members of the House of Commons, and all of them Natives of that County, sent thither purposely (in a new and unprecedented way) to lie as Spies upon his Counsels, and as Controllers to his Actions. Some Messages there were betwixt him and the Houses of Parliament concerning the atoning of these differences, whilst he was at *York*; but the *nineteen Propositions* sent thither to him, did declare sufficiently that there was no peace to be expected on his part, unless he had



had made himself a Cypher, a thing of no signification in the affairs of State.

It was desired in the eighth of these Propositions, That his Majesty would be pleased to consent to such a Reformation as should be made, of the Church Government and Liturgy, as both Houses of Parliament should Advise, wherein they intended to have Consultation with Divines, as was Expressed in their Declaration; And that his Majesty would contribute his best assistance to them for the raising of a sufficient maintenance, for Preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom; And that his Majesty would be pleased to give his Consent to Laws for taking away of Innovations, and Superstitions, and of Pluralities, and against Scandalous Ministers. For satisfaction whereunto he first repeats unto them so much of a former Answer returned to their Petition, which accompanied the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, as hath already been laid down in the year foregoing; and after calls to their Remembrance a material clause in his Message of the 14<sup>th</sup> of February, at such time as he yielded his consent to deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament. In which it was declared, That his Majesty had Observed great and different troubles to arise in the hearts of his people concerning the Government and Liturgy of the Church; and therefore that he was willing to refer the whole consideration to the wisdom of his Parliament, which he desired them to enter into speedily, that the present Distractions about the same might be composed; that he desired not to be pressed to any single Act on his part, till the whole was so digested and settled by both Houses, that his Majesty might cleerly see what was fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away. Of which he addeth, "that he the more hoped for a good success to the general satisfaction of his People, because they seemed in their Proposition to desire but a Reformation, and not (as had been daily Preached for Necessary, in those many Coventicles, which for the nineteen Months last past had so swarmed in this Kingdom) a Destruction of the Present Discipline and Liturgy; that he should most cheerfully give his best assistance for raising a sufficient maintenance for Preaching Ministers, in such course as should be most for the encouragement of Piety and Learning; that to the Bills they mentioned, and the Consultation which they intimated, as he knew nothing of the particular matters of the one (though he liked the Titles of themselves) so neither did he of the manner of the other, but by an Informer, (to whom he gave little credit, and wisht no man did more) Common Fame, he could say nothing till he saw them. With which general well studied answer he dismissed that Article.

These Propositions, and the entertaining of so many Petitions by the Houses of Parliament visibly tending to the Abolition of Episcopal Government, made it appear most necessary in the Eyes of those who wisht well to it, to hasten the publishing of such Petitions

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Husb. Exact.  
Collect. p. 399.

Id. Ib. P. 327.



PART II.

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Collect. of Pe-  
titions, p. 45.

tions, as had been presented to the King in behalf thereof, and by his Majesty had been Ordered to be published accordingly; For what could otherwise be expected, but that many such Petitions should be presented to his Majesty, and both Houses from several Counties in the Kingdom, for the preserving of that Government, under which this Church had flourished with Peace and Happiness, since the Reformation. Amongst which none did plead the cause with greater fervency, then that which was tendred in the name of the Gentry and Clergy of the Diocess of Canterbury; partly out of the esteem they had to their Metropolitan, and partly out of the affection, which they carried to the cause it self. In which Petition it was shewed, *That notwithstanding this Kingdom, hath by the singular Providence of Almighty God for many years last past happily flourished above all other Nations in the Christian world, under the Religion and Government by Law Established; yet hath it been of late most miserably distracted through the sinister Practices of some private persons ill affected to them both; By whose means the present Government is disgraced and traduced, the houses of God are profaned and in part defaced, the Ministers of Christ are contemned and despised, the Ornaments and many Utensils of the Church are abused, the Liturgie and Book of Common Prayer, depraved and neglected, That absolute model of Prayer, the Lords Prayer vilified, the Sacraments of the Gospel in some places unduly administred, in other places omitted, Solemn days of Fasting observed, and appointed by private Persons, Marriages Illegally Solemnized, Burials uncharitably performed, And the very Fundamentals of Religion subverted by the Publication of a new Creed, and teaching the Abrogation of the Moral Law. For which purpose many offensive Sermons are daily Preached, and many Impious Pamphlets Printed; And in contemning of Authority many do what seemeth good in their own Eyes onely, as if there were no King nor Government in this our Israel; Whereby God is highly provoked, his Sacred Majesty dishonoured, the Peace of the Kingdom endangered the Consciences of the People disquieted, the Ministry of Gods word disheartned, and the Enemies of the Church imboldned in their enterprise.* “For redress whereof, May it please this great and Honourable Council, speedily to Command a due observation of the Religion and Government by Law Established; in such manner as may seem best to the Piety and Wisdom of his Royall Majesty and this Honourable Court. Your Petitioners as they shall confidently expect a blessing from heaven upon this Church, and Kingdom; so shall they have this further cause to implore the Divine Assistance upon this Honourable Assembly.

To this Petition there subscribed no fewer then 24 Knights and Barons, Esquires and Gentlemen of note above 300. Divines 108. Freeholders and Subsidy men 800. A greater number in the total then might have been expected from so small a Diocess, consisting but of 257. Parishes, distempered by the mixture of so many Churches



Churches of *French* and *Dutch*, and wholly under the command of LIB. V. the Houses of Parliament. Many Petitions of like nature came from *Anno Dom.* other Counties, where the People were at any Liberty to speak their own sense, and had not their hands tied from Acting in their own concerns; All which with some of those, which had led the way unto the Rest, were published by Order from his Majesty, bearing date May 20. 1642. under the title of a *Collection of the Petitions of divers Countries, &c.* Which Petitions being so drawn together, and besides many which were presented after this Collection, amounted to nineteen in all, that is to say, two from the County of *Chester*, two from *Cornwall*, one from the University of *Oxon.* and another from the University of *Cambridge*; One from the Heads of Colledges and Halls, this from the Diocess of *Canterbury*; another from the Diocess of *Exeter*, one from the six Counties of *North-wales*, and one apiece from the Counties of *Nottingham*, *Huntington*, *Somerset*, *Rutland*, *Stafford*, *Lancaster*, *Kent*, *Oxford* and *Hereford*. Nor came these Petitions thus collected, either from Persons few in Number or inconsiderable in quality (like those of the Porters, Watermen, and other poor people which clamored with so much noise at the doors of the Parliament) but from many thousands of the best and most eminent Subjects of the Realm of *England*. The total Number of Subscribers in seven of the said Counties only, besides the Diocess of *Canterbury*, and the Burrough of *Southwark* (the rest not being computed in the said Collection) amounting to 482. Lords and Knights, 1748. Esquires and Gentlemen of Note, 631. Doctors and Ministers, 44559. Freeholders; which shows how generally well affected the People were, both to the Government, and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, if they had not been perverted, and over-awed by the Armies and Ordinances of the House of Parliament, which Commanded the greatest part of the Kingdom. And though perhaps the Subscribers on the other side might appear more numerous, considering how Active and United that party was; yet was it very well observed in reference to the said Subscriptions, by a Noble Member of that House, "That the numberless number of those of a different sense, appeared not publicly, nor cried so loud as being persons more quiet, secure in the goodness of their Laws, the wisdom of their Law-makers; and that it was not a thing usual to Petition for what men have, but for what they have not. But notwithstanding the importunity of the Petitioners on the one side, and the Moderation of the Kings Answer on the other, the prevailing party in both Houses had *Resolved* long since upon the *Question*, which afterwards they declared by their publick Votes. For on the 11<sup>th</sup> of *September* the Vote passed in the house of Commons for abolishing *Bishops*, *Deans*, and *Chapters*, celebrated by the insatuated Citizens (as all other publick mischiefs were) with Bells and Bonfires; the Lords not coming in till the end of *January*, when it past there also.

1642.

A Draught of a  
Speech by the  
Lord Viscount  
Faulkland. p. 4.



PART II. The War in the mean time begins to open; The Parliament had  
*Anno Dom.* their Guards already, and the affront which *Hotham* had put upon  
 1642. his Majesty at *Hull* prompted the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* to tender  
 themselves for a Guard to his Person. This presently Voted by both  
 Houses to be a leavying of War against the Parliament, for whose  
 defence not only the *Trained Bands* of *London* must be in readines,  
 and the *Good people of the Country* required to put themselves into  
 a posture of Arms; but Regiments of Horse and Foot are Listed, a  
 General appointed, great Summs of Mony raised, and all this under  
 pretence of taking the King out of the hands of his *Evil Coun-*  
*sellers*. The noise of these preparations hastens the King from *York*  
 to *Nottingham* where he sets up his *Standard* inviting all his  
 good *Subjects* to repair unto him, for defence of their King, the  
 Laws and Religion of their Country. He increased his forces as he  
 marched, which could not come unto the Reputation of being an  
 Army, till he came into *Shropshire*, where great Bodies of the Loy-  
 all, and Stout hearted *welch* resorted to him. Strengthened with this,  
 and furnished sufficiently with field Pieces, Arms, and Ammunition,  
 which the Queen had sent to him out of *Holland*, he resolves upon his  
 March to *London*; but on *Sunday* the 23<sup>th</sup> of *Octob.* was encountred  
 on the way at a place called *Edghill* by the Parliaments Forces. The  
 Fight very terrible for the time, no fewer then 5000 men slain upon  
 the place; The *Prologue* for a greater slaughter, if the Dark night  
 had not put an end to that dispute. Each part pretended the Vi-  
 ctory, but it went cleerly on the Kings side, who though he lost  
 his General; yet he kept the Field, and possessed himself of the  
 Dead bodies, and not so only: but he made his way open unto  
*London*, and in his way forced *Banbury* Castle in the very sight, as  
 it were, of the Earl of *Essex*, who with his flying Army made all the  
 hast he could toward the City (that he might be there before the  
 King) to serve the Parliament. More certain signs there could not be  
 of an absolute victory. In the battel of *Turo*, between the *Confede-*  
*rates* of *Italy*, and *Charles* the 8<sup>th</sup> of *France*, it happened so, that  
 the *Confederates* kept the Field; posselt themselves of the Camp,  
 Baggage and Artillery, which the *French* in their breaking through,  
 had left behind them. And yet the Honour of the day was generally  
 given unto the *French*; For though they lost the Field, their Camp Ar-  
 tillery and Baggage: yet they obtained what they fought for, which  
 was the opening of their way to *France*, and which the *Confederates*  
 did intend to deprive them off. Which Resolution in that *Case* may  
 be a Ruling *Case* to this; the King having not only kept the Field,  
 posselt himself of the dead bodies, Pillaged the Carriages of the  
 Enemy: but forcibly opened his way toward *London*, which the  
 Enemy endeavoured to hinder, and finally entred Triumphantly in-  
 to *Oxon*, with no fewer then one hundred and twenty Colours ta-  
 ken in the fight.

Having assured himself of *Oxon*. for his *Winter Quarters*, he Re-  
 solved



solved on his Advance toward *London*: but made so many Halts in the way, that *Essex* was got thither before him, who had disposed of his Forces at *Kingston*, *Branford*, *Acton*, and some other places thereabouts, not only to stop his March, but to fall upon him in the *Rere* as occasion served. Yet he goes forward notwithstanding as far as *Brainford*, out of which he beats two of their best Regiments, takes 500 Prisoners, sinks their *Ordnance*, with an intent to march forward on the morrow after, being *Sunday November 13*. But understanding that the Earl of *Essex* had drawn his Forces out of *Kingston*, and joyning with the *London Auxiliaries*, lay in the way before him, at a place called *Turnhom-Green* neer *Chiswick*, it was thought safer to retreat toward *Oxon*. while the way was open, than to venture his Army to the fortune of a second Battel, which if it were lost, it would be utterly impossible for him to raise another. At *Oxon*. he receives *Propositions* of Peace from the Houses of Parliament: but such as rather did beseech a conquering than a losing side: Amongst which I find this for one.

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*That his Majesty would be pleased to give his Royal Assent, for taking away Superstitious Innovations; and to the Bill for the utter abolishing and taking away all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Subdeans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chanters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors and Sacrists, and all Vicars Choral and Choristers, old Vicars or new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other their under-Officers out of the Church of England; To the Bill against Scandalous Ministers; To the Bill against Pluralities, and to the Bill for Consultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines; That his Majesty would be pleased to pass such other Bills for settling of Church-Government, as upon Consultation with the Assembly of the said Divines shall be Resolved on by both Houses of Parliament, and by them to be presented to his Majesty.*

Proposition 4.

Which *Proposition*, with the rest, being presented to him on *Candlemas-day*, he referred to the following Treaty to be held at *Oxon*. in which he found the Commissioners of the Houses so streighted in Time, and so tied up to their Instructions, that nothing could be yielded by them, which might conduce to the composing of the present Distempers.

1643.

But it was indifferent to them what Success they found, either in the *Propositions* or the *Treaty*, who had already entred on the Rents and Profits of all the *Episcopal Sees* and *Capitular Bodies*; which were within the Power of their Armies; and Sequestred the Benefices of all such as stood in their way, under the common notion of scandalous Ministers: who if they had offended against the Laws of the Realm, by the same Laws were to have been proceeded against; that



PART II. so being legally deprived, the vacant Churches might be left to be  
*Anno Dom.* filled by the *Patrons* with more deserving *Incumbents*. But such a  
 1643. course was inconsistent with the present Design: Most of the Silenced  
 ~~~~~ *Lecturers* and Factionous Ministers, which within ten years then last  
 past had left the Kingdom, either for Inconformity, or Debt, or  
 their own intemperance of Spirit, had of late flock'd into it again,  
 like so many Birds of Rapine to seek after the *Prey*. And upon these,  
 and such as these, the Sequestred Benefices were bestowed, to be  
 held no otherwise by them, than as *Usufructuaries* or *Tenants at Will*,  
 that so they might continue in a servile obsequiousness to the Power  
 and Pleasure of their great Landlords. With which his Majesty be-  
 ing made acquainted, he presently signified his dislike and resentment  
 of it, by his Royal Proclamation bearing date at *Oxon. May 15.*  
*Bibl. Regia.* 1643. In which he first complains, "That divers of the Clergy,  
 p. 1. p. 325 "eminent for their Piety and Learning, were forced from their Cures  
 "and Habitations, or otherwise silenced and discharged from exer-  
 "cising their Ministry, for no other reason but because (contrary to  
 "the Laws of the Land, and their own Consciences) they would not  
 "pray against him and his Assistants, or refused to publish any ille-  
 "gal Commands and Orders for fomenting the unnatural War rai-  
 "sed against him: but conformed themselves according to the Book  
 "of Common Prayers, and Preach'd Gods Word according to  
 "the purity thereof, without any mixture of Sedition. Next, That  
 "the said Clergy being so forcibly driven out or discharged of their  
 "Cures, many Factionous and Schismatical Persons were intruded in-  
 "to them, to sow Sedition, and seduce his good Subjects from their  
 "Obedience, contrary to the Word of God and the Laws of the  
 "Land: Part of the Profits of the said Benefices allotted to the said  
 "Intruders; the rest converted to the Maintenance of the War  
 "against him. And thereupon he streightly commandeth all his  
 "good Subjects to desist from such illegal courses against any of the  
 "Clergy aforesaid; to pay their Tythes to the severall and respective  
 "Incumbents, or their Assigns, without guile or fraud, notwith-  
 "standing any Sequestration, pretended Orders or Ordinances what-  
 "soever, from one or both Houses of Parliament; and this to do,  
 "under pain of being proceeded against according to Law, as they  
 "should be apprehended and brought to the hands of Justice; their  
 "Lands and Goods in the mean time to be sequestred, and taken in-  
 "to safe custody for their disobedience: Requiring all Churchwar-  
 "dens and Sides-men, to be assistant in gathering and receiving their  
 "Tythes, Rents and Profits; and to resist all such Persons as much  
 "as in them lay, which were intruded into any of the Benefices or  
 "Cures aforesaid. But this served rather to declare his Majesties  
 Piety, than to stop the course of those Proceedings: For justify-  
 ing whereof, the Clergy must be branded with Offences of divers  
 conditions; some of them of such a scandalous and heynous nature,  
 as were not to be expiated with the loss of Livings, but of Lives, if  
 any



any Legal Evidence had been found to prove them. And that no-  
 thing might be wanting to their infelicity, an infamous Pamphlet is  
 dispersed, Licenced by *white* Chairman for the Committee for Re-  
 ligion, under the Title of, *The first Century of Scandalous and Ma-  
 lignant Priests, &c.* Which though his Majesty abominated upon  
 very good reason, when it first came unto his knowledge; yet would  
 he not give way that a Recrimination should be made of the adverse  
 Party, by such as undertook to do it on far juster grounds.

In like manner they proceeded to the execution of another part of  
 their design, mentioned and presented in the said Proposition, touch-  
 ing a *Consultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Di-  
 vines.* For not intending to expect his Majesties pleasure, their  
 Commissioners were no sooner returned from the Treaty at *Oxon.*  
 but they caused such an Assembly to be called by their own Authori-  
 ty, as should be sure to do the Work recommended to them. The  
*Convocation* was in force, but not fit to be trusted; nor durst they  
 venture to commit the choice of men to the Beneficed Clergy, ac-  
 cording to the course of *National* and *Provincial Synods*: That Pow-  
 er they kept unto themselves, committing the Nomination unto such  
 as served for the several Counties, that so each County might be  
 furnished with such Persons to perform the Service, as could have  
 no Authority to bind them by their Constitutions, or any other  
 Publick Acts, made and agreed upon in that *Assembly.* An *Assembly*  
 of a very strange mixture, consisting of a certain number of the *Lords*  
 and *Commons*, with a greater proportion of *Divines*, some of which  
 were *Prelatical*, some *Independent*, and the greater part of them  
*Presbyterians*, out of which spawned another Fry by the name of  
*Erastians.* And that they might not be bound to this Journey-work  
 without daily Wages, they had each of them their 4 *s. per diem* well  
 and truly paid, and were besides invested in several Lectures in and  
 about the City of *London*, and the best Benefices (some of them three  
 or four for failing) which could be found in all the Kingdom. His  
 Majesty looks on this as a new Provocation, a strange and un-  
 parallell'd Incroachment on his Royal Prerogative, to which alone  
 the calling of such *Assemblies* did belong by the Laws of the Realm.  
 He sees withal the dangerous ends for which it was called, of what  
 Ingredients for the most part the whole *Assembly* was composed,  
 what influence the prevailing party in both Houses was to have  
 upon it, and the sad consequents which in all probability were to  
 be expected from it to the Church and State. And thereupon by  
 his Proclamation of *June 22.* (being just ten days after the date of  
 the Ordinance by which the *Assembly* was indicted) "He inhibits all  
 "and every Person named in that pretended Ordinance (under seve-  
 "ral pains) from assembling together for the end and purpose therein  
 "set down; declaring the *Assembly* to be illegal; and that the Acts  
 "thereof ought not to be received by any of his good Subjects, as  
 "binding them, or of any Authority with them. Which Prohibi-

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*Anno Dom.* in contempt of his Majesty and the Laws: But what they did, or  
 1643. whether they did any thing or not, more than their taking of the *Covenant*, and issuing a new Form of Worship by the name of a *Directory*, comes not within the compass of my Observation.

Such were his Majesties pious Cares for preserving the Peace of the Church, the Purity of Religion, and the possessions of his Clergy; in the midst whereof he kept his eye on the course of that War, which hitherto he had prosecuted with such good success, with hopes of better fortune for the time to come. For having triumphantly brought the Queen into *Oxford* in the beginning of the *Spring*, with some Supplies of Men, and a considerable Stock of Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, which she bought in *Holland*, he finds himself in a condition to take the Field, and in this *Summer* becomes Master of the *North* and *West*, some few places only being excepted. The Earl of *Newcastle* with his Northern Army, had cleared all parts beyond *Trent* (but the Town of *Hull*) of the Enemies Forces. And with his own Army, under the Command of Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* (two of the younger Sons of his Sister *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*) he reduced the Cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, the Port-Town of *Weymouth*, and all the Towns of any importance in the *Western* Parts, except *Poole*, *Lime*, and *Plymouth*: So that he was in a manner the absolute Commander of the Counties of *Wilts*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*. And though the Towns of *Plymouth*, *Lime*, and *Poole*, still held out against him; yet were they so bridled by his neighbouring Garrisons, that they were not able to create him any great disturbance. The noise of which successes was so loud at *London*, that most of the leading men in both Houses of Parliament, prepared for quitting of the Kingdom, and had undoubtedly so done, if the King had followed his good Fortunes, and advanced toward *London*: But unhappily diverting upon *Glocester*, he lay so long there without doing any thing to the purpose, that the Earl of *Essex* came time enough to raise the Siege, and relieve the Town, though he made not haste enough to recover *London* without blows. For besides some Skirmishes on the *by*, which fell out to his loss, the King with the whole Body of his Army overtook him at *Newbury*, where after a sharp Fight (with the loss of the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Viscount *Faulkland* on his Majesties side) he had the worst of the day, and had much ado to save his Cannon, and march off orderly from the place; followed so hotly the next morning, that his own *Horse* which were in the *Rere*, were fain to make their way over a great part of his *Foot*, to preserve themselves. But being returned to *Oxford* (with Success and Honour) he Summons the Lords and Commons of Parliament to attend there on *January* 22. then next following, and they came accordingly. And for their better welcome, he advances  
 Prince



Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Earl of *Holderness* and Duke of *Cum-berland*, and creates *James* his Second Son (born *October 13. Anno 1633.*) Duke of *York*, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might Sit and Vote amongst them. But being come, they neither would take upon themselves the name of a *Parliament*, nor acted much in order to his Majesties Designs: but stood so much upon their terms, and made so many unhandfom Motions to him upon all occasions, that he had more reason to call them *A Mongrel Parliament*, in one of his Letters to the Queen, than they were willing to allow of.

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Scarce were they settled in their severall and respective Houses, when they were entertained with a hot Alarm, made by the coming in of the *Scots* with a puissant Army; the greatest and best accommodated with all sorts of Arms and Ammunition, that ever was mustered by that Nation, since it had a being. His Majesties wonderful Successes in the *North* and *West*, strook such a terrour in the prevailing Party of both Houses, that they were forced to cast themselves upon the *Scots* for Support and Succour; dispatching *Armine*, and some other of their active Members, to negotiate a new Confederacy with them. The *Scots* had thrived so well by the former Service, as made them not unwilling to come under the pay of such bountifull Masters; and by the Plunder of so many of the *Northern* Counties, had made themselves Masters of a greater stock of Arms and Horses, than that Kingdom formerly could pretend to in its greatest Glories. But knowing well in what necessity their dear Brethren in *England* stood of their assistance, they were resolved to make Hay while the Sun shined, and husband that necessity to their best advantage. The *English* must first enter into Covenant with them, for conforming of this Church with that; They must be flattered with the hopes of dividing the Bishops Lands amongst them, that they might plant themselves in some of the fairest Houses and best Lands of this Kingdom; So great a stroke is to be given them in the Government of all Affairs, that the Houses could act nothing in order to the present War, no not so much as to hold a Treaty with the King, without the consent of their Commissioners; Some of their Ministers (*Gillespie, Henderson, &c.*) with as many of their *Ruling Elders*, to sit in the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, that nothing might be acted which concerned Religion, but by their Advice; One hundred thousand pounds for Advance-money, to put them into heart and provide them Necessaries, before they would budge toward the *Tweed*. And yet all these Temptations were not of such prevalency with the Principal Covenanters, as an Assurance which was given them, of calling *Canterbury*, their supposed old Enemy, to a present Tryal: Who having been imprisoned upon their complaint, almost three years since, seems to have been preserved all this while for no other purpose, than for a bait to hook them in for some new Employments. The Walls of some Confederacies,



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Confederacies, like that of *Catiline*, are never thought to be sufficiently well built but when they are cemented with blood.

All matters thus resolved on, the Covenant agreed on betwixt them and the *Scots* was solemnly taken by both Houses in *St. Margaret's Church*, and generally imposed upon all such as were obnoxious to their power, and lived under the command of their Forts and Garrisons: the taking whereof conduced as visibly to the destruction of this most reverend and renowned Prelate, as to the present subversion of the Government, and Liturgy here by Law established. In the first branch it was to be covenanted and agreed between the Nations (that is to say, between the *Puritan* or *Presbyterian* Factions in either Kingdom) "That all endeavours should be used for "the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, both in Doctrine, Worship, Liturgy, and Government; "and for bringing the three Kingdoms to the nearest Conjunction, "and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, *Directory* for Worship and Catechising. And in "the second, That in like manner they endeavour without any respect of Persons, the extirpation of *Popery*, Prelacy, that is, "Church-Government by Archbishops and Bishops, their Chancellors or Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on the "Hierarchy, Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Profaneness, and what "soever should be found contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power "of Godliness. But all this might have been pursued to the end of the Chace without danger to the life of any, whether they endeavoured it or not, whether their lives might be an hindrance, or their deaths gave a spur to put on the work. And therefore in the fourth place it was also Covenanted, "That they should with all diligence "and faithfulness discover all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of "the Kingdoms from one another, or making any Faction or Parties "amongst the People contrary to this League and Covenant, that "they may be brought to publick trial, and receive condign punishment as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or "the supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or "others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient. Which Article seems to have been made to no other purpose but to bring the Archbishop to the Block, as the like clause was thrust into the *Protestation* of the third of May, Anno 1641. to make sure work with the Earl of *Strafford*, whom they had then designed to the said sad end. And this may be the rather thought because the Covenant was contrived, and framed in *Scotland*, where none but his sworn Enemies could be supposed to have had any hand in it; and being by them so contrived was swallowed without much chewing by the Houses of Parliament, who were not then in a condition to deny them any thing.

But



But by whomsoever it was framed, his Majesty saw well enough that it aimed at the subversion of the present Government, and the diminution of his Power, if not the destruction of his Person; the preservation and safety whereof was to be endeavoured no further than in *defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom*. Which how great or little it might be, or what was meant by true Religion and the publick Liberties, was left wholly unto their construction, who would be sure not to interpret any thing to his best advantage. His Majesty therefore looking on it as a dangerous Combination against himself, the established Religion, and the Laws of this Kingdom, for the bringing in of Foreign Forces to subvert them all, interdicted all his Subjects from imposing, or taking the same, as they would answer the contrary at their utmost Perils. Which Proclamation, bearing date on the ninth of *October*, came out too late to hinder the taking and enjoying of this *Covenant*, where the restraint thereof might have been most necessary. For the Commons were so quick at their work, that on *Munday, September 25.* it had been solemnly taken by all the Members of that House, and the Assembly of Divines at *St. Margarets in Westminster*; in the same Church, within two daies after, it was administered with no less solemnity to divers Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Colonels, Officers, Souldiers; and others residing in and about the City of *London*, a Sermon being preached by *Coleman* (though otherwise a principal *Erastian* in point of Government) to justify the Piety and Legality of it; and finally, enjoined to be taken on the Sunday following in all Churches and Chappels of *London*, within the *Lines of Communion*, by all and every the Inhabitants within the same, as afterwards by all the Kingdom in convenient time. Prosecuted in all places, with such cursed rigour, that all such who refused to subscribe the same; and to lift up their hands to God in testimony that they called him to witness to it, were turned both out of house and home, as they use to say, not suffered to compound for their Goods or Lands till they had submitted thereunto. A terrible and wofull time, in which men were not suffered to enjoy their Estates without betraying themselves to the Kings displeasure, and making shipwreck of a good conscience in the sight of God. Upon which ground; considering it consisted of six Principal branches, it was compared by some to the six knotted whip, or the Statute of the six Articles in the time of King *Henry viii.* this Covenant drawing in the *Scots*, and thereby giving an occasion of shedding infinitely much more blood than those Articles did. Certain I am, that if all such as died in the War upon that account may not go for *Martyrs*; all such as irrecoverably lost their Estates and Livings for refusal of it, may be called Confessors. Others with no unhappy curiosity observing the number of the words which make up this Covenant, abstracted from the Preface and Conclusion of it, found them amounting in the total to 666. neither more nor less, which being the number

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*Anno Dom.* secution, and prosecuted to the loss of so many lives, the undoing  
 1643. of so many Families, and the subverting of the Government both  
 of Church and State, may very justly intitle it to so much of *Anti-*  
*christ*, as others have endeavoured to confer on the Popes of *Rome*.  
 For if the Pope shewed any thing of the Spirit of *Antichrist* by  
 bringing *Cranmer*, the first Protestant Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to  
 the Stake at *Oxon*. this Covenant, and the Makers of it, did express  
 no less, in bringing the Last Protestant Archbishop to the Block in  
*London*.

For no sooner was this Covenant taken, but to let the *Scots* see  
 that they were in earnest, a further impeachment consisting of ten  
 Articles was prepared against him, which being digested into Form  
 and Order, were to this effect, *viz.* "1. That to introduce an Ar-  
 "bitrary Government, and to destroy Parliaments, he had caused  
 "the Parliament, held in the third and fourth year of his Majesty,  
 "to be dissolved, and used many reproachful speeches against the  
 "the same. 2. That out of an endeavour to subvert the funda-  
 "mental Laws of the Land he had laboured to advance the power  
 "of the Council Table, the Canons of the Church, and the Kings  
 "Prerogative against the said Fundamental Laws, and had used se-  
 "veral Speeches to the same effect. 3. That to advance the Ecclesiasti-  
 "cal Power above the Laws of the Land, he had by undue means to  
 "the Judges, procured a stop of his Majesties Writs of Prohibition,  
 "whereby Justice had been delayed and hindred, and the Judges di-  
 "verted from doing their duties. 4. That a judgment being given  
 "against one *Burly* for wilful non-residency, he caused execution on  
 "it to be staid, saying, That he would never suffer a Judgment to  
 "pass against any Clergy-man by a *nihil dicit*. 5. That he had cau-  
 "sed Sir *John Corbet* of *Shropshire* to be committed to prison by an  
 "Order of the Council Table, for calling for the *Petition of Right*,  
 "and causing it to be read at the Sessions of the Peace for the Coun-  
 "ty upon just and necessary occasion, and had used some other Acts  
 "of Injustice toward him. 6. That he had suppressed the Corpora-  
 "tion of Feoffees for buying in Improvements, under pretence of  
 "being dangerous to the Church and State. 7. That contrary to  
 "the known Laws of the Land he had advanced *Popery*, and Super-  
 "stition within this Realm; and to that end had wittingly and wil-  
 "lingly harboured divers Popish Priests, as *Sancta Clara*, and  
 "*St. Giles*. 8. That he had said, about four years since, there  
 "must be a blow given to the Church, such as hath not been yet gi-  
 "ven, before it could be brought to Conformity. 9. That after the  
 "dissolution of the Parliament 1640. he caused a *Synod* or *Convo-*  
 "cation to be held, and divers Canons to be made therein, contra-  
 "ry to the Laws of the Realm, the Rights and Priviledges of Parlia-  
 "ment, &c. and particularly the Canon which enjoyns the Oath,  
 "which he caused many Ministers of the Church to take upon pain  
 "of



of Suspension, &c. 10. That a Vote having been passed at the Council Table a little before the last Parliament, for supplying his Majesty in Extraordinary ways, if the said Parliament should *prove peevish*, he wickedly advised his Majesty to dissolve the same, telling him not long after, that now he was absolved from all Rules of Government, and left free to use Extraordinary ways for his supply. Such was the substance of the Charge, which some intended Chiefly for an Introduction to bring on the Tryal, or to revive the noise and clamor amongst Ignorant People which rather judge of such particulars by tale then weight: For otherwise there is nothing in these last ten, which was not easily reducible to the first fourteen, no not so much as his suppressing the *Feoffees* for *Impropriations*, which seemed most odious in the eyes of any knowing men.

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These Articles being thus digested, were sent up to the Lords the 23<sup>th</sup> of *Octob.* presented by the hands of *wilde*, a Serjeant at Law, and one of the Members of the House of Commons, by whom he was designed to manage the Evidence, when the cause was Ready for a hearing; on the Receipt whereof it was Ordered that he should appear on that day Sevensight, and to bring in his answer in writing to the particular Articles of the several charges: which Order being served upon him, within few hours after found him not very well provided for a present conformity. He had obtained leave at his first Commitment to repair to his Study at *Lambeth* House, and to take thence such Papers and Memorials as might conduce to his defence; but all these had been forcibly seized on, and in a manner raviſht from him by *Prynne* and others, which made his case not much unlike to that of the *Israelites* in the House of Bondage, deprived first of their former allowance of Straw and Stubble, and yet enjoined to make up their *whole tale of Brick*, as at other times. His Rents, and Goods were Sequestred for the use of others, so that he had not a sufficiency for a poor Subsistence, but by the Charity of his Friends; much less a superabundance, out of which to Fee his Counsel and reward his Solicitors. And what were seven days to the drawing up of an Answer unto twenty four Articles, most of them having young ones in their bellies also, as like to make as Loud a cry as the Dams themselves. No way to Extricate himself out of this perplexities but by petitioning the Lords, and to them he flies, humbly beseeching, that *Chute* and *Hearn* two able Lawyers might be assigned him for his Counsel; that he might be allowed money out of his own Estate to reward them and others for their pains in his business; his Books and Papers restored to him, for the instruction of his Counsel, and his own Defence; some of his own Servants to attend him for following all such necessary occasions, as the cause required; and that a Solicitor, and further time might be allowed, as well for drawing up his answer as providing witnesses, To which this Answer was returned. Upon reading of the Petition of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury this 24<sup>th</sup> day of *Octob.*



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 1643. *unto the particular Articles brought up from the House of Commons, in maintenance of their former impeachment of High Treason, &c. That Master Hearn, and Master Chute, are hereby assigned to be of Counsel for the drawing up of his Answer, who are to be permitted to have free access in and out to him. That this house doth hereby recommend to the Committee of Sequestrations, that the said Lord Archbishop shall have such means afforded him out of his Estate, as will enable him to pay his Counsel, and defray his other Charges. That when his Lordship shall set down particularly what Papers and Writings are Necessary for his Defence that should be restored unto him, their Lordships will take it into consideration. That upon his Lordships nominating who shall be his Solicitor, the Lords will return their Answer. And for the witnesses when a day shall be appointed for his Lordships tryal, this House will give such directions therein as shall be just.*

This doubtful Answer gave him small assurance of an equal hearing. His desired Counsel was allowed him, *Hales* superadded to the rest, and three of his Servants nominated to attend the business: But he was left uncertain of providing for their satisfaction. His Solicitor must be first approved by them before he could settle to his cause, and whether they would approve of such an one as he thought fit to trust with his life and fame, was to him unknown; and if he point particularly to such of his Papers and Remembrances, as he conceived most necessary to his preservation, it was onely promised to be taken into consideration, which kept him in as great suspence as all the rest. In this distress he was advised by his Counsel to move their Lordships, that a Discrimination might be made betwixt the Articles; to the end that such of them as were held to contain *High Treason* might be distinguished from such matters, as were to be charged for misdemeanors: But no clear answer coming from their Lordships in that behalf he was Commanded to make his personal appearance before them on the 13<sup>th</sup> of *Novemb.* where by the advise of his Counsel he pleaded not guilty to the whole charge, without answering more particularly to any Article or clause contained in it. And on that day month it was Ordered by the House of Commons, that the Committee Formerly appointed to prepare the Evidence for his Tryal, should put the business into a quick and speedy course, with power to send for Parties, Witnesses, Papers, Records, &c. And to make all things ready for the sight of the House: the care thereof Committed specially to *wilde* who had before brought up the additional Articles. Brought to the Bar again on Tuesday the 16<sup>th</sup> of *January*, their Lordships were informed by *Maynard*, in the name of the House of Commons, that his former Answer being made only to the *Additional* Articles, and not to the *Original* also, they could not in defect thereof proceed

(as



(as otherwise they would have done) to draw up the Issue; and thereupon he was required peremptorily to prepare his Answer to those also against Munday following, though deemed so *General* by his Counsel, as not to be sufficiently capable of a *Particular* Reply. Which day being come he claimed the benefit of the Act of *Pacification*, for his discharge from all matters comprehended in the 13<sup>th</sup> Article relating to the troubles of *Scotland*; and to the rest pleaded *not Guilty* as before. Which put the cause to such a stand, that there was no further speech of it in the House of Commons till the 22<sup>th</sup> of *February*, when the Committee was required to prepare their evidence and the distribution of the parts thereof, with all possible speed. And thus the business was drilled on, hastned, or slackned, as the *Scots* advanced in their expedition; and as the expedition prospered in success and fortune, so was it prosecuted and advanced to its fatal Period. For understanding that the *Scots* were entred *England* and had marcht victoriously almost as far as the Banks of the River *Tine*, they prest the Lords to name a day for the beginning of his Tryal, who thereupon fixed it upon Tuesday the twelfth of *March* next ensuing.

The day being come, and the Archbishop brought unto the Bar in the House of Peers, the Articles of the Impeachment were first read by the Clerk of the House, together with the several answers of *Not Guilty* before remembred; upon the hearing whereof he most humbly prayed, that the Commons might be Ordered to sever the Articles which were pretended to be Treason, from those which contained misdemeanors only, that so he might know which of them were Treason and which not. To which it was reply'd by *Maynard*, that the Commons would not give way to that Proposition, in regard that all the Articles together, not any of them by it self, made up the Treason wherewith he was charged, that is to say, his several endeavours to subvert and destroy Religion, the Fundamental Laws of the Land and Government of the Realm, and to bring in *Popery*, and an Arbitrary Tyrannical Government against Law. So that we have a *Cumulative* and *Constructive* Treason, (such as had formerly been charged on the Earl of *Strafford*) A Treason in the conclusion, which could not be gathered from the Premises; A Treason in the *Summa Totalis*, when nothing but misdemeanors at the most, could be found in the *Items*. Which being thus Resolved upon, a long Studied Speech was made by *wilde*, in which there wanted neither words nor animosity to make him culpable of the crimes wherewith he was charged, if his words could have done it. One passage there was in it, which was Subject to some misconstruction, and so interpreted by those, which otherwise had no good affection to the Prisoners Person; for having set forth his offences in their foulest Colours, he seems to make a wonder of it that any thing could be expected of the people, but that they should have been Ready to have stoned him, as they did him that did but Act the



PART II. *part of Bellerophon in Rome.* Which Passage was interpreted for an  
*Anno Dom.* intimation to the Raskal multitude to save the Houses the dishonor  
 1643. of putting him to death in a form of Law, by Stoneing him to death  
 or Tearing him in pieces, or laying violent hands upon him in some  
 other way, as he past between his Barge and the House of Peers.  
*wilde* having done, he humbly craved Liberty to wipe of the dirt,  
 which so injuriously had been cast upon him, that he might not de-  
 part thence so foul a Person as he had been rendred to their Lord-  
 ships. Which leave obtained (as it could not reasonably be denied  
 a far meaner Person) without any trouble in his Countenance, or  
 perturbation of his Mind, he spake as followeth;

My Lords,

**M***R* being in this Place in this Condition, recalls to my Memory that  
 which I long since read in Seneca, Tormentum est, etiam si  
 absolutus quis fuerit, causam dixisse (6. de Benef. c. 28.) 'Tis not a  
 Grief only, no, 'tis no less than Torment, for an ingenious man to  
 plead capitally or criminally, though it should so fall out that he be ab-  
 solved. The great Truth of this I find at present in my self; and so  
 much the more, because I am a Christian; and not that only, but in  
 Holy Orders; and not so only, but by Gods Grace and Goodness prefer-  
 red to the greatest place this Church affords; and yet brought causam  
 dicere, to plead for my self at this Great Bar. And whatsoever the world  
 think of me (and they have been taught to think much more ill of me,  
 than, I humbly thank Christ for it, I was ever acquainted with) yet my  
 Lords, this I find, Tormentum est, 'tis no less than a Torment to me  
 to appear in this Place; nay, my Lords, give me leave to speak plain  
 truth, No Sentence that can justly pass upon me (and other I will ne-  
 ver fear from your Lordships) can go so neer me, as causam dicere,  
 to plead for my self upon this occasion in this place. But as for the  
 Sentence, be it what it shall, I thank God for it, I am for it at St.  
 Paul's word (Acts 25. 11.) If I have committed any thing worthy of  
 death, I refuse not to die; For I thank God I have so lived, that  
 I am neither afraid to die, nor ashamed to live. But seeing the Ma-  
 lignity which hath been raised against me by some men, I have carried  
 my Life in my hands these divers years past. I may not in this Case,  
 and at this Bar, appeal unto Caesar; yet to your Lordships Justice and  
 Integrity, I both may and do: not doubting, but that God of his Good-  
 ness will preserve my Innocency. And as Job in the midst of his afflicti-  
 ons said to his mistaken Friends, so shall I to my Accusers, God forbid  
 I should justify you; till I die I will not remove my Integrity  
 from me, I will hold it fast and not let it go: my heart shall not re-  
 proach me as long as I live, Job 27. 5, 6. My Lords, the Charge  
 against me is brought up in Ten Articles; but the main Heads are two,  
 An Endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land, and the Religion  
 Established: Six Articles (the five first and the last) concern the  
 Laws, and the other four Religion.

For



For the Laws first, I think I may safely say, I have been, to my LIB. V.  
understanding, as strict an Observer of them, so far as they con- Anno Dom.  
cern me, as any man hath; and since I came into the Place, I have 1643.  
followed them, and have been as much guided by them, as any man  
that sate where I had the honour to sit: And of this I am sorry I  
have lost the Testimony of the Lord Keeper Coventry, and other Per-  
sons of Honour since dead. And the Counsellors which attended the  
Council-Board can witness, some of them here present, That in all Re-  
ferences to the Bord, or Debates arising at it, I was for that part of  
the Cause where I found Law to be; and if the Counsel desired to have  
the Cause left to the Law, well might I move in some Cases Charity  
or Conscience to them: but I left them to the Law, if thither they  
would go. And how such a Carriage as this, through the whole course  
of my Life in private and publick, can stand with an intention to over-  
throw the Laws, I cannot see. Nay, more, I have ever been of opini-  
on, That Laws bind the Conscience, And have accordingly made  
conscience in observing of them: and this Doctrine I have constantly  
Preached, as occasion hath been offered me; and how is it possible I  
should seek to overthrow those Laws, which I held my self bound in con-  
science to keep and observe?

As for Religion, I was born and bred up under the Church of Eng-  
land, as it stands established by Law. I have by Gods Blessing grown  
up in it to the years which are now upon me, and the Place of Prefer-  
ment which I now bear. I have ever since I understood ought of my  
Profession, kept one constant Tenor in this my Profession, without va-  
riation, or shifting from one Opinion to another for any worldly ends.  
And if my conscience would have suffered me to do so, I could easily  
have slid through all the difficulties which have been prest upon me  
in this kind: But of all Diseases, I ever held a Palsie in Religion most  
dangerous; well knowing, and ever remembring, That that Disease of-  
ten ends in a Dead Palsie. Ever since I came in place, I have la-  
boured nothing more, than that the External Publick worship of God,  
(so much slighted in divers parts of this Kingdom) might be preserved;  
and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as might be. For I  
evidently saw, That the publick neglect of Gods Service in the outward  
face of it, and the nasty lying of many Places dedicated to that Service,  
had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward worship of God, which  
while we live in the body needs external helps, and all little enough to  
keep it in any vigour. And this I did to the utmost of my knowledge, ac-  
cording both to Law and Canon, and with the consent and liking of the  
People: Nor did any Command issue out from me, against the one, nor  
without the other. Further, my Lords, give me leave I beseech you,  
to acquaint you with this also, That I have as little acquaintance with  
Recusants, as I believe any man of my place in England, hath, or ever  
had since the Reformation: And for my Kindred, no one of them was ever  
a Recusant, but Sir William Webb, Grandchild to my Uncle Sir Wil-  
liam Webb, sometimes Lord Mayor of London; and since which some of  
his



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1643. to a great deal of Obloquy in matter of Religion; and that so far (as appears by the Articles against me) that I have endeavoured to advance and bring in Popery. Perhaps, my Lords, I am not ignorant what Party of men have raised these Scandals upon me, nor for what end, nor perhaps by whom set on: but howsoever, I would fain have a good Reason given me, if my Conscience stood that way, and that with my Conscience I could subscribe to the Church of Rome, what should have kept me here before my Imprisonment, to endure the Libelling, and the Slander, and the base Usage that hath been put upon me; and these to end in this Question for my Life? I say, I would know a good Reason for this.*

*First, my Lords, Is it because of any Pledges I have in this world, to sway me against my Conscience? No sure; for I had neither wife nor Children to cry out upon me to stay with them: And if I had, I hope the calling of my Conscience should be heard above them. Is it because I was loth to lose the Honour and Profit of the Place I was risen to? Surely no; For I desire your Lordships and all the world should know, I do much scorn the one and the other, in comparison of my Conscience. Besides, it cannot be imagined by any man, but that if I should have gone over to them, I should not have wanted both Honour and Profit: and suppose not so great as this I have here; yet sure would my Conscience have served my self of either, less with my Conscience, would have prevailed with me more, then greater against my Conscience. Is it because I lived here at Ease, and was loth to venture the loss of that? Not so neither; For whatsoever the world may be pleased to think of me, I have led a very painful Life, and such as I would have been content to change, had I well known how: And would my Conscience have served me that way, I am sure I might have lived at far more ease, and eisher have avoided the barbarous Libelling, and other bitter grievous Scorns which have been put upon me; or at least, been out of the hearing of them. Not to trouble your Lordships too long, I am so innocent in the Business of Religion, so free from all Practice, or so much as thought of Practice, for any Alteration unto Popery, or any blemishing of the true Protestant Religion established in England, as I was when my Mother first bore me into the world. And let nothing be spoken but truth, and I do here re-challenge whatsoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be said against me in point of my Religion, in which I have ever hated dissimulation. And had I not hated it, perhaps I might have been better for worldly safety, than now I am: but it can no way become a Christian Bishop to halt with God.*

*Lastly, If I had a purpose to blast the true Religion established in the Church of England, and to introduce Popery, sure I took a wrong way to it. For, my Lords, I have staid more going to Rome, and reduced more that were already gone, than I believe any Bishop or Divine in this Kingdom hath done; and some of them men of great Abilities,*  
and



and some persons of great place. And is this the way to introduce Popery? My Lords, If I have blemished the true Protestant Religion, how could I have brought these men to it? And if I had promised to introduce Popery, I would never have reduced these men from it. And that it may appear unto your Lordships how many, and of what condition the persons are, which by Gods blessing upon my labours, I have settled in the true Protestant Religion, established in England, I shall briefly name some of them, though I cannot do it in order of time as I converted them; First Henry Berkinstead of Trinity Colledge in Oxon. seduced by a Jesuite, and brought to London. Two Daughters of Sir Richard Lechford in Surrey, sent towards a Nunnery. Two Scholars of S. Johns Colledge in Cambridge, Toppin, and Ashton, who had got the French Embassadors Pass; and after this I allowed means to Toppin, and then procured him a Fellowship in St. Johns: And he is at this present as hopeful a young man as any of his time, and a Divine. Sir William Webb my Kinsman, and two of his Daughters; and his Son I took from him, and his Father being utterly decayed, I bred him at my own charge: and he is a very good Protestant. A Gentleman brought to me by Mr. Chesford, his Majesties Servant, but I cannot recall his name. The Lord Mayo of Ireland, brought to me also by Mr. Chesford. The Right Honourable the Lord Duke of Buckingham, almost quite gone between the Lady his Mother and Sister. The Lady Marquiss Hamilton was settled by my direction, and she died very Religiously, and a Protestant. Mr. Digby who was a Priest. Mr. James a Gentleman brought to me by a Minister of Buckinghamshire, as I remember. Dr. Heart the Civilian, my Neighbours Son at Fulham. Mr. Christopher Seaborne, a Gentleman of an ancient Family in Herefordshire. The Right Honourable the Countess of Buckingham. Sir William Spencer of Parnton. Mr. Chillingworth. The Sons and Heirs of Mr. Winchcomb, and Mr. Wollescot, whom I sent with their Friends liking to Wadham Colledge Oxon. and received a Certificate Anno 1638. of their continuing in Conformity to the Church of England. Nor did ever any one of these named relapse again, but only the Countess of Buckingham and Sir William Spencer; It being only in Gods power, not mine, to preserve them from relapse. And now let any Clergy-man in England come forth, and give a better account of his zeal to the Church.

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This being said, and all Parties commanded to withdraw, their Lordships, after some short time of consideration, appointed the next Morning at nine of the clock for the beginning of the Prosecution to be made against him. In order whereunto the twenty four Articles (for so many there were in both impeachments) were reduced under these four general Heads, viz. 1. His traiterous Endeavours and Practices to alter and subvert Gods true Religion by Law established in this Realm, and in stead thereof to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry; the particulars wherof are specified in the 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 Original, and 6, 7, 8, 9 Additional Articles. 2. His traiterous usurpation of a Papal and Tyrannical Power in the Church.



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Church of *England* in all Ecclesiastical affairs, to the prejudice and derogation of his Majesties Royal Prerogative, and the Subjects Liberties; comprised in the sixth *Original* Article. 3. His traiterous Attempts and Endeavours to subvert the Fundamental Temporal Laws, Government and Liberties of the Realm and Subjects of *England*, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Temporal Government, against Law and the Subjects Liberty; expressed in the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13 *Original*; and 1, 2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10 *Additional* Articles. And 4. His traiterous Endeavours to subvert the Rights of Parliament, and ancient course of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against them, contained in the 14 *Original*, and the 1, 9, 10 *Additional* Articles. The managing of the Evidence committed to *Maynard, Wilde, and Nicholas*, all Members of the House of Commons; by whom the business was drawn out to so great a length, that it took up no less than seventeen daies; not altogether, but with so many pauses and intermissions (as the *Scots* prospered and came forwards) that the pleadings were not fully finished till the end of *July*. I hope it will not be expected that I should lay down the proceedings on both sides, the Proofs and Testimonies which were brought against him, or the defences which were made by him in full Answer to them; that being a work, which of it self would make a greater Volume than our present History. All I shall say, amounts to no more but this, That there wanted neither wit nor will in the Prosecutors to make him appear as guilty in the eye of the Lords, as his Accusers could desire. And as for him, it is related by the Pen of his greatest Adversary, That he made as Full, as Gallant, as Fithy a Defence, and spake as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent; and that with so much Art, Vivacity, Oratory, Audacity, and Confidence, that he shewed not the least acknowledgment of Guilt in any of the particulars which were charged upon him. And though the Relator, putting the worst gloss upon the Text, be pleased to say, that these Abilities did argue him rather Obstinate, than Innocent; Impudent, than Penitent; a far better Orator, Sophister, than Protestant or Christian; a truer Son of the Church of Rome, than of the Church of England: yet in the midst of these Reproaches he gives him the Commendations of Wit and Eloquence, of being a good Orator, and a subtle Disputant; which with the rest of the Abilities ascribed unto him, considering the suddenness of his Preparations, the frailty of his Memory, the burthen of seventy years, with other natural infirmities then lying heavy on him, may not unjustly be imputed to Divine assistance. What sense the Commons had of his justification, and what satisfaction was found in it by the House of Peers, we shall see hereafter.

Cent. Doom.  
p. 462.

And here we leave him for a time, to see how far the *Scots* proceeded, and what they did in order to the service of those that so dearly hired them, which might be equal to the merit of so great a Sacrifice.



Sacrifice. Of whom we are to know, that passing by the Town of *Berwick*, they entred *England* in the middle of *January* with a puissant Army, consisting of eighteen thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and one thousand Dragoons, accommodated with all things necessary for the Expedition; not hindred in their March till they came almost to the River *Tyne*, where they were stopped by the interposition of the Northern Army, under the Conduct and Command of the Marquis of *Newcastle*, but so that they remained unfought with, unless it were in petit Skirmishes and *Pickeerings*, without engaging the whole Power on either side. *Langdale*, a Gentleman of approved Valour and Fidelity, was commonly reported to have been earnest with the Marquis to give them battel, or at the least to suffer him with a Party of Horse to assault them in such places where they lay most open to Advantage; not doubting but to give a good account of his undertakings. In all which motions and desires he is said to have been crossed by General *King*, an old experienced Souldier, but a *Scot* by Nation, whom his Majesty had recommended to the Marquis of *Newcastle*, as a fit man to be consulted with in all his Enterprises, and he withal took such a fancy to the man, that he was guided wholly by him in all his Actions. Which *King* if he had been imployed in any of the *Southern* or *Western* Armies, he might have done his Majesty as good service as any whosoever: But being in this Army, to serve against the *Scots*, his own dear Countrymen, he is said to have discouraged and dissuaded all attempts which were offered to be made against them, giving them thereby the opportunity of gaining ground upon the *English*, till the Marquisses retreat toward *York*. For in the opening of the Spring News came unto the Marquis of the taking of *Selby* by the Forces Garrisoned in *Hull*; by which necessitated to put himself, and the greatest part of his Army, into the City of *York*, on the safety whereof the whole fortune of the *North* depended. Followed at the heels by *Lesly*, who, notwithstanding the undeserved Honours conferred upon him by the King, and his own vehement protestations of a future Loyalty, commanded this third Army also as he did the two first, and leaving *Newcastle* at his back, struck like a Souldier at the head, not troubling himself in taking in such places as imported nothing in reference to the main concernment. Resolving on the siege of the Capital City, they were seconded by the Army of the Earl of *Manchester*, drawn out of the Associated Counties, and the remaining *Yorkshire* Forces under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*: By which, beleaguered on all sides, that great City was reduced to some distress for want of Victuals, and other necessary Ammunition to make good the place.

The News whereof being brought to *Oxon*. Prince *Rupert* is dispatched with as much of the Kings Army as could well be spared, with a Commission to raise more out of the Counties of *Chester*, *Stafford*, *Darby*, *Leicester*, and *Lancaster*; so that he came before

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*York*,

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*Anno Dom.* with some Provisions for the present, and might have gone away un-  
 1644. fought with, but that such counsel was too cold for so hot a sto-  
 mack. Resolved upon the onser, he encountred with the Enemy at a  
 place called *Marston More*, where the Left Wing of his Horse gave  
 such a fierce Charge on the Right Wing of the Enemy, consisting  
 of *Fairfax* his Horse in the Van, and the *Scots* Horse in the Rear,  
 that they fell foul on a part of their Foot which was behind them,  
 and trod most of them under their Horses feet: But *Rupert*s Horse  
 following the Execution too far, and none advancing to make good  
 the place which they had left, the Enemy had the opportunity to  
 Rally again, and got the better of the day, taking some Prisoners of  
 good note, and making themselves Masters of his Cannon. So that  
 not being able to do any thing in order to the regaining of the Field,  
 he marched off unfortunately; the greatest part of his Army moul-  
 dering away, he retired to *Bristol*. After this blow the Affairs of the  
*North* growing more desperate every day than other, *York* yielded  
 upon Composition on July 16. (being a just fortnight after the fight)  
 the *Marquis* of *Newcastle* and some principal Gentlemen passing  
 over the Seas, so that the strong Town of *Newcastle* was taken by the  
*Scots* on the nineteenth of *October* following.

While these things were Acting in the North, *Essex* and *Waller*  
 with their Armies drew near to *Oxford*, hoping to take it unprovi-  
 ded, in the absence of so great a part of his Majesties Forces. On  
 whose approach his Majesty leaving the greatest part of his Army  
 for defence of that place, marched on directly toward *Wales*. Upon  
 the news whereof it was thought fit by the two *Generals* to divide  
 their Armies: it being agreed upon, that *Waller* should pursue the  
 King, and that the Earl of *Essex* should march towards the west for  
 the regaining of those Countries. And now the *Mystery of iniquity*  
 appeared in its proper colours; for whereas it was formerly given  
 out by the Houses of Parliament, that they had undertaken the  
 War for no other reason, but to remove the King from his evil Coun-  
 sellors, those *Evil Counsellors* were left at *Oxon.* and the Kings Per-  
 son only hunted. But the King understanding of this Division,  
 thought himself able enough to deal with *Waller*, and giving him  
 the go-by, returned towards *Oxon.* drew thence the remainder of  
 his Army, and gave him a sharp meeting at a place called *Cropredy*  
*Bridge*, where he obtained a signal Victory on the twenty eighth of  
*June*, and entred triumphantly into *Oxon.* This done, he marched  
 after the Earl of *Essex*, who had made himself Master of some places  
 in the west of good importance. During this March it hapned that  
 one of the Carriages brake in a long narrow Lane, which they were  
 to pass, and gave his Majesty a stop, at a time of an intolerable  
 shower of Rain which fell upon him. Some of his Courtiers, and  
 others who were about him, offered to hew him out a way through  
 the hedges with their Swords, that he might get shelter in some of  
 the



the Villages adjoyning; but he Resolved not to forsake his Cannon upon any occasion. At which when some about him seemed to admire, and marvelled at the patience which he shewed in that Extremity, his Majesty lifting up his Hat, made Answer, *That as God had given him afflictions to exercise his patience, so he had given him patience to bear his afflictions.* The carriage being mended he went forward again, and trode so close upon the heels of *Essex*, that at last he drave him into *Cornwall*, and there reduced him to that point, that he put himself into a *Cock-boat*, with *Stapleton* and some others of his principal Friends, and left his whole Army to his Majesties mercy. His Horse taking the Advantage of a dark night made a shift to escape, but the Commanders of the Foot came to this Capitulation with his Majesty, that they should depart without their Arms, which with their Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, being of great Consideration, were left wholly to his disposing.

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Immediately after this success, his Majesty dispatched a message from *Tavestock* to the two Houses of Parliament, in which he laid before them the miserable Condition of the Kingdom, remembring them of those many Messages which he had formerly sent unto them for an accommodation of the present differences; and now desiring them to bethink themselves of some expedient by which this Issue of blood might be dried up, the distraction of the Kingdom settled, and the whole Nation put into an hope of Peace and Happiness. To which message as to many others before, they either gave no Answer, or such an one as rather served to widen then close the breach, falsely conceiving, that all his Majesties offers of Grace and Favour, proceeded either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakness and irresolution of his Counsels. But if instead of this Message from *Tavestock* his Majesty had gone on his own errand, and marched directly toward *London*, it was conceived in all probability that he might have made an end of the War, secured the life of the Archbishop his most trusty Servant, and put an end to those calamities which the continuance and conclusion of the War, brought with it. The Army of *Essex* being thus broken, and that of *Manchester* not returned from the *Northern* Service, He could not chuse but have observed in the course of that Action, with what a Military Prudence, *Lesly* had followed at the heels of the *Marquis* of *Newcastle*, not stopping or diverting upon the by, till he had brought his Army before *York*; the gaining whereof, as being the chief City of those parts, brought in all the Rest. And certainly it hath been counted no dishonour in the greatest Souldiers to be instructed by their enemies in the feats of War. But the King sitting down before *Plymouth* (as before *Glocester* the last year) and staying there to perfect an Association of the *western* Counties, he spent so much time that *Essex* was again in the head of his Army; and being seconded by *Manchester*, and *waller*, made a stand at *Newbury*, where



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where after a very sharp dispute, the Enemy gained some of his Majesties Cannon, which struck such a terrour into many of those about him, that they advised him to withdraw his Person out of the danger of the Fight, as he did accordingly. But this he did so secretly and with so slender a Retinue, that he was not mist; His Army holding on the fight with a greater courage, because they thought the safety of his Majesties Person did depend upon it; whose departure if it had been known, would questionless have created such a general dejection in the hearts of his Souldiers, as would have rendred them to a cheap discomfiture. But the Lost Cannon being regained, and the fight continued with those of his Majesties party with greater advantage then before, each Army drew of by degrees, so that neither of them could find any great cause to boast of the victory.

This Summers Action being ended, in which the *Scots* had done very good service to the Houses of Parliament, it was thought necessary to proceed in the Tryal of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which had taken up so much time already, that it seemed ready for a sentence. But there appeared more difficulty in it, then at first was lookt for. For being admitted to a *Recapitulation* of his whole defence before the Lords, in the beginning of *September*, it gave such a general satisfaction to all that heard it, that the mustering up of all the evidence against him would not take it off. To prove the first branch of the charge against him, they had ript up the whole course of his Life, from his first coming to *Oxford*, till his Commitment to the Tower; but could find no sufficient Proof of any design to bring in *Popery*, or suppress the true Protestant Religion here by Law Established. For want whereof, they insisted upon such Reproches as were laid upon him when he lived in the University; the beautifying of his Chappel Windows with Pictures and Images, the Solemn Consecration of Churches and Chappels, the Placing of the Communion Table Altar-wise, and making Adoration in his Accesses to, or Approches toward it; Administring the Sacrament, with some more Solemnities, then in Ordinary Parochial Churches, though constantly observed in his Majesties Chappels; the care and diligence of his Chaplains in expunging some offensive passages out of such Books, as were to be licenced for the Press, and their permitting of some passages to remain in others which were supposed to favor of *Popery* and *Arminianism*; because they crost the sense of *Calvin*; the preferring of many able men to his Majesties Service, and to advancements in the Church, who must the Stigmatized for *Papists*, or *Arminians*, because they had not sworn themselves into *Calvins* Faction; his countenancing two or three *Popish Priests*, (for no more are named) of whom good use was to be made in Order to the Peace and Happiness of the Church of *England*, as had before been done by *Bancroft*, and others of his Predecessors, since the Reformation. Such were the proofs of his designs

to



to bring in *Popery*; and yet his plots and purposes for suppressing the true Protestant Religion, had less proofs then this. Of which sort were, His severe proceedings in the *High Commission* against some Factionous Ministers, and Seditious Lecturers; the sentencing of *Sherfield*, for defacing a Parish Church in *Salisbury*, under colour of a Vestry-order, in contempt of the Diocesan Bishop who then Lived in that City; the pressing of his Majesties two *Declarations*, the one for *Lawful Sports*, the other for Silencing *unnecessary*, though not unlawful, *Disputations*; His zeal in overthrowing the Corporation of *Feoffees*, which had no Legal Foundation to stand upon, and seemed destructive to the Peace of the Church and State in the eyes of all that pierc'd into it; and finally the Piety of his endeavours, for uniting the *French*, and *Dutch* Congregations to the Church of *England*, in which he did nothing without Warrant, or against the Law.

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Such were the Crimes or Treasons rather, which paint him out with such an ugly countenance in the Book called *Canterburies Cant. Doom*, as if he were the *Greatest Traytor*, and the most *Execrable Person*, that ever had been bred in *England*. And he is promised to be Painted out in such Lively Colours in the following Branches of his Charge, as should for ever render him as *Treasonable*, and as *Arch a Malefactor* as he was in the others, and in both alike; that promise never being performed in the space of a Dozen years and more since it first was made, in all which time, we hear no news of that performance for which the Ground could be but Little, and the evidence less. To the other branches of his Charge, consisting in Words or Actions he answered first, That the Dissolving of the said Parliaments was no Act of his, the business being publicly debated at the Council Table and carried by the Unanimous consent of all then Present; that the hard measure which he was complained of to have shown to *Corbet* of *Shropshire* (he being but a Private Subject) could not be called an Act of Treason; That the words charged upon him at the Council Table and elsewhere, might well have been spared; That no ill effect did follow on them; and that they were innocently though suddenly spoken, which he hoped might proceed from a man of such a hasty, and Incircumspect humour as himself (made so as well by nature, as by the multiplicity of vexations which were put upon him) without involving him in the crime or guilt of Treason; That for his words unto the King, touching his being absolved from the Rules of Government, they contained only matter of opinion, and in opinion delivered at the Council Table, where all had Liberty to speak their own sense as he did at time; which if it were Erroneous and contrary to the sense of others, he hoped that no man should justly be condemned of Treason, for shewing himself no wiser then God had made him. And thereupon he desired the Lords from his misfortune to provide for their own safety, and seriously to consider what a way

was



PART II. was chalked out to ruine them, both in their Lives and their Estates, *Anno Dom.* if for every Opinion given in Council, or Words suddenly or hastily spoken, they (who are born to wield the great affairs of the Kingdom) should be Arraigned or Sentenced as Traytors. To which he added in the close, That there was no likelyhood that he had committed Real Acts of Treason, when his adverse Party was content to trifle away so much time about Words: Neither was there any Treason in them, though they had been fully verified; and therefore in that (as in all other Articles) he reserved a Power for his Counsel to dispute in matter of Law. Which when it came to the Dispute (not called on by the Commons till *October II.*) the Question or Point in Issue was, *whether any Treason was contained in all or any of the Articles which were charged against him?* And therein *Hearn* so plaid his part, as the mouth of the rest, that after the expectation of more months, and the expence of almost as many days as had been spent in the Arraignment of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Enemies in the House of Commons were forced to fall again on a Bill of *Attainder*, as they had been before, after so much noise and ostentation of Wit and Eloquence, in the case of that Gentleman.

For being too far engaged to go back with Honour, and yet not having confidence enough to venture him to the Judgment of the House of Peers, as in the way of Legal Tryal, they seemed to be at such a stand, as the *Thames* is said to be at, under *London-Bridge*, betwixt Ebb and Flood. In which perplexity, some who were fit for any mischief, employed themselves to go from door to door, and from man to man, to get hands against him; and so Petition those to hasten to his Condemnation, who must forsooth be forced to their own desires (whereof, and of the *Magistrates standing still and suffering them to proceed* without any Check, he gave them a *Memento* in his dying Speech) Which Preparations being made, they followed it with such double diligence, that by the beginning of *November* most men were great with expectation of a final Sentence; Conceived by some, That the whole Evidence being transmitted with the Prisoner to the Justices of his Majesties Bench, he should have been put over to a *Middlesex-Jury*: but they were only some poor Ignorants which conceived so of it. The Leading Members of the House thought of no such matter; and to say truth, it did concern them highly not to go that way. For though there was no question to be made at all, but that they could have Impanelled a *Jury* to have found the *Bill*: yet by a Clause in the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford*, they had bound the Judges not to declare those Facts for Treason in the time to come, for which they had Condemned and Executed that Heroick Peer. And therefore they resolved on the same course now, which they had found before so prosperous and successful to them, to proceed now as then, by *Bill of Attainder*, and condemn him by Ordinance; in which being

Parties,



Parties, Witnesses, and Judges too, they were assured to speed as they would themselves. And though for fashion sake he was brought unto the Commons Bar on the eleventh of that Month, not without magnifying the Favour of giving him leave to shew some Reason, why the Bill should not pass against him : yet was this but a matter of Formality only, the Ordinance passing in that House within two days after.

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But yet the Business was not done; for the Lords stuck at it: some of which having not extinguished all the *Sparks of Humanity*, began to find themselves compassionate of his Condition; not knowing how soon it should or might be made their own, if once disfavoured by the Grandees of that *Potent Faction*. For the Ordinance having been transmitted to the House of Peers, and the House of Peers deliberating somewhat long upon it, it was Voted on December 4. *That all Books, Writings, and Evidences which concerned the Tryal, should be brought before the Lords in Parliament;* to the end that they might seriously and distinctly consider of all Particulars amongst themselves, as they came before them. But meaning to make sure work of it, they had in the mean time (after no small Evaporations of Heat and Passion) prepared an Ordinance, which they sent up unto the Lords, importing the displacing of them from all those Places of Power and Command which they had in the Army. Which being found too weak to hold, they fall upon another and a likelier Project, which was to bring the Lords to sit in the Commons House, where they were sure they should be inconsiderable both for Power and Number. And to effect the same with more speed and certainty, they had recourse to their old Arts, drawing down *Watkins* with his *general muster of Subscriptions*, and putting a Petition into his hands, to be tendered by him to the Houses, that is, themselves; wherein it was required, amongst other things, That they should *vigorously proceed unto the punishment of all Delinquents*; and that for the more quick dispatch of Publick Businesses of State, the *Lords* would please to *Vote and Sit together with the Commons*. On such uncertain terms, such a ticklish *Tenure*, did they then hold their Place and Power in Parliament, who so officiously complied with the House of Commons, in depriving the Bishops of their Vote, and the Churches Birth-right. And this was it which helped them in that time of need. And yet not thinking this Device sufficient to fright their Lordships to a present compliance, *Stroud* was sent up with a Message from the House of Commons, to let them know, That the *Londoners* would shortly bring a Petition, with 20000 Hands, to obtain that Ordinance. By which stale and common Stratagem, they wrought so far on some weak Spirits, the rest withdrawing themselves (as formerly in the case of the Earl of *Strafford*) that in a thin and slender House, not above six or seven in number, it was pass'd at last. The day before they pass'd the Ordinance for establishing their new *Directory*; which, in effect, was nothing



PART II. nothing but a total abolition of the Common-Prayer-Book: and  
*Anno Dom.* thereby shewed unto the World, how little hopes they had of settling  
 1644. their new Form of Worship, if the foundation of it were not laid  
 in the blood of this famous Prelate, who had so stoutly stood up  
 for it against all Novellism and Faction, in the whole course of his  
 Life. It was certified by some Letters to *Oxon.* and so reported in  
 the *Mercurius Aulicus* of the following week, That the Lord Bruce  
 (but better known by the name of the Earl of *Elgin*) was one of the  
 number of those few Lords which had Voted to the Sentence of his  
 Condemnation: The others which concurred in that fatal Sentence,  
 being the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullingbrook*; to-  
 gether with the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Gray of Wark*. But what-  
 soever may be said of the other six, I have been advertised lately  
 from a very good hand, That the said Lord Bruce hath frequently  
 disclaimed that Action, and solemnly professed his detestation of the  
 whole Proceedings, as most abhorrent from his nature, and contra-  
 ry to his known affections, as well unto his Majesties Service, as the  
 Peace and Preservation of the Church of *England*.

This Ordinance was no sooner passed, but it revived many of those  
 Discourses, which had before been made on the like occasion in the  
 Business of the Earl of *Strafford*. For hereupon it was observed,  
 That as the predominant Party in the *United Provinces*, to bring  
 about their ends in the death of *Barneveldt*, subverted all those *Fun-*  
*damental Laws* of the *Belgick Liberty*, for maintenance whereof they  
 took up Arms against *Philip ii.* So the Contrivers of this Mischiefe,  
 had violated all the *Fundamental Laws* of the *English Government*,  
 for maintenance whereof they had pretended to take up Arms against  
 the King. It was (said they) a *Fundamental Law* of the *English Go-*  
*vernment*, and the first Article in the *Magna Charta*, That the Church  
 of *England* shall be free, and shall have all her whole Rights and Pri-  
 viledges inviolable. Yet to make way unto the Condemnation of  
 this Innocent Man, the Bishops must be Voted out of their Place in  
 Parliament, which most of them have held far longer in their Prede-  
 cessors, than any of our Noble Families in their Progenitors; and if the  
 Lords refuse to give way unto it (as at first they did) the People must  
 come down to the House in multitudes, and cry *No Bishops, no Bi-*  
*shops*, at the Parliament doors; till by the terrour of their Tumults,  
 they extort it from them. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *English*  
*Liberty*, That no Free-man shall be taken or imprisoned, without cause  
 shewn; or be detained, without being brought unto his Answer in due  
 form of Law. Yet here we see a Freeman imprisoned ten whole  
 weeks together, before any Charge was brought against him; and  
 kept in Prison three whole years more, before his General Accusa-  
 tion was by them reduced unto Particulars; and for a year almost  
 detained close Prisoner, without being brought unto his Answer, as the  
 Law requires. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *English Government*,  
 That no man be disseized of his Freehold or Liberties, but by the known  
 Laws

*Mag. Ch. c.*  
 1.

*Mag. Ch. c.*  
 29. 28 Ed.  
 3. and the  
 Petition of  
 Right.

*Idem*



*Laws of the Land.* Yet here we see a man disseized of his Rents and Lands, spoiled of his Goods, deprived of his Jurisdiction, devested of his Right of Patronage; and all this done, when he was so far from being convicted by the Laws of the Land, that no particular Charge was so much as thought of. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *English Liberty*, That no man shall be condemned or put to death, but by the Lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land; that is, in the ordinary way of Legal Tryal: And sure an Ordinance of both Houses, without the Royal Assent, is no part of the Law of England, nor held an ordinary way of Tryal for the English Subject, or ever reckoned to be such in former times. And finally, It is a *Fundamental Law* in the *English Government*, That if any other cause (than those recited in the Statute of King Edward iii.) which is supposed to be Treason, do happen before any of his Majesties Justices, the Justices shall tarry without giving Judgment, till the Cause be shewn and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treason, or not: Yet here we have a new-found Treason, never known before, nor declared such by any of his Majesties Justices, nor ever brought to be considered of by the King and his Parliament; but only Voted to be such, by some of those Members which sate at Westminster, who were resolved to have it so for their private Ends. The first Example of this kind, the first that ever suffered death by the shot of an Ordinance, as himself very well observed in his dying Speech upon the Scaffold (though purposely omitted in Hind's Printed Copy) to which now he hasteneth.

For the passing of the Ordinance being signified to him by the then Lieutenant of the Tower, he neither entertained the news with a *Stoical Apathy*, nor wailed his fate with weak and womanish Lamentations (to which Extremes most men are carried in this case) but heard it with so even and so smooth a Temper, as shewed he neither was ashamed to live nor afraid to die. The time between the Sentence and Execution, he spent in Prayers and Applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, a Chaplain of his own to attend upon him, and to assist him in the Work of his Preparation: though little Preparation needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcome, because long expected. For so well was he studied in the Art of Dying (especially in the last and strictest part of his Imprisonment) that by continual Fastings, Watchings, Prayers, and such like Acts of Christian Humiliation, his Flesh was rarified into Spirit, and the whole man so fitted for Eternal Glories, that he was more than half in Heaven, before Death brought his bloody (but Triumphant) Chariot, to convey him thither. He that had so long been a Confessor, could not but think it a Release of Miseries to be made a Martyr. It is Recorded of Alexander the Great, That the night before his last and greatest Battel with Darius the Persian, he fell into so sound a sleep, that his Princes hardly could awake him when the morning came.

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25 Edm. 3.

Plutarch in  
Alexander



PART II. And it was likewise certified of this Great *Prelate*, That on the *Anno Dom.* Evening before his *Passover*, the night before the dismal Combate  
1644. betwixt him and *Death*, after he had refreshed his Spirits with a moderate Supper, he betook himself unto his Rest, and slept very soundly, till the time came, in which his Servants were appointed to attend his Rising. A most assured sign of a Soul prepared.

The fatal morning being come, he first applied himself to his private Prayers, and so continued till *Pennington*, and others of their Publick Officers, came to conduct him to the Scaffold; which he ascended with so brave a Courage, such a chearful Countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a Triumph, than be made a *Sacrifice*; and came not there to *Die*, but to be *Translated*. And though some rude and uncivil People reviled him as he pass'd along, with opprobrious Language, as loth to let him go to the Grave in Peace; yet it never discomposed his Thoughts, nor disturb'd his Patience: For he had profited so well in the School of *Christ*, that when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatned not, but committed his cause to him that judgeth righteously. And as he did not fear the Frowns, so neither did he cover the Applause of the *Vulgar Herd*; and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speak unto the People, than to affect the ostentation either of Memory or Wit in that dreadful *Agony*: whether with greater Magnanimity than Prudence, I can hardly say. As for the matter of his Speech, besides what did concern himself and his own *Purgation*, his great care was to clear his Majesty, and the Church of *England*, from any inclination to *Popery*; with a perswasion of the which, the Authors of the then present Miseries had abused the People, and made them take up Arms against their Sovereign. A faithful Servant to the last: By means whereof, as it is said of *Samson* in the Book of *Judges*, That the men which he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life: So may it be affirmed of this famous *Prelate*, That he gave a greater blow unto the Enemies of the Church and the King at the hour of his death, than he had given them in his whole life before. But this you will more clearly see by the Speech it self, which followeth here according to the best and most perfect Copy, delivered by his own hands unto one of his Chaplains, and in his name presented to the King by the Lord *John Bellasis* at the Court in *Oxon*.



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The Speech of the Lord Archbishop of  
Canterbury, spoken at his Death, upon  
the Scaffold on the Tower Hill, Jan. 10.  
1644.

Good People,

**T**His is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I shall begin with a  
Text of Scripture, Heb. 12. 2. Let us run with Patience the  
Race which is set before us, looking unto JESUS the Author and  
Finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, en-  
dured the Cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right  
hand of the Throne of God.

*I have been long in my Race, and how I have looked to JESUS  
the Author and finisher of my faith, he best knows. I am now to come  
to the end of my Race, and here I find the Cross, a death of shame: but  
the shame must be despised, or no coming to the right hand of God.  
JESUS despised the shame for me, and God forbid but that I should  
despise the shame for him. I am going apace (as you see) towards the  
Red Sea, and my feet are now upon the very brinke of it; an Argu-  
ment I hope that God is bringing me into the Land of Promise, for that  
was the way through which he led his people: But before they came  
to it, he instituted a Pascheover for them, a Lamb it was, but it must  
be eaten with soure herbs, I shall obey, and labour to digest the soure  
herbs, as well as the Lamb. And I shall remember it is the Lords  
Pascheover; I shall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the hand  
which gathereth them: but look up only to him, who instituted that, and  
governs these; for men can have no more power over me, than what  
is given them from above. I am not in love with this passage through  
the Red Sea, for I have the weakness and infirmities of flesh and blond.  
plentifully in me; And I have prayed with my Saviour, Ut transiret  
Calix iste, that this Cup of red wine might pass from me: but if not,  
Gods will (not mine) be done, and I shall most willing drink of this  
Cup as deep as he pleases, and enter in this Sea; yea, and pass through it  
in the way that he shall lead me.*

Exod. 11. 8.

Joh. 19. 12.


*But I would have it remembred (Good People) That when Gods  
Servants were in this boysterous Sea, and Aaron amongst them, the  
Egyptians which persecuted them (and did in a manner drive them into  
that Sea) were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit  
of them. I know my God, whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from  
the sea of blond, as he was to deliver the three Children from the Fur-  
nace: and (I humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Resolution is now as  
theirs was then, They would not worship the Image the King had*

Dan. 3.



PART II. set up, nor will I the Imaginations which the People are setting up;  
*Anno Dom.* nor will I forsake the Temple and the truth of God, to follow the  
 1644. bleating of Jeroboams Calves in Dan and Bethel. And as for this  
 ~~~~~ People, they are at this day miserably misled (God of his mercy open their  
 eyes that they may see the right way) for at this day the blind lead the  
 blind, and if they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch. For  
 my self, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sin-  
 ner many waies, by thought, word, and deed; I cannot doubt but that  
 God hath mercy in store for me (a poor Penitent) as well as for other sin-  
 ners. I have now, and upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of  
 my heart, and yet (I thank God) I have not found (among the many)  
 any one sin which deserves death by any known Law of this Kingdom:  
 and yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed  
 upon proof (by valuable witnesses) I, or any other innocent, may be just-  
 ly condemned. And (I thank God) though the weight of my Sentence  
 lie heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life. And  
 though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first man that ever  
 died by an Ordinance in Parliament; yet some of my Predecessors have  
 gone this way, though not by this means. For Elphegus was hurried  
 away, and lost his head by the Danes; and Simon Sudbury in the fury of  
 Wat Tiler and his Fellows; Before these, St. John Baptist had his head  
 danced off by a lewd woman; and St. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage,  
 submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples (great and  
 good) and they teach me patience; for I hope my cause in heaven, will  
 look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here. And some  
 comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their  
 several Generations, but also that my charge (as foul as it is made)  
 looks like that of the Jews against St. Paul (Acts 25.3.) for he was ac-  
 cused for the Law, and the Temple, i.e. Religion; and like that of  
 St. Steven (Acts 6.14.) for breaking the Ordinances which Moses  
 gave, i.e. Law, and Religion; the holy place and the Temple (v.13.)  
 But you will then say, Do I then compare my self with the Integrity of  
 St. Paul and St. Steven? No, far be that from me; I only raise a com-  
 fort to my self, that these great Saints and Servants of God were laid at  
 in their time, as I am now. And it is memorable that St. Paul, who  
 helped on this accusation against St. Steven, did after fall under the very  
 same himself. Yea, but here is a great clamour, that I would have brought  
 in Popery; I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the mean time  
 you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himself: If we let him  
 alone, all men will believe in him, ET VENIENT ROMA-  
 NI, and the Romans will come, and take away both our Place and  
 Nation. Here was a causeless cry against Christ, that the Romans would  
 come; and see how just the Judgment was, they Crucified Christ for  
 fear lest the Romans should come, and his death was it which brought  
 in the Romans upon them, God punishing them with that which they  
 most feared. And I pray God this clamour of Venient Romani (of which  
 I have given no cause) help not to bring them in; For the Pope never  
 had



had such an harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now LIB. V.  
upon the Sects and Divisions that are amongst us. In the mean time by Anno Dom.  
Honour and dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a De- 1644  
ceiver and yet true, am I passing through this world (2 Cor. 6. 8.) 

Some Particulars also I think it not amiss to speak of.

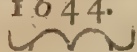
And first, This I shall be bold to speak of the King our Gracious Sovereign. He hath been much traduced also for bringing in of Popery, but on my conscience (of which I shall give God a very present account) I know him to be as free from this Charge as any man living; and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law Established) as any man in this Kingdom: And that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it. And I think I do, or should know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

The second Particular is concerning this great and Populous City (which God bless) Here hath been of late a Fashion taken up to gather Hands, and then go to the great Court of this Kingdom (the Parliament) and clamour for Justice; as if that great and wise Court, before whom the Causes come (which are unknown to many) could not, or would not do Justice, but at their Appointment. A way which may endanger many an Innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the Cities also; and this hath been lately practiced against my self, the Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Parish to Parish without any check. God forgive the Setters of this (with all my heart I beg it) but many well-meaning People are caught by it, In St. Stevens case, when nothing else would serve, Acts. 6. 12. they stirred up the People against him; and Herod went the same way when he had killed St James: yet he would not venture on St. Peter, till he found how the other pleased the People. But take heed of having your hands full of blood, for there is a time (best known to Isay 1. 10. himself) when God (above other sins) makes Inquisition for blood; and when that Inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, That God Psalm. 9. 12. remembers, (that's not all) He remembers and forgets not the complaint of the poor, that is, whose blood is shed by oppression, ver. 9. Take heed of this, It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, but then especially, when he is making Inquisition for blood. And (with my prayers to avert it) I do heartily desire this City to remember the Prophecie that is expressed, Jer. 26. 15.

The third Particular is the poor Church of England. It hath flourished, and been a shelter to other Neighbouring Churches, when storms have driven upon them: But alas! now it is in a storm it self, and God only knows whether, or how it shall get out; and (which is worse than the storm from without) it is become like an Oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft Prophaneness and Irreligion is entering in, while, as Prosper speaks (in his second book De vitæ contemptu, cap. 4.) Men that introduce profaneness, are cloaked over with the name, Religionis Imaginaria, of Imaginary Religion;  
for



PART II. for we have lost the substance, and dwell too much in opinion: and that  
 Anno Dom. Church, which all the Jesuites Machinations could not ruine, is fallen in-  
 1644. to danger by her own.



The last Particular ( for I am not willing to be too long ) is my self. I was born and baptized in the Bosome of the Church of England established by Law; in that Profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matters of Religion; and therefore I desire it may be remembred, I have alwaies lived in the Protestant Religion established in England, and in that I come now to dye. What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at last I am accused of High Treason in Parliament, a Crime which my soul ever abhorred. This Treason was charged to consist of two parts, An endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land; and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by Law. Besides my Answers to the several Charges, I protested my innocence in both Houses. It was said, Prisoners Protestations at the Bar, must not be taken. I can bring no witness of my heart, and the intentions thereof; therefore I must come to my Protestation, not at the Bar, but my Protestation of this hour and instant of my death, in which I hope all men will be such charitable Christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an account for the truth of it. I do therefore here in the presence of God and his holy Angels take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of Law or Religion; and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine for my innocence in this, and from all Treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an Enemy to Parliaments; No, I understood them, and the benefit that comes by them too well, to be so: But I did mislike the misgovernments of some Parliaments, many waies, and I had good Reason for it; For Corruptio optimi est Pessima, there is no Corruption in the world so bad, as that which is of the best thing within it self; For the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the Highest Court, over which no other hath Jurisdiction, when it is misinformed or misgoverned, the Subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the the world, all and every of those bitter Enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have, Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to joyn in Prayer with me. Which said, with a distinct and audible voice he prayed as followeth:



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**O** Eternal God, and Merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the Riches and Fulness of all thy mercies look down upon me; but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of Christ, not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ; not till I have hid my self in the wounds of Christs: that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech thee, give me now in this great instant full Patience, Proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine Honour, the Kings Happiness, and this Churches preservation. And my Zeal to this (far from Arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin (humane Frailty excepted and all the incidents thereunto), which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer, I say in this particular of Treason; but otherwise my sins are many and great; Lord pardon them all, and those especially (what ever they are) which have drawn down this present Judgement upon me: and when thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own Eyes: and carry me through death that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me. Amen. And that there may be a stop of this Issue of blood in this more then miserable Kingdom (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my self) O Lord I beseech thee give grace of Repentance to all blood-thirsty people, but if they will not Repent, O Lord confound all their devices, Defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavours upon them; which are or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy Great name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and his Posterity after him in their just Rights and Priviledges, the Honour and Conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and Patrimony, and the settlement of this Distracted, and distressed People, under their Ancient Laws and in their Native Liberty. And when thou hast done all this in meer mercy to them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankfulness and with Religious Dutiful obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their days. Amen, Lord Jesu, Amen. and receive my soul into thy Bosom. Amen.

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

The



## PART II.

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The Speech and Prayers being ended he gave the Paper which he Read into the hands of *Sterne* his Chaplain, permitted to attend him in his last extremity; whom he desired to Communicate it to his other Chaplains that they might see in what manner he left this world; and so prayed God to shew his blessings and mercies on them. And taking notice that one *Hind* had imployed himself in writing the words of his Speech as it came from his mouth, he desired him not to do him wrong in publishing a false or imperfect Copy. This done he next applyed himself to the fatal Block, as to the Haven of his Rest: But finding the way full of people who had placed themselves upon the Theatre to behold the Tragedy, he desired he might *have room to die*, beseeching them to let him have *an end of his miseries which he had endured very long*. All which he did with so Serene and calm a mind, as if he rather had been taking Order for a Noble Mans Funeral, then making way for his own. Being come neer the block, he put off his Doublet, and used some words to this effect. *Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of this world, none can be more willing to send me*. And seeing through the Chink of the Boards that some people were got under the Scaffold about the very place where the block was seated, he called to the Officer for some dust to stop them, or to remove the people thence, saying, it was no part of his desires *that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people*. Never did man put off mortality with a better courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious Enemies with more Christian Charity. And thus far he was on his way toward Paradise, with such a Primitive Magnanimity as equalled, if not exceeded, the example of the Ancient Martyrs, when he was somewhat interrupted by one of those who had placed himself on the Scaffold, not otherwise worthy to be named, but as a Fire-brand brought from Ireland to inflame this Kingdom. Who finding that the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion, would needs put in and try what he could do with his Sponge and Vinegar, and Stepping to him neer the Block he would needs propound unto him some Impertinent questions; not so much out of a desire to learn any thing of him: but with the same purpose as was found in the Scribes and Pharisees, in propounding questions to our Saviour; that is to say, either to intrap him in his Answers, or otherwise to expose him to some disadvantage with the standers by. Two of the questions he made answer to withal Christian meekness. The first question was, What was the Comfortablest saying, which a dying man would have in his mouth, to which he meekly made answer. *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo*: being asked again what was the fittest Speech a man could use to express his Confidence and Assurance, he answered with the same Spirit of meekness, That such Assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to express it rightly. But this not satisfying this busie man (who aimed

Sir John Clotworthy.



aimed at something else (as is probable) then such satisfaction) unless he gave some Word or Place of Scripture, whereupon such Assurance might be truly founded. He used some words to this effect, That it was the Word of God concerning Christ, and his dying for us. But then finding that there was like to be no end of the troublesome Gentleman, he turned away from him, applying himself directly to the Executioner, as the gentler and discreeter person. Putting some money into his hand he said unto him without the least distemper or change of countenance; *Here honest friend, God forgive thee and I do, and do thy Office upon me with mercy,* and having given him a sign when the blow should come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth, viz.

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*Lord I am coming as fast I can, I know I must pass thorough the shadow of death, before I can come to see thee; But it is but Umbra Mortis, a meer shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but thou by thy Merits and Passion, hast broke thorough the jaws of death, the Lord receive my Soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this Kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ his sake, if it be thy will.*

Then laying his head upon the Block and Praying silently to himself he said aloud, *Lord receive my Soul,* which was the Signal given to the Executioner, who very dexterously did his Office, and took off his head at a blow, his Soul ascending on the wings of Angels into *Abrahams* bosom, and leaving his body on the Scaffold, to the care of men.

This blow thus given, his life-less body remained a spectacle so unpleasing unto most of them who had desired his death with much heat and passion, that many who came with greedy eyes to see him suffer, went back with weeping eyes when they saw him dead; their own Consciences perhaps, bearing witness to them, God knows whose did, that they *had sinned* in being guilty of such *Innocent blood*. Of those whom only Curiosity and desire of Novelty, brought thither to behold that unusual sight, many had not the Patience to attend the Issue, but went away as soon as the Speech was ended; others returned much altered in the opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their Resolutions toward the King and the Church, whose Honour and Religious Purposes, they saw so clearly vindicated in his dying, but never dying words. And for the Rest (the most considerable, though perhaps the smallest part of that Great Assembly) as they came thither with no other intention, then to assist him with their Prayers, to embalm his body with their tears, and to lay up his last Speeches in their hearts and memories: so when they had performed those Offices of Christian duty, they comforted themselves with this, that as his life was



PART II. honourable, so his death was glorious; the pains whereof were  
*Anno Dom.* short and momentary to himself, the benefit like to be perpetual un-  
 1644. to them and others, who were resolved to live and die in the Com-  
 ~~~~~ munion of the Church of *England*. And if the Bodies of us men  
 be capable of any happiness in the *Grave*, he had as great a share  
 therein, as he could desire; his Body being accompanied to the  
 Earth with great multitudes of People, whom love, or curiosity,  
 or remorse of Conscience had drawn together purposely to perform  
 that Office, and decently interred in the Church of *Alhallows*  
*Barking* (a Church of his own Patronage and Jurisdiction) accord-  
 ing to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, In which  
 it may be noted as a thing remarkable, That being whilst he lived  
 the greatest Champion of the *Common-Prayer-Book* here by Law esta-  
 blished, he had the honour being dead, to be buried by the form  
 therein prescribed, after it had been long disused, and almost repro-  
 bated in most Churches of *London*. Nor need Posterity take care  
 to provide his Monument; he built one for himself whilst he was  
 alive: It being well observed by *Deering* (one of his most malici-  
 ous Enemies, and he that threw the first stone at him in the begin-  
 ning of this Parliament) that *St. Paul's Church* will be his perpe-  
 tual Monument, and his own Book (against the *Jesuite*) his lasting  
*Epitaph*,

Thus fell *Laud*, and *St. Pauls* fell with him: The yearly Contri-  
 bution toward whose Repair, *Anno 1641*. when he was plunged in-  
 to his Troubles, fell from the sum of 15000 *l.* and upward, to some-  
 what less than 1500. and afterwards by degrees to nothing. No  
 less than 17138 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* ob. *q.* which remained in the Chamber  
 of *London* toward the carrying on of the Work, is seized on by an  
 Order of both Houses of Parliament, for the beginning of their  
 War against the King; that so they might not only encounter him  
 with his own Arms and Ammunition, which he had bought with  
 his own Money: but with that Money too, which he alone had rai-  
 sed by his own Care and Piety. Most of the Materials intended for  
 finishing the Work, were turned into Money; and the rest bestowed  
 on the Parish of *St. Gregories*, for the Rebuilding of that Church:  
 And all the Scaffolding of the Tower or Steeple, allotted to the pay-  
 ment of *Jephson's* Regiment, who challenged an Arrear of 1746 *l.*  
 15 *s.* 8 *d.* for their Service in that cruel and unnatural War. The  
 Pavement of the Church digged up, and sold to the wealthier Citi-  
 zens, for beautifying their Country-Houses; The Floor converted  
 into Saw-pits in many places, for cutting out such Timber as was  
 turned into Money; The Lead torn off in some places also; the  
 Timber and Arches of the Roof being thereby exposed to Wind  
 and Weather; Part of the Stone-work which supported the Tower  
 or Steeple, fallen down, and threatening the like Ruine unto all the  
 rest; The gallant *Portico* at the West-end thereof, obscured first by  
 a new House looking towards *Ludgate*; and afterward turned in-  
 to



to an Exchange for Haberdashers of small Wares, Hosiers, and such Petit Chapmen : And finally, the whole Body of it converted to a Stable or Horse-Garrison, for the better awing of that City, whose Pride and Faction raised the Fire, and whose Purse added Fewel to it, for the enflaming of the Kingdom.

Thus *Laud* fell, and the Church fell with him ; The *Liturgy* whereof was Voted down about the same time in which the Ordinance was pass'd for his Condemnation ; The *Presbyterian Directory* authorised for the Press, by Ordinance of *March 13.* next following ; *Episcopacy* Root and Branch, which had before been precondemned, suppressed by Ordinance in like manner on *October 9. 1646.* The Lands of all Cathedrals sold, to the exposing of those stately and magnificent Fabricks to an inevitable Ruine ; The Bishops dispossessed of their Lands and Rents, without the Charity of a small Annual Pension toward their Support ; The Regular and Conformable Clergy sequestered, ejected, and turned out of all, to the utter undoing of themselves, their Wives and Children ; A wide gap opened for letting in of all Sects and Heresies, many of which had been exploded and condemned in the Primitive times, others so new (and every day begetting newer) that few of them have served out their Apprenticeship, and yet Trade as freely as if they had served out all their Time ; The Sacred Ministry in the mean time, or that part of it at the least which consists in Preaching, usurped by Handicrafts-men, Boys, and Women, to the dishonour of God, the infamy and disgrace of the *English* Nation, and the reproach of our Religion, so much renowned (as long as he remained in Power) both for external Glory and internal Purity. And yet it cannot be denied, but that he fell very opportunely in regard of himself, before he saw those horrible Confusions which have since brake into the Church, the dissipation of the Clergy, the most calamitous death of his Gracious Sovereign, and the Extermination threatned to the Royal Family : any of which would have been far more grievous to him, than a thousand deaths. The opportunity of a quiet and untroubled death, was reckoned for a great felicity in the Noble (a) *Agricola*, who could not but in the course of a long life, have felt the hundredth part of those Grievs and Sorrows, which would have pierced the Soul of this Pious Prelate, had not God gathered him to his Fathers in so good an hour.

But fallen he is ; and being fallen, there is no question to be made, but most men would spend their Judgments on his Life and Actions.

(b) One tells us of him, That the roughness of his uncourtly Nature, sent most men discontented from him ; though afterwards, of his own accord, he would find means to sweeten many of them again, when they least looked for it. (c) Another, That he had so little command of his passions, that he could not repress them at the *Star-Chamber*, or the *High-Commission* ; which made his Censure always follow the severer side. Some thought, That out of a dislike of that Popu-

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(a) Tu felix Agricola, non vult tamen civitate sed etiam opportunitate mortis Tacere in vita Agric.

(b) Dering's Collection of Speeches.

(c) Ch. Hist. B. II. P. 219.



PART II. rity, which was too much affected by his Predecessor, he was carried on so far to the t<sup>o</sup>ther extreme, as to fail in many necessary  
*Anno Dom.* Civilities to the Nobility and Gentry, by which he might have obliged them, and indeed himself. Others, that by this reserved, and implausible humor, he so far lost the love of his own Diocess (the Gentry whereof he neither entertained at *Canterbury*, nor feasted at *Lambeth*, as all his Predecessors had done before him) that one of them who served in Parliament for the County of *Kent*, threw the first dirt at him. Some said that he trusted too much to his own single judgement, in the Contriving and carrying on of his designs; seldom advising with any of the other Bishops, till he had digested the whole business, and then referring nothing to them but the Execution, which made it less Cordially followed by the greater part, then it had been otherwise. And others, that he presumed too much on the Love and Goodness of the King, whose Love and Goodness not being seconded by Power, proved afterward so insufficient to save him harmless, and keep his head upon his shoulders, that it served rather to expose him to the publick hatred. In which Respect it was conceived that the Lord Protector *Sommerfet* followed his work more like a States-man (though of himself he was accounted no deep Polititian) not venturing on the Alteration of Religion which he had projected, till he had put himself into the head of an Army, under Pretence of making War against the *Scots*; nothing but the unseasonable disbanding whereof could have plunged him into those Calamities, which ensued upon it. It was discoursed by some that he was too suddain and precipitate, in the pursuit of his undertakings, the fruits whereof he desired to taste before they were ripe; and did not think the work well done, except he might enjoy as well the comfort of it in his Life, as the Honour of it after his death: quite contrary therein to the Grandees of the *Puritan* faction, who, after the first heats were over in Queen *Elizabeths* time, carried their work for thirty years together, like *Moles* under the Ground, not casting up any earth before them, till they had made so strong a party in the House of Commons as was able to hold the King to their own Conditions. And therefore it was thought by others, that his business was not so well timed as it should have been; the three first Parliaments of this King being dissolved in such discontentments, as could not easily be forgotten; the *Scots* as much exasperated by the Commission of *Surrendries*, which they exprest plainly by their disaffections to his Person and Government, at his first Parliament in that Kingdom; and the *English* shortly after, startled by the *Writs* for *Shipmony*, which seemed to threaten a destruction to that *Legal Property*, which every man challenged in his own.

Some who seemed wiser than the Rest complained, that his Embracements were too large and general; and that he had more Irons in the fire at once, then could be well hammer'd in one forge;



forge. Not suffering any one of his Counsels to hold on a *Probationship*, before it was retarded and pulled back by another. By means whereof the whole piece being laid open at once, the Figures of it appeared more terrible, and unhanfomly wrought then otherwise they would have done, in case they had been shown by little and little. By these it was discoursed, that within the space of one year after his coming to the Chair of *Canterbury*, he had engaged himself, in Six several Counsels and designs, all of them of so high a nature, that each of them might have been enough to take up that short remainder of time which he had to live. It was confessed, that the connivence and Remisness of his Predecessor had left him work enough to do; but then it was averred withal, and proved by Ordinary observation, that an unskilful Carpenter might pull down more in one day then the ablest Architect in the World could build up in twenty; and therefore that the Ruines of twenty years, were not to be repaired in one. And for the Proof of this they were pleased to note, that within six weeks after his coming to that Chair, his Majesty had laid the Foundation of the *Scottish* Liturgy, by Issuing out his Instructions of the 8<sup>th</sup> of *Octob.* for Officiating the *Divine Service* in his Chappel at *Edenborough*, according to the form and Ceremony of his Royal Chappel at *White Hall*; that he had seconded it within ten days after by reviving his Fathers Declaration about Lawful Sports, with some additions of his own; and thirded it in the very beginning of *Novemb.* by an Order of the Council Table in the case of *S. Gregories*, for transposing the Communion Table to the Place of the *Altar*; and that within the first six Months of the year next following, he sent out two *Injunctions* for reducing the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch* to the Liturgy and Church of *England*; Countenanced the Petition of the *London* Ministers, for encrease of maintainance, in the just payment of their Tithes; and procured the Repealing of the *Irish Articles*, and those of *England* to be approved and received in the place thereof. And what said they could be more unadvisedly, and unpolitickly done, then to draw upon himself at once the high displeasure of three Kingdoms in the several Concernments of each Nation; as also all the *Genevian* Churches abroad in their Proper Interesses; Fomented by the Pride and Purse of the City of *London*, and prosecuted by the Malice and Activity of the *Puritan* faction, in them all united in the Common quarrel of the Lords day Sabbath? They added that King *Edward* the first, began not with the Conquest of *Wales*, before he had well settled his affairs in *England*; and that he undertook not the following War against the *Scots* (whom afterwards he brought under his obedience) till some years after he had finished the Conquest of *Wales*; that as all Superferations are dangerous to the Product of the Births of Nature; and nothing more Repugnant to a Regular Diet than to fill the Stomach with fresh viands, before it is Emptied of the Former; so nothing can

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PART II. Anno Domini 1644. be more destructive to the Body Politick, than to try two many Experiments at once upon it, which cannot possibly work well together to the publick health; and therefore, that he should have practised upon one Kingdom after another as best became so able a Physician, and so exact a Master in the Art of a Christian Warfare; that one of them might have followed the good Example of the other, and not all joyn together (like so many ill humours) to the common disturbance of the work.

Such were the Censures and Discourses, which were passed upon him betwixt his Imprisonment and his Death, and for some years after. In which how much or little there is of truth, is left unto the judgment of those, who are more thoroughly acquainted with his disposition and affections, his secret Counsels, and the Reasons which directed him in the conduct of them, than I can honestly pretend to. All I can say, is that, which may be said by any other, which had no more access to him than my self: Of Stature he was low, but of strong Composition; so short a Trunck never contained so much excellent Treasure, which therefore was to be the stronger, by reason of the wealth which was lodged within it. His Countenance chearful and well-bloudied, more fleshy (as I have often heard him say) than any other part of his body; which chearfulness and vivacity he carried with him to the very Block, notwithstanding the Afflictions of four years Imprisonment, and the infelicity of the times. For at his first Commitment he besought God (as is observed in the *Breviate*) to give him full patience, proportionable comfort, and contentment with whatsoever he should send; and he was heard in what he prayed for: for notwithstanding that he had fed long on the bread of carefulness, and drank the water of affliction; yet as the Scripture telleth us of the four Hebrew Children, His Countenance appeared fairer and fatter in flesh, than any of those who eat their portion of the Kings Meat, and drank of his wine; A gallant Spirit being for the most part like the Sun, which shews the greater at his setting. But to proceed in that weak Character, which my Pen is able to afford him, Of Apprehension he was quick and sudden, of a very sociable Wit, and a pleasant Humour; and one that knew as well how to put off the Gravity of his Place, and Person, when he saw occasion, as any man living whatsoever; Accessible enough at all times but when he was tired out with multiplicity and vexation of business, which some, who did not understand him, ascribed unto the natural ruggedness of his Disposition; Zealous he was in the Religion here established, as hath been made apparent in the course of this History; Constant not only to the Publick Prayers in his Chappel, but to his private Devotions in his Closet; A special Benefactor to the Town of Reading, where he had his Birth, and to the University of Oxon. where he had his Breeding; so much the more to this last, as he preferred his well-being before his Being. Happy in this, that he accomplished those good

Dan. 1. 13.



good works in the time of his Life, which otherwise must have thrunk to nothing in the hands of Executors. To speak of the Integrity of so great a Person, would be an injury to his Vertues: One Argument whereof may be, if there were no other, That in so long a time of Power and Greatness, wherein he had the principal managing of Affairs both in Church and State, he made himself the Master of so small a Fortune, that it was totally exhausted in his Benefactions unto *Oxon.* and *Reading*, before remembred. The rest I shall refer to the *Breviate* of his Life and Action, though published of purpose to defame him, and render him more odious to the Common People: In which it will appear, to an equal and impartial Reader, That he was a man of such eminent Vertues, such an exemplary Piety towards God, such an unwearied Fidelity to his Gracious Sovereign, of such a publick Soul towards Church and State, so fixt a Constancy in Friendship, and one so little byass'd by his private Interesses, that *Plutarch*, if he were alive, would be much troubled to find a sufficient Parallel wherewith to match him in all the Lineaments of perfect Vertue.

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Thus lived this most Reverend, Renowned, and Religious Prelate; and thus he died; when he had lived seventy one years, thirteen Weeks, and four daies, if at the least he may be properly said to die: the great Example of whose Vertue shall continue alway, not only in the Minds of Men, but in the Annals of succeeding Ages with Renown and Fame. His Death the more remarkable in falling on *St. Williams* day, as if it did design him to an equal place in the *English* Calendar, with that which *William*, Archbishop of *Bourgeois*, had obtained in the *French*; Who being as great a Zealot in his time against the spreading and increase of the *Albigenses*, (as *Laud* was thought to be against those of the Puritan Faction, and the *Scottish Covenanters*) hath ever since been honoured as a Saint in the *Gallican* Church; the tenth of *January* being destined for the solemnities of his Commemoration, on which day our *Laud* ascended from the Scaffold to a Throne of Glory.

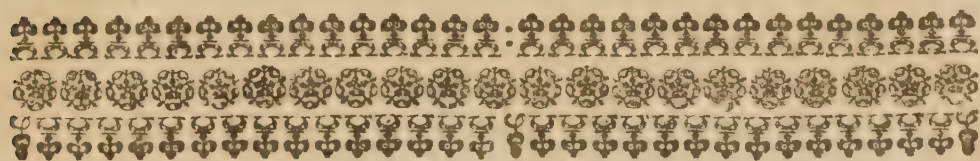
*The End of the Second Part.*



# ERRATA.

- **P**Age 12.l. 33.read according to. p.14.l.4.r.out of. l.5.r. that it is. p.31.l. 32.
- r. Prescience. p.35.l.13.r.there be no. p.47.l. 30. r. Lordship. p.59. l. 43. for
- Queens Colledge, r. Pembroke Hall. p.66. l. 41.r. redounded. p.68.l.42. r. Chair.
- p.70.l.14.r.obeyfances.l.30.r. divulged it over. r. also The City was. p.74.l. 21.
- r. vanished into smoak. p.91.l.38. r. commends and propounds. p.108.l.40.r. Pope.
- p.110.l.25.r. Church of. p.112.l.39.r. was commanded. p.113.l.40.r. Scrinia.
- p.119.l.26.r.home. p.134.l.24. dele, it. p.144.l.23. r. named any. p.150. l. 4.
- r. too. p.151.l.11.r. been. p.161.l.1.r.lend. p.170.l. 8. r. in the. p.172. l. 14.
- r. Bugden. p.174.l.17.r.at it. p.181.l.26.r. the supposed. p.182.l.28. r. thereof.
- p.189.l.36.r.tares. p.192.l.14. for worse, r. wiser. p.194.l.19. r. Acts of Grace.
- p.197.l.4. dele, for. l.27.r. Embarrasses. p.215.l.40.r. Twisse. p.219. l.41.r, Sub-
- scriptions. p.233.l.3.r. given. p.250.l.31.r. of them. p.271.l.20. r. Dauphine. p.
- 284.l.33.to them. p.298.l.36.r.quarrelled with. p.308.l.38.r.in a manner. p.321.
- l.25.r. But. p.331.l.11.r. knows. p.340. l. 26.r. they come. p.343. l.37.r. keep.
- p.345.l.15.r. Osheston. p.378.l.36.r. distaste. p.381. l.8. r. too blame. p.390.
- l.23.r. sentences of the Kirk. l.25.r. calumnies. p.392.l.39.r. Verres. p.401. l.43.
- r.ninth. p.407.l.8. dele, he. p.410.l.35. dele, as. p.412.l.39.r. imploy. p.413.
- l.23.r. be done. p.415.l.45.dele, for. p.432.l.28.r. in the. p.436. l.37.r. thwart-
- ing. p.465.l.45.r.by the Lord. p.464.l.46.r.he.l.46.r. till, p.465.l.45.r. silliest,
- p.467.l.31.r. to be. p.476.l.44. r. as to take. p.488. l. 37. r. nor. p.491. l.11.
- r. them. p.493.l.30.r. Scotland. p.495.l.9.r. Consents of. p.500. l.40. dele, the.
- p.515.l.29.r. nor.





AN  
ELEGIE  
ON THE  
DEATH

OF

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, &c.

*January 10. 1644.*

Horat. Carm. Lib. 4. Od. 8.

*Dignum Laude Virum musa vetat mori.*

AND yet not leave thee thus, I fain would try  
A Line or two in way of Elegie;  
And wail so sad a Loss, if to express  
The greatness of it, would not make it less.  
If to Lament thee, might not vex thee more  
Than all the Scorns thou hast endur'd before,  
And make thee think we envied thee thy start,  
Or doubted that thou wert not where thou art.  
Yet, with thy leave, I needs must drop a Verse,  
Write it with Tears, and fit it for thy Herse;

And



And at this distance from thy Grave, which lacks  
The Pumps of Sorrow, hang my Heart with Blacks.

Religious Prelate, What a Calm hast thou,  
I'th' midst of those turbulent Storms, which now  
Shipwrack this Island! At how cheap a Rate  
Hast thou procur'd this Change of thy Estate!  
The Mitre, for a Crown; A few poor days,  
For endless Bliss; Vile Earth, for Heavenly Joys!  
Such Glories hast thou found, such Alteration  
In this thy Highest, as thy last *Translation*.

How were thine Enemies deceiv'd, when they  
Advanc'd thee thus and chalk'd thee out the Way?  
A Way so welcome to thee! No *Divine*

But knows the Red-Sea leads to *Palestine*:  
And since *Christ Jesus* Sanctified the Cross,  
Death's the best Purchase, Life the greatest Loss.

Nor be thou griev'd, Blest Soul, that Men do still  
Pursue thee with black Slanders, and do kill  
Thy Shadow now, and trample on thy Ghost,  
(As *Hectors* Carcass, by the *Grecian* Host)  
Or that thou want'st *Inscriptions*, and a Stone,  
I'ngrave thy Name, and write thy Titles on.  
Thou art above those Trifles, and shalt stand  
As much above Mens malice. Though the hand  
Of base Detraction hath defil'd thy Name,  
And spotless Virtues; yet impartial Fame  
Shall do thee all just Honours, and set forth  
To all succeeding Times thy matchless Worth.  
No *Annals* shall be writ, but what Relate  
Thy happy Influence both on Church and State;  
Thy Zeal to Publick Order, Thy Great Parts  
For all Affairs of Weight, Thy Love to Arts;  
And, to our shame, and his great Glory, tell,  
For whose dear Sake, by whose vile Hands he fell.  
(A Death so full of Merits, of such Price,  
To God and Man so sweet a Sacrifice,



As by good Church-Law may his Name prefer  
To a fixt Rubrick in the Kalender.

And let this silence the *Pure Sects* Complaint,  
If they make *Martyrs*, we may make a *Saint* )

Or should Men envie thee this Right, thy Praise  
An Obsequie unto it self can raise.

Thy brave Attempt on *Pauls*, in time to come,  
Shall be a Monument beyond a Tombe :

Thy Book shall be thy *Statua*, where we find  
The Image of thy Nobler Part, thy Mind :

Thy Name shall be thy Epitaph, and he  
Which hears and reads of that, shall publish thee  
Above the reach of Titles, and shall say

None could express thy Worths a braver way.

And thus, though murther'd, thou shalt never die,  
But live Renown'd to all Posterity.

Rest thou then happy in the Sweets of Bliss,  
Th' *Elyzian*, the Christians Paradise,  
Exempt from Worldly Cares, secure from Fears;  
And let us have thy Prayers, as thou our Tears.

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*F I N I S.*

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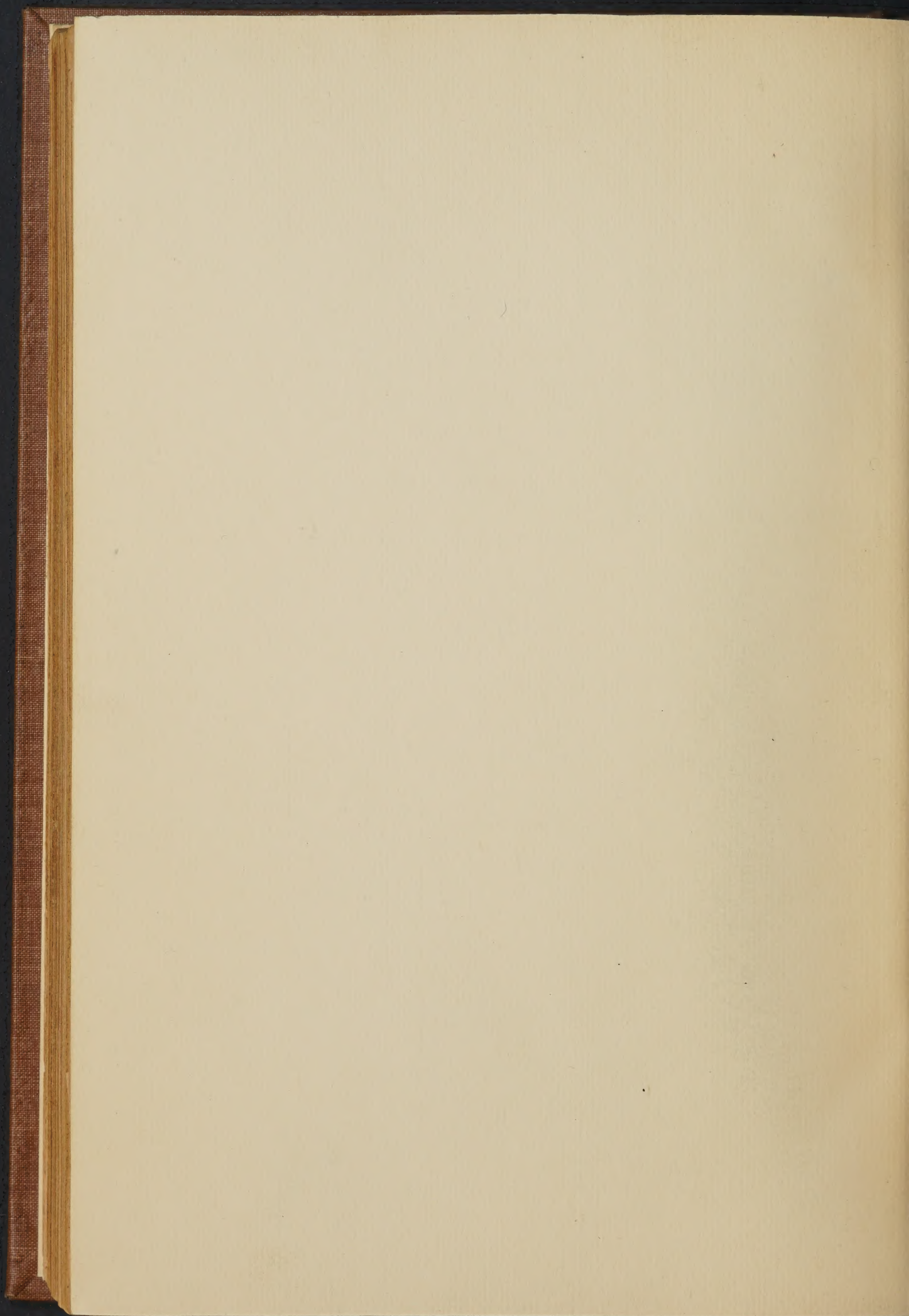














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